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JPRS-EPS-84-026

17 February 1984

DECLASSIFICATION STATEMENT A  
Approved for public release;  
Discretion Unlimited

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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OFFICE OF INVESTIGATOR PLACED UNDER PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

Duties, Rights of Office

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian No 3, Jul-Sep 83 pp 28-30

[Law on the Office of the Investigator of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania]

[Text] General Provisions

Article 1

The office of the investigator is the state organ of the dictatorship of the Proletariat for the investigation of penal acts.

Article 2

In its entire activity, the office of the investigator is guided by the policy of the Albanian Workers Party, is based on Marxist-Leninist ideology and operates on the basis of the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and of the laws.

Article 3

In the investigation of penal acts, the office of the investigator keeps to the principles of the class struggle and the line of the masses and has the task of ensuring the proper and rapid investigation of penal acts, in the struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism.

Article 4

The office of the investigator is an organ of the People's Assembly.

The chief of the Office of the Investigator is responsible to and gives reports on work executed to the People's Assembly and, between sessions of the assembly, to the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The office of the investigator in the districts, at the request of the district people's council, gives reports to this body on its activity.

## The Organization of the Office of the Investigator

### Article 5

The office of the investigator is organized and operates on the basis of single management.

### Article 6

The organs of the office of the investigator are the Office of the Investigator General and the district office of the investigator.

### Article 7

The Office of the Investigator General is the highest organ of investigation.

The office of the investigator is headed by the chief of the Office of the Investigator General, who directs all investigation activity.

### Article 8

The chief of the Office of the Investigator General and his deputies are appointed and removed by the People's Assembly. Between sessions of the People's Assembly, the deputy chiefs of the Office of the Investigator General are appointed or removed by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The chief of the district office of the investigator and the investigators are appointed or removed by the chief of the Office of the Investigator General.

### Duties and Rights of the Office of the Investigator General

### Article 9

The chief of the Office of the Investigator General issues orders and instructions. The orders and instructions of the chief of the Office of the Investigator General are binding for the organs of investigation.

### Article 10

The office of the investigator cooperates with and coordinates work for the investigation, exposing and prevention of penal acts with the other state organs and with the economic and social organizations.

### Article 11

The Office of the Investigator has the task of making general scientific studies of penal acts for the purpose of raising the level of its work and helping to improve the activity of the state organs and the economic and social organizations in preventing penal acts, implementing the laws and strengthening the socialist juridical system.

Final Provisions

Article 12

The internal organization of the Office of the Investigator is stipulated in regulations issued by the chief of the Office of the Investigator General.

Article 13

This law goes into effect on 1 September 1983.

Tirana, 29 June 1983

No: 6800

Constitution Amended Accordingly

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian No 3, Jul-Sep 83 pp 26-27

[Law on Some Changes in the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania]

[Text] Article 1

In the second part of the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the chapter entitled "Office of the Investigator" is added after the fifth chapter.

Article 2

The Office of the Investigator is the organ which executes investigations of penal acts.

The Office of the Investigator has the task of protecting the socialist juridical system, exposing and preventing the committing of penal acts, and monitoring the education of the working masses in the spirit of the implementation of socialist legality.

Article 3

The organization of the Office of the Investigator and the investigation procedure are stipulated by special laws.

Article 4

In Article 67, after the words, "the procurator general and his deputies," the words, "the chief of the Office of the Investigator General and his deputies," are added.

Article 5

In the second paragraph of Article 78, after the words, " the Procurator General," the words "the chief of the Office of the Investigator General," are added and in the third paragraph, after the words, "the deputy Procurators General," the words; "the deputy chiefs of the Office of the Investigator General," are added.

Article 6

Chapter VI, "The Office of the Procurator General," becomes Chapter VII and the following articles have new numbers.

Article 7

This law goes into effect on 1 September 1983.

Tirana, 29 June 1983

Law No: 6799

CSO: 2100/28

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

TOP AUTHOR INTERVIEWED ON CURRENT TRENDS, POLITICAL AFFAIRS

Paris REVOLUTION in French 9 Dec 83 pp 34-36, 38

[Interview with Heiner Mueller, prize-winning GDR dramatist, and his colleagues, Jean Jourdheuil and Jean-Francois Peyret, by Bernard Umbrecht, date and place not specified: "'Broken Doll'"]

[Text] [Question] In my recent trips, I have felt that the distance between France and Germany is increasing. You have traveled the reverse route, which is not a frequent one. How do you perceive the differences?

[Heiner Mueller] Honestly, it is difficult for me to talk about this because I have not really visited France but rather the Odeon, with little time to come out of it. But nevertheless, I have been surprised at the strange idea that one--I do not know who--has here of the peace movement in the GDR or of the "green" party, for example. The French view it with suspicion, even aversion. It seems that, generally speaking, people view with distrust everything that stirs in Germany. So long as the Germans are calm, everything is all right.

[Question] The reason is to some extent the idea that the Germans succumb, by nature, to all evils. Yesterday Nazism, today pacifism. The Germans' fears are not understood. How would you explain them?

[Heiner Mueller] The question is certainly a complex one. I understand this fear well. There is a difference between having rockets in one's garden and not having them. Both populations--that of the FRG and that of the GDR--will have them.

From another point of view, the peace movement and this fear doubtlessly have to be related to the existence of the vacuum that was created after World War II and the division of Germany. The Germans have an identity problem. To oversimplify, one can say that the FRG is occupied by the Americans and the GDR by the Soviets. This reality produces an identity problem in the population. In the FRG, for the youth, unemployment and the absence of prospects are added to this. In the GDR too, the question of prospects is a problematic one at least. Youth in Germany are without prospects and without national identity. And all the needs, energies, desires and fears that there are are engulfed in this void. It is not a situation without

danger. There is doubtlessly some explosive matter in it. It is difficult to foresee what will result from it. I do not believe that, no matter what its objectives, the movement will come to a halt, will calm down, for society does not have the means for satisfying the needs and filling in this void. For the preceding generations, the identity problem was solved by the exchange rate of the mark. The German nation was the mark. With money, one could take a sex tour to Bangkok and come back to one's identity in Germany. An extension of World War II by tourism: first in France as a soldier, then in Bangkok as a tourist. No more need for colonies; the mark was sufficient. That worked, but no longer works for the young people. First of all, because most of them do not have the money for it, and a distaste for consumerism has developed among them. They can no longer be so simply integrated by consumption.

[Question] Another French fear is that this need for identity might lead to reunification of the two Germanies.

[Heiner Mueller] The statistics can serve as a tranquilizer. Family relations between the FRG and the GDR are down. New relations are arising, of course. This remains a problem that must be solved if there is to be stability in Europe. And it will not be solved with rockets.

[Question] "Rather red than dead"--that slogan is another point of crystallization of the French fears.

[Heiner Mueller] Where does that expression come from?

[Question] It was found somewhere and it has been made the symbol of all the evil that the peace movement represents.

[Heiner Mueller] What is serious about it? I do not believe that there is a capitalist solution to the problems posed. And that communism is not a solution has not been proved yet. This represents an entirely irrational fear of propaganda. And besides, this slogan contains an obvious truth. Who prefers death to anything else? I find this state of nerves ridiculous.

[Jean Jourdheuil] It has been received as a reversal of "rather dead than red."

[Heiner Mueller] You can say that so long as the reds aren't here.  
(Laughter)

[Jean Jourdheuil] It was a Nazi slogan. Its symbolic reversal would appear to be the German receptivity to all "totalitarianisms."

[Heiner Mueller] What I am going to say will not be without envy, because in the GDR the situation is not presented so favorably. In no other European country are there youth who show such interest in politics as do the majority of the West German youth. There are no youth with such capacity for arguing and discussing. This situation represents the extensions of the student movement and of the consequences of the reaction to the state's



absurd attitude toward the RAF (Red Army Fraction, the "Baader gang"). It involves a real politicization. That is why I find it extremely stupid to be afraid of it or to fear a renaissance of fascism.

Of course, one can always need a nasty Germany. When one does not succeed in settling one's own problems, one can always pull it out of the bag. One would do better to be concerned about the West German government. That mixture of bonhomie, foolishness and conservatism seems to me far more dangerous.

[Question] I noted this sentence during the play yesterday evening: "The space-time of art is situated between the time of the subject and the time of history. The difference is a potential battlefield."

[Heiner Mueller] Half of humanity has been disemboweled in that space. You have only one life, and history has far more time. Each attempt to fulfill an idea or to organize reality in accordance with a concept leads to contradictions between the needs of the individuals and the constraints of the concept.

[Question] Is this the explanation of atomic weaponry?

[Heiner Mueller] Yes, as the first concrete possibility of removing this contradiction by putting an end to the subject and to history. To that extent, atomic weaponry is a product of Christianity. The first response to the gap between the subject and history is the religions, the attempt to transcend it. The other response is the Marxist Utopia. Now there is the atomic solution. The situation of atomic stalemate has already put an end to history.

[Question] Do you mean to say that this is already the case now?

[Heiner Mueller] Yes. What will happen if the United States decides to "do" Nicaragua? It will cost it a lot and will last for some time, but no one will be able to do anything. In this situation, the field is open to political gangsterism. Finally, freedom for crime in politics.

[Jean-Francois Peyret] There has been a lot of talk about pacifism in the FRG. Little is known about the GDR's pacifism. Can one speak of a movement?

[Heiner Mueller] It represents fewer people, to start with. I have a strained relationship with it. I cannot manage to consider the pacifist attitude as a realistic attitude. I understand it well. It involves people connected with the church, which is its organizational center, but in a society such as the GDR, this attitude has rather an individual character. It cannot become an organization. Furthermore, the state cannot permit it. It circumscribes it, and from time to time pushes it back. But I cannot say a great deal about it. I do not see myself going into the street to shout about either American weapons or Soviet weapons in Germany. I do not see the sense of it in the GDR. Other things are more important there. From

the GDR, one can do nothing against the installation of Soviet weapons. The relationship of forces does not permit it. Those numerous things that it is necessary to modify in the GDR cannot be modified from a position that may be marginalized.

[Question] The FRG's former representative in the GDR, Gunter Gauss, defines East German society as a society of alcoves--that is, one in which the people build themselves a private cocoon of a universe. From another point of view, you always say that in the GDR one cannot skirt history. Isn't there a contradiction in this?

[Heiner Mueller] Both interpretations are correct. Everyone wants to skirt history, of course, but no one can, for example, ignore the concrete consequence of history that the wall represents and the difference in standard of living and hierarchy of values between the GDR and the FRG. One cannot say to a GDR worker that that he has a bigger space of freedom than does a worker in West German industry. He will never concede that he works less than his Western counterpart. One sees the difficulties he has in following the rhythm that those have who leave the GDR for the FRG.

[Question] The show "Heiner Mueller, de l'Allemagne" [Heiner Mueller, of Germany] is being presented at the same time as G. Strehler's production of Shakespeare's "The Tempest." Are you interested in the idea of European culture?

[Heiner Mueller] Naturally. I find it to be a great idea. In this situation, the most important thing is to destroy the images of enmity. But on condition of considering that Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Russian part of the Soviet Union, the GDR, in any case, are part of Europe. I am not interested in the idea of a West European culture. Europe remains something about which one still manages to have a few ideas.

[Jean-Francois Peyret] How about American culture?

[Heiner Mueller] I do not know whether, speaking of the United States, one may speak of an American culture. There are some extraordinary people of culture, a civilization, but not an indigenous culture. Everything there is still derived too much from Europe. And New York is not the United States.

[Question] How is this to be explained?

[Heiner Mueller] Where would it get it from? The situation is different from that of Togo or Senegal. Those countries had a culture. It has been crushed by colonialism. They are importing European culture, and it will take a certain time before they find the bond with their traditions again. In the United States, the Indians were massacred. The culture there is a conglomeration of importations.

[Jean Jourdheuil] Can't one say that they have a cinema culture and note the relationship between industry and culture?

[Heiner Mueller] A culture of industry--that is an interesting theme.

[Jean-Francois Peyret] But the American novel exists.

[Heiner Mueller] Yes, as an achievement by those who write them. But I do not know whether that can be described as culture. The everyday constitutes part of culture, the osmosis between the everyday and the cultural products. And that does not exist in the United States, the country is still too big.

[Jean Jourdeuil] The idea that we had in doing this show at the Odeon, which consisted in trying to sink drilling wells in Mueller's work to see what would gush out from them, rests on a trick. The Theater of Europe represents an idea of Europe. It is a bit as if there were a European awareness shared by the countries that make up the Council of Europe. It is a problem. If one speaks only of the theater, for example, one notes that there are several countries that have a theater culture--the FRG, Italy, France, Great Britain. And there is a sort of hierarchy, at the top of which is the West German theater, which functions as a model for the Italian and French theater. It seems amusing to us to carry the contradiction over to a theater functioning in accordance with a European idea and introducing Mueller, of the GDR, into it.

[Question] Two of your most recent pieces use French history as material. "Quartett" uses Laclos' "Les Liaisons Dangereuses" [Dangerous Liaisons], and "The Mission" uses a moment in the history of the French Revolution. Why this interest in the history of France?

[Heiner Mueller] The history of France in general does not interest me at all. On the other hand, the history of the French Revolution interests me in connection with my reflection on the consequences of the October Revolution with which I am confronted directly.

[Question] In an interview entitled "The Althusser Case Interests Me," you tell how in the course of a seminar in Italy on the seizure of power by the working class using the model of the Paris Commune, you did not hesitate to think of this scene: Marat in a gaming room tries to convince the young people there that it is not a good thing to play flipper [as published]. In comes Charlotte Corday, who, because she liked flipper a lot, assassinates Marat. In France, there is currently a debate on the intellectual silences.

[Heiner Mueller] Silence? They don't stop talking. Wouldn't it be a more precise definition of the problem to say that they don't sing? Any government expects its intelligentsia to sing. Furthermore, French opera has never been so well-developed. And when the intelligentsia does not sing, it is necessary to build an opera.

Seriously, though, I have an entirely existential interest in France--more precisely, in French thought, insofar as it is accessible to me. French thought, more than German thought, and in any case more directly than it, has always turned on the theme of the Revolution, even when it is

reactionary. It has always been, positively or negatively, a debate with the problem of the Revolution.

[Question] Isn't this perhaps truer since the French intellectuals have been reading Solzhenitsin?

[Jean Jourdheuil] I'm not sure about that. The negative aspects perhaps dominate, but revolution as a problem remains present even if it is not necessarily at the center.

[Heiner Mueller] To stick to this question of the gulag and Solzhenitsin, the particularly violent French reaction is a confirmation of my remarks. Solzhenitsin himself has never been interested in the question of the Revolution, which has never really played an important part in Russian thought. They made a revolution, but thinking on revolution was imported from the West. In France, it is the obsessional theme.

[Jean-Francois Peyret] In the same text that was cited above, you say that you are more interested in authors such as Michel Foucault and Baudrillard than in Althusser. Their thought is not preoccupied in the same way with the problem of the Revolution. Is it because those who get away from it are more interesting?

[Heiner Mueller] I have read not only Marx but also Nietzsche. Even Nietzsche before Marx, which was a decisive reading experience. Baudrillard, Foucault, Virilio, etc, have much to do with Nietzsche. What interests me is the aphoristic thought, whose movement is that of the particles after the explosion of a nucleus--a very quick-tempered thought whose movement is all the more accelerated as the particle is farther away.

[Jean Jourdheuil] This is less the case with Foucault.

[Heiner Mueller] Yes, in Foucault one already finds the outline of a system. But the movement itself, the rhythm, the way of stirring this thought certainly interests me more than do its content and its subjects.

[Jean Jourdheuil] How can this be related to your writing? I have heard you say that the French write little theater because they are too quick to get into theory, while poetics are left behind. In your writings, there is always a discussion containing that thought.

[Heiner Mueller] I have perhaps been a little hasty in saying that the theory devours the literature. It may be true, but from another angle, the speed of a Rimbaud is greater than that of all the authors whom we are talking about together. In fact, theoretical thought is slower than poetry. The question should be examined from that point of view. Literature makes it possible to say things about reality faster than does any theory. Therefore there should be other reasons why there is no literature in France.

In the GDR, for example, reality is so complex, its microstructures are modified so rapidly and imperceptibly, that it cannot be grasped with the instruments of theory. It can be grasped only with literature.

[Jean-Francois Peyret] Our generation has believed exactly the opposite.

[Heiner Mueller] Right off, I would express the suspicion that the problem of literary production--of its absence--in France results from the fact that people do not want to take cognizance of reality, or throw light on the decisions to be made. People want to keep on puttering. The feeling exists that this cannot go on, but people don't want to know it. Whence the repression of impulses, of decisions, in theory. One knows that something is not right, but one is still eating well.

Since it has just come out in Germany, I have tried to read Jean-Paul Sartre's book on Jean Genet. I see it as the desperate attempt of a teacher--Sartre was a teacher; that is, a moral authority--to reduce the Genet phenomenon to a formula so as to be able to give him a grade. This attempt at categorization is a sentence to death. Since the Genet phenomenon may not exist freely in space, it has to be catalogued. This is a crime against literature.

[Jean Jourdheuil] What do you and Genet have in common? Or to put the question another way, why does your work speak so much of catastrophes and slaughters?

[Heiner Mueller] Jean Genet is a political and aesthetic phenomenon. The most extraordinary thing is the impossibility of circumscribing it. All great art is unclassifiable. One cannot categorize Shakespeare. One can never grasp him as a whole. Only in parts. What interests me, of course, in Genet is the situation of the colonized person as the point of departure. The colonized child, criminal or homosexual, on the sidelines--in other terms, the minority aspect. In a more attenuated way, this is also the genealogy of my writings. I had a minority childhood. This frustration produces an analogous imaginative store of violence. The colonized person can emancipate himself only by violence, by use of that imaginative store against the colonizer.

[Jean Jourdheuil] You say that Genet cannot be categorized. When one not only reads but also works out your writings, one has the impression that you are difficult to grasp, to identify. Literature--is that what escapes?

[Heiner Mueller] The simplest formulation is the one by Rimbaud: "I am another." There is a dual movement of wanting to be that other and of escaping it. That is the movement of the text. And since these two movements are made at the same time, there is no point at which one can be encountered. In all cases, it is not identifiable with moral categories that are the usual ones, whether they wear an ideological mask or are directly moral.

[Jean Jourdeuil] Hasn't literature become a moral value? In "Quartett," one gets the impression that you are working over Laclos' text not to actualize it but to destroy it.

[Heiner Mueller] Yes. That is what children do with their dolls. From time to time, the child wants to know what there is in his doll. To do so, he must break it. The only morality of art is the anthropological impulse: wanting to know what there is in the doll.

In Italy recently, faced with the obligation to say something in the course of the conference on Philoctetes, an idea regarding the anthropological impulse came to me: the doll manifestly contains something very dangerous. There is surely a defective behavior inscribed in the human attitude and thought, which is suicidal. It is this idea of Nietzsche's from which, I believe, much of French thought starts; the exigency of knowledge does not know any moral restraint. It is instinctive, biological, without consideration of consequences. Everything that is thought is pushed toward concrete form, which leads to catastrophes. That is why anthropology is increasingly important: working to see what the mechanism is that operates inside.

[Question] Here we are back at the neutron bomb again.

[Heiner Mueller] Quite so. It is the archaeologists' dream weapon.

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CSO: 3519/181

## JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES ZSMP CONGRESS

LD260036 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2225 GMT 25 Jan 84

["Extensive excerpts" of speech by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, at the third national conference of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) held in Warsaw on 25 January--recorded]

[Text] Comrades, dear young friends. By way of introduction I wish to convey to you, on behalf of the Central Committee, the leadership of our party, and the leadership of the government, the most cordial greetings, and at the same time congratulations on the success of your conference.

We are meeting for the first time at such a forum since the memorable discussion in the Oliwa Hall in July of last year. Since that time the organization of Polish youth, its [word indistinct]--although this is a short period--has covered a great deal of ground, has gradually (?gained) good experience, above all in the factories, among the working youth. This is illustrated by the atmosphere in this hall.

The observation and proposals submitted then have been carefully considered. They have become the material for many party and government undertakings. They enriched the implementation of the resolutions of the ninth plenum giving it a new stimulus. During the past, more distant years, young people were spoken of mainly as the generation inheriting that which their fathers built in People's Poland. This truth is particularly alive against the background of the path of the 40 years of our people's statehood.

Nonetheless, today we ought to see you above all as successors, taking responsibility for the further course of the destiny of the state and the nation; for the shape of socialism in our homeland; as desiring and capable of losing nothing from the historical achievement; of improving much; of doing many things better, more effectively and justly; as not people asking: What will Poland give me? but: What can I give Poland; what can I do for it?

And if the enthusiasm and criticism--radicalism, I would say--which are the properties of youth, take such a direction, if such thinking will be predominant, then Polish youth will well fulfill its role in the relay race of generations. Social psychology teaches and indicates that even a single person who manages to go against the current, to say no, or to do something against the

reigning moods, to make the first steps in order to demonstrate that he is not submitting to the norm of impotence, then he will manage to change the bearing of the group, (?or) of the whole milieu; he will manage to change the situation. I warmly encourage you for such militancy and courage; you will encounter wishes of sympathy, understanding and support on the part of the leadership of our party and state.

In the guidelines of the government presidium, the central and regional organs of state administration have been pledged to create conditions for activity by the youth organizations, above all, the those initiatives with which the youth movement came to the government presidium session. They concern the consolidation of the economic reform, an increase in market production, solution of the housing problem, implementation of actions on savings, the development of agricultural production, improvement of living conditions in the countryside, and many other socioeconomic undertakings of the youth movement.

We have consulted with the youth movement, with the organizations representing it, on the concept of the national socioeconomic plan for the present 3-year plan; on the savings and anti-inflation programs; on the plans for 1983-84. The question arose: To what extent did members of these organizations understand how the government organs sought their opinion. What have these organizations done to promote the assumptions adopted by their participation? Including elements contributed directly by themselves?

When working out other documents from the Council of Ministers and the government presidium, we will take into consideration the opinions and postulates of youth organizations. We will pass on such suggestions and recommendation to local echelons. But at the same time we expect and urge reciprocity in the shape of participation in the promotion, realization, and I would say, execution, a bold and consistent execution of the adopted decisions. This is our common cause.

We share the view expressed during the deliberations about the need for youth participation in all management structures, and the broadening of this participation. We are aware of the still existing resistance, brakes and barriers. It was not possible to continue adequately with concrete targets emerging from the resolutions of the ninth plenum on economic administration, management, foreman, brigade leaders, to all who are directly leading worker collectives. Only some factories have clearly defined the upbringing tasks of the foreman vis-a-vis young workers.

One still does not notice a universal interest in the promotion of young people on the lines of the new principles of the cadre policy. This must change. We will alter this with all stubbornness. Comrades! We count very much on the young in the struggle for socialist renewal. This is a complex process. It meets a great deal of resistance. It wrestles with numerous obstacles.

The decisions of the ninth congress have assigned an active role to the young, to their organization. Who, if it is not the young, should assist the party in purging life from deformation, and all evil, in the creation and consolidation



of all that is socialist, that what is new. That is why we ask: To what extent are the comrades, spokesman of the ninth congress line, in the party itself? What is their contribution to the implementation of the slogan: The same, but not quite the same.

We bear in mind that the party youth was in the vast majority for the congress resolutions. Unfortunately, it still does not participate in the same proportions in their active and determined implementation. The young to the authorities! The young in the authorities! This is particularly timely as the elections approach, and the elections are a period of political struggle.

Thus there is an opportunity to join the political battle, just as at one time in the defense of the people's power, for the consolidation of socialism in Poland. This will be a great test of ardor and a revolutionary task of the current stage, for you the young generation. In the times of the Polish Youth Union [ZMP] and earlier there were numerous examples, not mentioned very often today, as they relate to a very difficult human drama when the very allegiance to a youth organization caused family drama, breaking of friendship, and duplicity was the highest possible accusation.

We do not want to return to this. Today too there are similar conflicts. Nevertheless they occur in a milder form. Less often do they have such a dramatic tone, though their moral hue and responsibility are the same. And I want to express this way respect and recognition for all those young men who can cope with what is unpopular and difficult, who are capable of defending the ideals in which they have trusted and in which they believe, the ideals of a socialist Poland.

Dear friends, to ask whether the party can count on the young is the same as asking whether Poland can count on a future. Poland in its present state and territorial shape can only be socialist.

We find ourselves at such a time when the position of our country is being decided for many long years. A weak Poland, weak economically, shaking and unstable, would be without prospects, would be in danger of degradation, whose forms and final results it is better not to imagine. Our struggle is waged for the realization of a different scenario. It will encompass decades of your life. This is and this must be your scenario, your program!

The young should not and cannot be deceived by the vulgar propaganda of the enemy, who for the past 40 years has been persistently sneering at all that we have built. Unfortunately on a number of issues we still remain on the defensive--faced by the massed offensive, the hostile propaganda--vis-a-vis his lies, concealments and sheer impudence.

They say, for instance, that there is nothing to eat, although before the war Poland was a food exporter. Well, it used to be. It was; but at what price? For the price of extreme undernourishment of the fundamental social masses. There is the research of the prewar Institute for National Economy Research. It is worthwhile to glance at it and learn how the Polish peasant and worker [?fed] at that time. And illiteracy: every fourth Pole could not read or

write; ignominy of the 20th century in Central Europe. Or the tuition fees: a concept entirely unknown today at universities; fees which amounted to much more than a worker's earnings.

Such arguments must be in our arsenal. If the opposite is the case, we will constantly be excusing something which should be the cause for justified pride--yes, indeed: pride, the pride of our party, the people's authority, of the era of socialism.

There has been talk today, though probably not too much, about the moods, the atmosphere among young people, in the broad meaning of the term. They are not isolated from the whole of society, cut off from the situation in the family and at school. The devastations occurred, so to speak, in two phases: in the Seventies when young people were directed mainly to the consumer ideal; but above all in the period of frontal attack by the antisocialist forces between August and December. Their overcoming demands an enormous effort and also enormous patience. Both are necessary, for we know that the views and mood of a young person are variable and malleable.

The fundamental chapter in the 40-year socialist period is also the history of people who transformed themselves and who came over to our side of the barricade, on which they have stayed to this day. You must know and understand the personality of your contemporaries and if many of them are not--I say, not yet--on our side, then it is often the result of the fact that we have not yet been able to convince them by the force of irrefutable facts and profound, apt arguments. This shows the shortcomings in the ideological education work of the organizations and institutions and people, on which rests the direct responsibility for shaping the personality and for bringing up a young person in the spirit of the ideals of socialism.

Things are worst in this state if the young person is engulfed by pessimism and apathy. This in particular cripples the younger generation, deprives the young of what is best in them, of what is also the national wealth--energy, enthusiasm, zeal. It is necessary for every young person to be convinced that he will live always and only in a socialist Poland; and if he does not participate in its construction with enthusiasm and zeal, then above all he will harm himself; but he will harm the homeland too.

It is on such a version of events, and above all, on this way of thinking by the young that the opponent is still counting, hence (?his) theory of the long march, or rather, let us say, long poisoning, in order to deprive the young of that which is really theirs, their future, and that of socialist Poland.

We, you, the aktiv, the avantgarde of the young generation, you must make your young comrades clearly aware of this; in their interest, in our interest, in the interest of Poland. Peace is threatened today and requires greater defense of its foundations. It is necessary to stress, therefore, that the present difficulties of our country are incorporated by the enemy into his reckonings, in his struggle with the world of socialism; and therefore, our overcoming the difficulties is not only a solution of difficult internal problems, it is not

only our common national obligation, but is our very concrete contribution to the cause of peace. There should be no illusions, and we shall continue to do so, through our work and through our bearing in our community.

Poland has not been, is not and will not be the Trojan Horse of the socialist world; Poland will be a strong and steadfast link in the socialist community. And against this background it should be stressed once again that in the process of the country's emergence from the crisis, we have been and are supported by our friends, by the fraternal socialist countries; especially the Soviet Union--and not for the first time either--is supporting and helping us in a fraternal way. Here is the measure of internationalism. This confirms the enormous importance of the alliance with this socialist great power. It makes it all the more necessary for us, with thought for a successful future, to have closer cooperation with it and with all the countries of our community.

And again, against this background, a digression. There are doubtless here in this hall young people who have come from Wroclaw, Szczecin and Gdansk, from the [words indistinct] of the Polish People's Republic. It is, after all, your only homeland; the land you come from is your roots. It is our common land, after all. We must not forget that the forces which are counting on weakened Poland becoming a bargaining counter, becoming an argument for a foreign cause hostile to us are again raising their heads. We will not give them that pretext, that reason.

Comrades! I know, I felt it come again as I listened to your statements, how painful the problem of housing construction is. I want to assure you that we will do everything possible to improve the situation. We cannot promise a radical breakthrough here. This is simply impossible. [passage indistinct]

We are counting on your increasing participation in combating all kinds of pathological phenomena, with speculation at the head.

You are irritated, and rightly so, by the greed, dishonesty, predatoriness of the neobourgeois sector, the petty capitalist one. This is evidence of your class identity. We shall apply and sharpen all the available instruments of the law to counteract and combat all forms of criminality.

It is worth recalling here the words of the poet who at that time--tragic for our nation, years ago--said: Let our house be poor, but clean [words indistinct]. We do not want it to be a poor house; we want it to be more and more prosperous, but we want it to be more and more clean. We are counting here particularly, precisely, on you, on the sensitivity, on the uncompromising and principled stand of the younger generation. The [words indistinct] to the struggle.

No militia, no prosecutor's office, no operational groups can be a substitute for the community in a broad front of action. They must act better and better, and they will do so; but the energy and [words indistinct] of young people is needed. We want the sort of revolutionary spirit of the present period to find an outlet for this too, the will for socialist renewal, melted down into forms appropriate for and comprehensible to the youth.

There is a great responsibility weighing on your organization. As the only one among the socialist youth unions, you affiliate a large mass of the young working class, the leading decisive force in our nation, the force of which our party has the mandate. On your work, to a great extent, the fact, the conviction, and bearing of Polish workers will depend.

Undertake all possible actions serving the wise, ideological, patriotic upbringing of your peers. Be consistent spokesmen of our socialist cause. [?Fulfill this rewarding] and at the same time responsible task. And at the same time count on it that the party will always be with you in this. You are linked with the party by ideological unity. I wish to stress here, against this background, this a key matter--the moral-political unity of the youth movement.

Of all youth organizations support socialism--The Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the Rural Youth Union, the Polish Scout Union, and the Association of Polish Students--all these organizations have one supreme target, socialism. And this ties them together and unites them. The variety and multiplicity of forms and methods of action cannot and should not divide. The fundamental question is the development of joint, coordinated action. Your organization, as a worker organization which represents the main force of our nation should in this respect determine the direction and the tone. It would be a good thing for instance if the whole youth movement came forward with a joint electoral agreement. We also think that the draft youth bill could constitute a vital element in cooperation and in the establishment of contacts with your contemporaries within the election campaign.

Dear young friends! The generation of your fathers is gradually departing for a well deserved rest as is the generation of your mothers, the builders of the foundations of the people's fatherland. Let us bear in mind that when they started they were surrounded by ruins of towns and villages, mined, arid fields, factories idle with the machines stolen, a poor backward country. I believe that just like 40 years ago the worker impulse will be decisive once more; that just like your predecessors of those days you too, young workers, young representatives of other milieus, members of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth will worthily take over the baton in the relay race of generations. With your own example you will lead the others. I wish you success in this work. I wish you success in your work for our fatherland, for Poland.

CSO: 2600/598

## U.S. POLICY, SANCTIONS ASSAILED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish No 249, 12 Dec 83 p 2, 3

[Text] In 1980 the U.S. Government recognized that its policy of relaxation carried out toward Poland during the 1970's had been very successful. The "regime" began to crumble, political groups which supported American intentions began public activity, obtained the support of mass organizations, and at the same time important influence upon the progress of Polish events. The United States reacted very curiously by suddenly restricting future Polish credits. They justified this with economic conditions, specifically because of the deteriorating solvency of a Poland plunged into an economic crisis.

Nonetheless, the West had by this time earned great amounts from the extension of credits to our country, and had it merely concerned purely economic interests then they would have provided feed so that the Polish hen could have regained its strength and been able to lay eggs. The new ruling elite in Washington came to the conclusion that the worsening of the economic crisis would be conducive to unrest, would cause strikes, and perhaps revolt, would weaken the government which Solidarity was fighting and would strengthen its resolve. In other words, reduction of credits and economic cooperation assisted the battle which the Solidarity leadership with Walesa at its head was waging against the Polish economy.

Following the declaration of martial law, the U.S. Government implemented sanctions and induced or forced its allies to do the same. The government reasoned that the communists in Poland had frustrated U.S. successes, had turned the situation around, and took control of the interests of their nation. We will make their opposition only temporarily successful. We will prevent them from carrying out economic success and cause a return to social turmoil. One of the largest propaganda campaigns against Poland and the world has been launched in the name of this policy. Meanwhile, all those in Poland who have indicated any inclination to carry out opposition activity have been provided with money, propaganda and political means.

The public justification for this policy was flimsy. The U.S. linked the sanctions, among other things, with the task of the PRL Government undertaking a dialogue with the church, although this dialogue had never been interrupted. They also obstinately supported Lech Walesa, and in these personal stakes they have demonstrated tenacity and have not been discouraged by a decrease in his influence and popularity.

Whatever the party and government did regarding Poland's internal policy was deprecated by the West. Our policy is not any different than it was in 1981, but has merely been modified by discontinuing the dialogue with those forces which did not want dialogue, and with whom it was unsuccessful despite long and patient attempts. By obtaining results from experience, we have ceased forever to try and come to terms with those with opposing objectives and aspirations, and therefore also with Walesa. We continue to increase the policy of understanding, dialogue with all segments of society, and with the church. We are increasing consultative discussions, carrying out significant reforms concerning public, legal and economic system relations. These most important changes occurring since the establishment of the PRL have been declared by the West as unworthy of attention, are called fig leaves which serve to conceal the repressive character of the Polish Government. In addition, the image of Poland was almost entirely invented by the West, and has been depicted as horrendous. If 50 women raise their arms in front of any church this is immediately taken as being the most flagrant denial of freedom anywhere, even worse than any military coup. If the police ask an adolescent for identification they are criticized more than if several hundred people were to be shot by a government supported by the U.S. It will be necessary at some future time to write down and publish the Polish occurrences which found themselves on the front pages of Western papers. This will be a mixture of fiction and insolent distortions. If, for example, Lech Walesa, who habitually takes sick leave although he demonstrates everything except the symptoms of a serious illness, was refused another L-4 dispensation, then the Western propaganda would immediately announce that the "junta has designs upon his life."

The American justification for the sanctions is hypocritical inasmuch as the pretext used to break off economic agreements with Poland concerned internal Polish principles and political conditions which had nothing to do with the negotiation of these agreements, although our internal policy at that time was much less open toward restorative reform and dialogue. The U.S. and the governments supporting its policy consider as criteria for retaining the sanctions the maneuvers or solutions characterizing Polish domestic policy, and which for the U.S. Government do not present an obstacle in the development of relations with other nations of the west, north, east, and south.

For the Poles the implementation of sanctions is very painful, not only because of the collapse of the negotiations and the direct economic results of the latter, which we stress in particular.

The American government and those governments of certain NATO members cooperating with it in the anti-Polish conspiracy did much indirect damage to Polish society. An atmosphere which also inhibited those nations which were not supporting the sanctions from cooperation with us was created. Businessmen were scared away and commercial ties were cut.

Currently, the U.S. is faced with the fiasco of its policy of sanctions. They did not achieve their intended objectives. They were successful neither in provoking some factions of Polish society to revolt against the existing system, nor in weakening the leadership so that it would be unable to carry out its mission. They were also unsuccessful in forcing the PRL leadership to bring

about policy changes made to order for the U.S. The U.S. Government is fully aware that it achieved goals contrary to those intended. While it had wanted to wrest Poland away from CEMA and the Warsaw Pact, in fact it created stronger PRL political and economic ties with our allies. The U.S. was anxious to strengthen anticommunist attitudes among the Polish populace, and instead awakened strong anti-American sentiments. It wanted to increase U.S. influence in Poland, but decreased it instead. In wanting to support U.S. allies in the internal Polish political arena, it weakened them instead.

President Ronald Reagan, however, is not likely to admit publicly that the sanctions policy, aggressive propaganda and political pressures which it initiated against Poland did not bring about the intended results, and must therefore be changed. The U.S. Government does not wish to admit to insolence or defeat and seeks ways furtively to begin a gradual turnabout away from its unsuccessful policy without admitting that it proved to be ineffectual. In addition, for the time being American politicians do not yet want to change the content of the economic concerns of the sanctions. They are hoping that the economic difficulties which Poland is suffering may ultimately benefit them politically. Therefore, they want to keep the economic screw tightened, and at the same time open a path to probable future change. We observed the process of seeking just such an exit. When Lech Walesa received the Nobel Peace Prize it became obvious that he would be charged with playing some kind of current role in the manipulations by Washington since (not without its own costs, of which there is great criticism in the West, and even considering the absurdity of awarding Walesa a peace prize) this figure is fervently supported by the guarantees of enormous propaganda value.

It was foreseeable that Walesa, who supported the American sanctions inflicted upon the people of his nation, will now change his views and will call upon the U.S. to rescind them, and following him will be all the TKK and emigre opposition supporters of the sanctions. These tactics were so perfectly obvious that in his speech General Wojciech Jaruzelski was able to conclude that our Polish supporters of the sanctions will switch in order to save face with regard to their humiliating public situation; they are supporting the anti-Polish sanctions and at the same time giving the American government a pretext to modify its policy without declaring political defeat.

Therefore, first of all attempts were made to strengthen the importance of Walesa's views, and later he himself expressed his views. Undoubtedly he willingly carried out that order, since the obligation of supporting the sanctions made him out to be an enemy of the fundamental interests of every family, and in exchange for the public praise and financial support he must serve the interests of an alien policy.

Lech Walesa did not, however, wish to use the opportunity created for him exclusively for personal advantage. That is, he said only that which concerned the American political order and not a bit more. He fulfilled the order accurately. He only called for the repeal of those sanctions which do not have economic significance and do not influence the standard of living of his countrymen. He said that the fish would be helpful and planes should fly. Meanwhile, he announced that difficulties in trade and credit restrictions would remain until American political conditions are met.

Despite the fact that Walesa only said that which the U.S. Government had already announced earlier, and Poland had turned down as a game of pretense, the American reaction to Walesa's speech was in accordance with expectations. Reagan, his secretary of state, and the undersecretary presented their declarations. In the first moments it appeared that different viewpoints were being expressed. This created the impression that Walesa's speech had not been made to order, but had surprised the U.S. and had created confusion. The undersecretary of state noted that in proposing the repeal of certain sanctions Walesa was not representative of Polish society, which loved the sanctions. Meanwhile Reagan himself did not repudiate Walesa, as his undersecretary had done, but announced that "Walesa is a great man." The President promptly reflected upon Walesa's remarks. (Let us add that the U.S. president listens carefully to Lech Walesa and not the reverse, as was suggested by DZIENNIK BALTYCKI.) Secretary of State Schultz, however, announced that the U.S. would not repeal the sanctions. At the same time he did not promise to contemplate Lech Walesa's new opinions.

If one, however, calmly analyzes these American opinions, one can understand that the politicians governing the U.S. were simply settling various matters. The day before the celebrations in Oslo Reagan came out in public support of Walesa and Polish opponents of socialism. The undersecretary provided Walesa with an alibi that he was not being influenced by the Americans, and in fact had even angered the U.S. Government. His superior, Schultz, objectively announced what had resulted from Reagan's consideration of Walesa's speech delivered at St Brigida Church in Gdansk.

It is possible to predict the next step. The U.S. Government will solemnly announce its position regarding Walesa's appeal. Namely, it will say that the sanctions will remain until the Polish leadership carries out American political demands. Since Walesa represents an important person for the American administration, and his words are sacred to American presidents, the U.S. will carry out his wishes. This may include partial reinstatement of our fishing rights off the coast of the U.S., since it is advantageous for American fishing companies and they are demanding this. The U.S. also knows that it is not vital insofar as the Polish people are concerned because our fleet has concluded other international agreements and is fishing in other waters. We can also announce that LOT Airlines will be able to take on passengers in New York on its return flights, since this will not benefit the Poles but is convenient for American citizens traveling to Poland. At last it will be possible to announce that in order to please Walesa the U.S. is ready to come to terms with Poland regarding the settlement of our debts, specifically credits guaranteed by the government. It is in the interest of the U.S. Government for Poland to pay rather than not to. Following this there will be much publicity and commotion and it will be announced that Walesa is the savior of the Polish people.

Following this exchange of favors between President Reagan and former chairman Walesa, the American sanctions will remain in force and nothing will change in Polish-American relations, with the exception that the U.S. Government will have the support of Walesa for the future and eventual repeal of the sanctions.

This will take place when the U.S. Government ascertains that it will no longer be possible to count on pressure bringing about desperation and destabilization



in Poland, and when the U.S. Government realizes that the opposition forces have been greatly weakened and have no public support nor any hope for successfully stirring up unrest. The repeal of the sanctions will therefore occur when the U.S. ceases to believe that it can cause a return to a Poland of anarchy and conflict as characterized by 1981. Therefore, they will realize that the policy of sanctions cannot benefit the U.S. The U.S. will repeal the sanctions when there is peace in Poland and the process of normalization is achieved. (If the Polish Government were to fulfill a certain American political condition, Reagan would immediately impose another more far-reaching condition and would wait for results in the form of a new destabilization in Poland.) In repealing the sanctions, the U.S. will announce that this is not the result of the achievements of political stabilization by the Polish leadership, but rather of Walesa's enchanting eyes. The U.S. will also most likely dangle some economic candy before our eyes and will announce that the Polish leadership can have it only if they allow Lech Walesa to pick it and obtain it through him.

All these manipulations and plans of the U.S. Government are basically senseless, since stabilization is progressing despite the sanctions and Poland is coming out of the crisis with difficulty, slowly but decisively, and is being assisted by its allies. Furthermore, American wishes, whether strengthened by sanctions or promises, will not change our domestic policy in the least. No personage under remote control will ever become a partner of the leadership nor a participant in dialogue.

We demand from the U.S. a veritable opening up of economic and financial cooperation with Poland, through the repeal of all the sanctions, compensation for damages caused by them, non-interference in our domestic affairs, and cessation of propaganda activity being carried out by Polish language broadcasts. If the U.S. does not embark upon this path, Poland will nonetheless overcome this international isolation which the U.S. has succeeded in imposing. On the other hand, the absence of the U.S. and its interests in this part of the world, namely Poland, will become more obvious and may even become permanent.

12229

CSO: 2600/506 A

JUSTICE MINISTER VIEWS HIS DEPARTMENT

PM271452 Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 5 Jan 84 p 4

[Interview with Minister of Justice Dr Lech Domeracki by INTERPRESS correspondent Janusz Atlas--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Atlas: It is surely for the first time that a legal practitioner--as opposed to theoretician--is taking up his place at the head of a governmental department as sensitive as yours--sensitive as regards public response to its activity....

Domeracki: Let us say a near-practitioner. For the past 10 years I acted as president of the Poznan Voivodship Court, which means that I was primarily an administrator, although I never lost touch with the courtroom. I still sat as judge once a month. But that was only one-eighth of the normal load of a judge's duties....

Atlas: Are you already exclusively a minister or still a president of a voivodship court? The interests of these two are not necessarily convergent....

Domeracki: A divergence of interests does indeed occur. The problem lies in the interpretation of the role of central administration. Should our department participate, to the traditional extent, in the government's legislative work or should it together make up the foundations of the system of jurisdiction in people's Poland? It is my belief that a certain change is necessary in the existing proportions. What I am saying is not meant as a criticism of the practice followed by my predecessors. I intend to develop their work in a creative way. I have not yet ceased thinking like the president of a voivodship court and I continue to hold a "petitioner's grievance" against the central administration. I remember how we used to doubt that that central administration was there at all. It was so overburdened with its legislative work that it lacked the time for assisting its local organs in their work, for instructing them in its policy lines concerning judicial decisions. And the times were then--and continue to be today--difficult for our jurisdiction apparatus.

I believe that our penal policy constitutes the main trouble spot here. Our system of jurisdiction is coming under crossfire. There are those who oppose repressions and who shout loudly: "What is the purpose of escalating the

stringency?" Others, on the contrary, say: "These can hardly be called repressions!" Of course a minister's viewpoint need not be identical with that of a judge, for the minister, as a member of the government, is obliged to appraise the situation from the viewpoint of the state authorities.

Atlas: Is the work of our law courts not hampered by the ever growing number of new legislative acts?

Domeracki: The new legislative acts are the consequence of the overall situation in which our state finds itself, that is, the profound economic crisis, the loosening of the ties between society and the authorities in power, and the slackening of social discipline. The law must help reorganize the disordered system of the life of our society. In these unusual circumstances the law, should, in my opinion, become more stringent. We ought to tighten the sanctions in those cases which are exceptionally threatening to social calm and order. I am thinking about instances of banditry, embezzlement, economic rackets, speculation, and bribery: all our current plagues. This obvious threat to the normal functioning of a state must be viewed by the court in the light of the dialectical interconnection of all phenomena. We cannot afford to fall into routine, stereotyped thinking.

Atlas: A great number of acts have been prepared to counteract those phenomena of social pathology.

Domeracki: Let us get one thing clear straight away: The fact that the whole of society, not the jurisdiction apparatus alone, is the addressee of these new "pathology" acts. Society should participate, through action conducted in organized forms, in realizing the goals which are to be served by those acts. The jurisdiction apparatus does indeed have its share in creating the acts, but its share in their further "life" is limited, manifesting itself in the obligation to refer alcoholics for treatment or, if necessary, to legally incapacitate them, and also in the duty to apply penal sanctions in instances where the law has been broken.

Our jurisdiction does not, on the other hand, function on a broad [social] scale. The law does not take an interest in an alcoholic because he drinks in excess; it will only do so if he refuses treatment, becomes a delinquent, or maltreats his family. Thus the law concentrates its attention on the criminogenic factor accompanying alcoholism. It concerns itself with the latter on a marginal scale only, and this is as it should be.

For even the most perfectly organized jurisdiction system cannot eliminate such plagues as alcoholism or drug addiction. The role it plays in this matter can be compared to the job of the surgeon who only enters the scene when it is necessary to make a sharp cut. But this disease progresses through many transitional stages. First and foremost, the patient must be treated by the "social" method.

Atlas: What about the act on social parasites?

Domeracki: That act was a compromise, a "composite" solution which took into account suggestions submitted by both the opponents and the supporters of that type of legal regulation. The act does not afford the possibility of implementing all the suggestions put forward by its supporters. And the result is none too happy: we have the legal act but at the same time the phenomenon of social parasitism continues to exist. The proposed radical solutions are not being realized. But can they be realized? It is still too early to form an unequivocal answer to a question so formulated.

Atlas: It must be quite similar with the implementation of the antispeculation act?

Domeracki: The jurisdiction system is not capable of eliminating speculation but it can and it must--through the application of repressive measures--check the spread of this phenomenon wherever the act allows for such a possibility. Nevertheless I do find--this is still in my capacity as a president of a court of law--that the courts sometimes pronounce sentences which are unjustifiably liberal. What I mean to say is that not every legally correct decision is socially desirable. The courts ought to aim at finding the "golden mean" between the two extremes of a lenient and a too stringent degree of penalty. If they impose lenient sentences then the offices of public prosecutors ought to appeal against them, and generally speaking, the control apparatus of the jurisdiction system ought to activate its own power to act. But I find that in cases involving speculation offenses it is extremely rare to come across applications for extraordinary reviews. Thus the jurisdiction department fails to make full use of its weapons--modest as they are--and, consequently, it does not put forward any models of an adequate penal policy.

Atlas: Is that the best method for improving the jurisdiction system?

Domeracki: There is still another method, and that does not involve court cases: perfecting the judges' professional standards. A judge needs to acquire the skill of interpreting the act, by which I mean making a decision that is both legally correct and socially desirable.

But I have my doubts whether it is necessarily the best law graduates who find their way into the jurisdiction apparatus after leaving their university faculties. Besides, a judge ought to have enough practical experience of life in addition to his store of professional knowledge: as Montesquieu used to say, "Judges should be men of perfection, but they should not be too perfect to be strangers to human frailties." But in our case, one-third of all court decisions are made by assessors, that is, as it were, trainee judges, who are between 23 and 25 years old.

Atlas: What does the future hold, then for our jurisdiction system?

Domeracki: I think that we ought to do the maximum that our subjective capabilities allow us to do. But there also exist impassable, objective barriers. We as the Department of Justice ought in any case to bring the jurisdiction system closer to the expectations of the social demand. The system

of adjudication should be handled so that it ceases to be a continuation of old accustomed methods. So that court sentences are not passed as a result of mere routine work done by the judges. The latter must have an up-to-date view of the world that surrounds them, and take into account the changing realities of our life. Consequently, they must think not only in legal terms but also and, above all, in social ones.

My first decision as a minister was to invite the central headquarters PZPR primary party organization executive to prepare a report on the state of the Department of Justice--this was to find out how the party organization within the department sees the department itself. The report will be ready by mid-January. Then a nationwide judges' debate on the report will commence. And still later we will consider, in a joint conference, how to raise the prestige of the judge through the day-to-day work of the apparatus of jurisdiction. If this prestige is successfully raised it may even attract new, young, highly qualified cadres to come and work in the jurisdiction apparatus.

CSO: 2600/590

PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Assessment of Complicated Problems

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 29 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Maria Kedzierska]

[Text] Political reflection, the evaluation of events within its own organization, made up a significant feature of the party's reports-elections conference in the Cellulose Paper Plants in Wloclawek. The 109 delegates, representing 562 members and candidates, embraced in their consideration a period characterized, after all, by uniqueness: from 28 May 1981--when the former conference had its session--to 25 November 1983.

No Veil Drawn

At this conference no veil was drawn over the most dramatic period of the appraised term--namely, its first half year. That half year--it turns out--did not comprise a monolith here in the Cellulose Plants. In the report of the retiring plant committee [KZ] the half year was already represented as being divided into three periods of unequal length.

The beginning of the term, approximately until December--so it was estimated at the conference--was characterized by incessant tension created in the plant by the extremism of Solidarity, by attacks of extremists on the party's actions and also by serious frictions of attitudes and opinions within the organization. All this, and likewise the development of events within the country, weakened the basic party organization [POP] itself as well as its position in the plant. The organization was also attacked externally, because it did not accede to comrades of lower structures. Between 30 and 90 party members returned their identity cards. At the same time, an activist group ready for radical battle with that dangerous development of events gradually assembled within the KZ.

However, two events important for this organization took place. The newly elected first secretary of the KZ decided to retire. The onus of duties, as well as the main blow of the wave of Solidarity's attacks, fell upon the second secretary--a young person selected for this function for the first time who is treated it very seriously. He did not withstand--as is appraised in

the report--"the tensions created by the extremism of Solidarity in both the country and in the plant" and succumbed to a grave, longlasting illness. Simultaneously, three members of the KZ handed in their party identity cards.

In this situation a decision arose on the convocation, on 17 December 1981, of an unusual conference of delegates for the purpose of discussing these facts and of choosing new secretaries. December 13 changed the course of events. The conference did not take place, but the executive board undertook the decision on staffing the positions of the KZ secretaries, entrusting, among other actions, the office of first secretary to Bogdan Borowy. He will discharge it until the day of this year's November conference.

The pronouncement of the decision

The first secretary is discharging his function in a new situation, in the facts of new problems and tasks. A great deal of attention was devoted to these tasks at the conference. I will say a few words about them later. Here I am obliged to say that the conference expressed no satisfaction with the means and style of accomplishing these tasks. Among the things which the executive board of the KZ was directly reproached for in speeches were a lack of decisiveness and consistency, overly weak contacts with the departmental party organizations [OOP's], the decision about the rare presence of the first secretary in the production halls and at the workshops, insufficient commitment to the activation of all the departmental party organizations. The fact is that this criticism had a wide basis (during lobby discussions some members of the plant committee also voiced it) and it found eloquent general expression. The former first secretary was elected neither to the plant committee nor to the PZPR provincial conference delegation.

The further elections decisions are worthy of attention. Delegates are submitting for the new KZ only a very small number of candidates from among the members of the KZ elected at the conference on 28 May 1981. Instead, a great many people pushed aside at that conference are being included on the election list for the committee and likewise the audit commission and the party control commission, and they are gaining acceptance in the elections. But the function of the first secretary has been entrusted--in a secret ballot, decided by the majority, since there were over 90 votes--to Comrade Jan Rogowski. He is a former secretary of the plant committee, and was appraised negatively at that conference in May 1981.

And so the evaluation of the past term ran the entire gamut of judgments, expressed directly and indirectly. Among those judgments was heard also the voice of the first secretary of the provincial committee of the PZPR, Comrade Krystian Luczak. He addressed to the Cellulose Plants party organization words of regard for the attitude which had prevailed in its ranks during the days of difficult battle in defense of the conquest and principles of socialism, in defense of the Marxist-Leninist character of the party. It was then an organization--the first secretary said--on which the party's provincial echelon could always depend.

Comrade Luczak also directed the attention of those assembled to the difficulties of party work immediately after the December turning point and in later months. In this context, he addressed words of party thanks to the retiring executive board of the KZ and to its first secretary, Comrade Bogdan Borowy.

#### Concreteness for Today

One of the delegates criticized the accounts report for the overly low degree of analysis to which--according to him--it had subjected the implementation of today's crucial tasks. During discussions lasting a full 12 hours, the delegates devoted considerable attention to these matters as well, later punctuating them in a very concretely formulated resolution.

A part of these matters arose indirectly from the criticism, already mentioned above, of the work of the executive board and of the first secretary of the retiring KZ. Other problems, no longer in the direct context of appraisals reckoning with the complicated past, also came into this.

And so among the internal party tasks, the delegates especially accented the authentic activation of each of the 20 departmental party organizations (activity in this forum, they emphasized, decides the party's actual strength in the plant), a full and universal restoration of conscious party discipline, a wider participation in meetings of the OOP's, along with a well-prepared ideological theme, a winning over into the party ranks of non-members, many of whom, after all, have presented suitable and thoughtful views in their response to the attacks and insinuations of the counterrevolution of 1981 (several speakers aimed at precisely such a formulation). At this discussion the thought also surfaced that presently relations with the union movement and with the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] are a form of self-determination by the individual members of the party. There ought to be--it was said--members of the PZPR in both the union and in the PRON, in order to represent party attitudes and the party line. The figures presented bear witness that in the Cellulose Plants party organization these matters have not yet been made conscious in the necessary way. Critical accents directed at the party organization also characterized the statements presenting the problems of the ZSMP plant organization, which is gathering strength for renewed activity.

The scope of the aforementioned responsibilities was strongly outlined by the first secretary of the provincial committee, Comrade Krystian Luczak, who at the same time accented the fundamental importance of organizing party work to enable all party members to participate in the consistent implementation of the party's programs and resolutions. "For ideology without backing in its activation turns--as the very experience of our nation has demonstrated--against its proclaimers. Hence the importance of a consistent implementation of the resolutions of the 14th Plenum. An emergence from the crisis is, today, the fundamental path of the party," said Comrade Luczak. "We need to win over the masses in favor of the difficult tasks appearing on that path."



Much was also said at the conference about those tasks. Speakers about them included delegates, two plant directors (one spoke at length and with unusual complexity) and department representatives as well. This involved numerous concrete facts which unfortunately delineate a bad situation. The Cellulose Plants are not implementing plans fully. Reasons for this incompleteness vary--from a setback (among other places, in the results of economic reform) in the frankly indispensable processes of modernization of machinery to important personnel shortages.

The delegates also presented a whole series of observations and proposals on the subject of social problems among the staff. They evaluated negatively, among other things, the state of the plant's recreational base, they spoke of the (material) difficulties which are dissolving the plant's sports activities group, they suggested giving a free meal in the canteen to the people staying at work for overtime; the very fact of an increase in the sphere of overtime work was criticized, and urgent needs for resident personnel were expressed.

The party conference in the Cellulose Plants refined the tradition, already of many years' standing, of self-expression at this forum, about the important affairs of the town. And this time a whole parcel of problems was submitted to the Wloclawek governor, present at the conference, and also to the mayor of Wloclawek.

Among these problems were: a lack of water, which plagues, among others, the inhabitants of the Kamlarek housing complex; excessive littering of streets and the settlements' deficiencies in the organization's trade work; the careless solution of problems related to the assignment of lands for single-family and plant architecture. All the matters given consideration were the subject of the speech by Wloclawek Governor Tadeusz Gebicki.

Native to the newer tradition--established by the events of the last years--were the critical appraisals of certain moves by the central authorities. In this context resurfaced the matter of surprise at the introduction of identity cards for the masses. There was also talk about the social repercussions of merely proposing a rise in prices.

#### Return of an Expression

At this conference there was a return of a term toward which the party's plant organization has been aiming over the years, taking pride in the tradition of revolutionary battle from the period of the Communist Party of Poland [KPP] and the Polish Workers' Party [PPR]. "Red Cellulose," "The Party Organization of Red Cellulose"--these names were used more than once in attesting to the significance and importance of duty and to ideological identity.

I recall this as well because in the beginnings of that appraised term, the use of the term "Red Cellulose" by the young second secretary at an interview for the Polish Radio became a cause, among others, of those furious attacks for which he has paid with a severe illness.

How complicated a time the conference reflected!

## Reports-Elections Campaign on Obligations

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 29 Nov 83 pp 1,2

[Article: "The Duties of Leadership"]

[Text] A total of 51 of the 53 chosen delegates represented the Wloclawek teachers' community at the reports-elections conference of the Oswiata plant committee. The secretary of the provincial committee [KW] of the PZPR, Comrade Stefan Skrzynecki, among others, participated in the party group of teachers. The talks were characterized by an atmosphere of unusual concreteness and responsibility. This was evident from the fact that a week ago the Wloclawek pedagogues met with representatives of their department and of the central party authorities for discussion of basic material-welfare questions of the community.

During the reports-elections conference of the PZPR, then, there was, above all, talk about internal-organization matters, about ideological and educational problems. Special attention was directed at better means than have existed until now of including teachers who are party members in the implementation of the principles of socialist education. The heretofore differentiated social situation in the country requires concrete and above all consistent party work from basic party organizations in schools. Youth organizations must also be included in this work, since until now they have been partners in ideological influence only in small measure. One of the few postulates concerned with existing problems was the support of the proposal about the formation of a specialized health clinic for teachers. The office of first secretary of the Oswiata KZ was again entrusted to Comrade Tadeusz Gluszkowski.

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The gmina organization of the PZPR in Zlotniki Kujawski, one of the largest in the Bydgoszcz Province--numbering 665 members--has already accomplished the summing up of its assets and the fixing of its new tasks. Participants in the discussions at this conference included the secretary of the KW, Comrade Leonard Maciejewski, and a former army officer of this region, Comrade Lieutenant-Colonel Marian Rudzinski.

What characterizes the gmina's party organization is steady, systematic and stabilized work--d spite the changes in the general political climate of the finished term. With this, it is necessary, among other things, to keep an eye on the numbers of party members and on the significant inflow of new comrades into the party (during the term, 24 candidates were accepted). Much room was likewise devoted to intraparty matters, in the accounts report as well as in the discussion. It was emphasized that one fundamental party task rests on the party members: leadership in their community. A widely developed system of party education has been of use for ideological leadership (including the evening universities of Marxism-Leninism)--in the opinion of the discussants, it is necessary, in the future, to enrich this system with new forms and

topics. In this context, there was likewise reference to the efficiency of party activity in the rural community. Despite the fact that the gmina is regarded as a significant producer of agricultural articles, there were indications, in the discussion, of a great many reservations about increasing farm production. That is why the problem of improving lands and of developing a system of bigger water supplies resurfaced once more in the discussion.

The conference once again entrusted the office of first secretary of the gmina committee [KG] to Comrade Krystyna Gawron.

Chosen as delegates for the provincial conference were: Krystyna Gawron, Marian Gawronski and Zenon Gutkowski.

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The leading reason for discussion at the city gmina reports-elections conference in Strzelnia was the party members' aim to assuage tensions predominant, from a certain period, among the town's inhabitants. Without making allowances, speakers referred to cases of improper ideological attitudes on the part of certain party members, talked about the need for observing clear criteria of cadre policy, critically appraised the methods of directing the city-gmina organization in the past term. Alongside these matters, there were also numerous speeches concerned with agricultural problems: with the joint efficacy of the policies of the PZPR and the United Peasant Party [ZSL] in the face of agriculture; the possibility for state enterprises to gain benefits from the private farms with no heirs; the unprofitable phenomenon of frequent changes in the remunerativeness of producing particular agricultural articles. It was stressed, moreover, that the manufacturing industry ought to be based mainly on local natural resources, a move which will eliminate the excessive transportation of a large part of the agricultural produce.

Participants in the conference in Strzelnia included, among others, the Bydgoszcz vice governor, Edward Molik.

As a result of the elections, Comrade Roman Swidowski took the office of first secretary of the city-gmina committee [KMG].

The comrades receiving delegates' mandates for the provincial conference were: Zygmunt Czubachowski, Szczepan Domanski, Zdzislaw Dubicki, Ryszard Panfil, Kazimierz Szmanda, Alfons Wentland.

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In the Nakielski region the reports-elections campaign of the PZPR is coming to a close. The party organization, numbering 2,200 members--divided into 66 basic party organizations, and within that, 16 village and 4 community ones--is one of the larger organizations of Bydgoszcz Province. The choice of 28 new secretaries has been accomplished. A great many problems were raised in the discussion during the reports-elections meetings. There was

talk about increasing party discipline, mainly about better attendance at meetings. Problems of architecture and of investment in basic grocery products and sweets plague the community. For instance, the basic party organization in Potulici is demanding an improvement in investment by the village cooperative store, mainly in milk, dairy produce and hard cheeses.

There was a growingly keen attempt to relate to the fact of the weak interest of youth in party and social work in the plants and in the village. A great deal of room in the meetings was devoted to changes, proposed by the government and subject to discussion, the prices of grocery products. It was emphasized that a better quality of product should accompany raised prices. As before, there is a significant disproportion in the incomes of the middlemen. The fact that there are many cases where people with a higher education quit jobs at a plant is shocking. Society provides instruction, bestows material help upon students, and that is why it is not reconciled to the fact that their knowledge and abilities are wasted and do not yield the expected results in the national economy.

All the meetings were accompanied by real discussion, taking place in a peaceful atmosphere marked by a deep understanding of party goals and tasks. Attendance at the meetings amounted on an average to 75 per cent.

#### Campaign Attainments More Than Anticipated

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 29 Nov 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Elzbieta Burzynska-Miszczak: "Dywity--We Have Attained More Than We Anticipated"]

[Text] The words contained in the title, spoken at the beginning of the reports-elections conference by Pawel Nazarczuk, first secretary of the gmina committee of the PZPR, sounded like a challenge. Was this intended to be an easy optimism, or was it also the truth?

Successive declarations, the presented facts and figures, corroborated the fairness of this self-evaluation.

In the course of the past 2 years much has been done in the gmina: The gmina cooperative [GS] of Dywity handed over the business annexes for use; the new village clubs and halls of "Ruch" were renovated and mobilized; shops with goods necessary for agricultural production were remodeled and equipped in Tulawki, Dabrowka Wielka, Gradki; a new commercial base was opened in Tulawki; the health center in Dywity was turned over for use; work is being continued on the building of an intercepting sewer in Slupa-Kiezlina. Complying with the request of the KG of the PZPR, the District State Forestry Board lowered the price of wood from windfallen trees, a move from which the inhabitants of the gmina benefitted. One can multiply examples of this type of undertaking. Members of the party put a great deal of effort and work into the realization of each of the aforementioned cases. Repeatedly, initiative came precisely from them, or else

the realization of the improvement was successful thanks to their exertions and pertinacity.

This was possible, among other reasons, because the gmina committee attached great weight to contacts with members of the basic party organizations and of the economic activist group. The most important problems of the village were always discussed jointly with the gmina committee of the ZSL as well as with councilors. There were frequent meetings with representatives of the PRON, the ZSMP, the Rural Youth Union [ZMW], the Polish Scouts Union [ZHP], with workers' self-government, trade unions and private farmers. The opinions and proposals announced by the representatives of these organizations were never indifferently bypassed.

At the beginning of the term the organizations comprised 395 members and candidates, and towards the end--367. At the same time, within the ranks of the party 24 comrades were recommended--at most, since 10 were from Dabrowka Wielka. Two and one-half years ago, 18 POP's functioned in the village region. One organization was dissolved--by the Agricultural Producer Cooperative [RSP] of Tulawki, with regard to the movement of party members who worked here, to other institutions. On the other hand, two were started--in Dabrowka Wielka as well as in the Basic School in Tulawki. Party organizations are active in all the Solecki villages and in almost all work places. Dues were paid 100 per cent. Yet the audit commission suspected certain inequities in the work of the party organizations. The 30 verifications which were carried out demonstrated that a significant majority of the POP's are working well. It happens, however, that they organize meetings too infrequently, that plans of work are not made up systematically, and that principles of individual assignment of tasks are not enforced.

The organization devoted a great deal of attention to ideological-educational work among the young. The implementation of the program of work with young farmers is progressing with difficulty. Here the ZSMP ought to play a key role, but meanwhile, out of the nine circles existing in the village, barely four show any signs of activity. But the circles of the ZMW are functioning with significantly greater energy. In the past term, as many as three new circles of this association have arisen. Scout and cub groups merit special concern: 450 children in the gmina belong to the ZHP.

The report by the executive board of the KG of the PZPR in Dywity demonstrates that the gmina is effectively getting accustomed to principles of economic reform. In the region their functioning presently has no foundation which could bring about loss. An improvement has also come about in agricultural remunerativeness; community herds are gradually being built up. In 1981-82 interest in land increased; also the number of agricultural properties assigned for annuities and pensions decreased. The purchasing of milk, potatoes, grains and cattle is proceeding favorably. This last fact arouses uneasiness, however, since the farmers are selling mainly cows and sows.

Life in the gmina of Dywity does not entail only joys, however. At the time of discussion, the farmers spoke of a lack of water in several villages. It is sometimes necessary to convey water from considerable distances, something which consumes a great deal of time and energy, and is simply troublesome in daily living. It was also said that the farmers do not have enough pitchforks and rubber-tired carts for earning their livelihood. The inhabitants of the villages also need linen, cloths, bedding and everyday clothing. Plants, places of work import some of these items, but who will give them to the private farmer? When one comes to shop in Dywity, a long line is already standing in front of a store and those arriving have a minimal chance of buying attractive goods. Moreover, there have been repeated complaints against the bureaucracy for unnecessarily making life difficult. Thus, for example, the farmers from the village of Dabrowka ordered 600 chicks for April of next year. Now they have already received a letter that says the chicks will not be supplied because there is no access to the village. But, after all, every day a special car takes milk from Dabrowka. Such a situation results from convenience and should be eliminated. This is also the result, as Andrzej Ciazynski stated, of our not knowing how to organize. We have to learn to respect time.

The statement of Bernard Ingielewicz--director of the Zaptor TOR Equipment and Services Enterprise in Slupy--who spoke, among other things, of economic reform, is equally deserving of attention. One cannot treat reform as a single action dependent on the publication of an avalanche of proper documents. Reform is a long-lasting process, a toilsome job, depending, above all, on a change in the mentality of the workers, beginning with the director and ending with the common laborer. Reform should above all rest upon the functioning of economic mechanisms and upon the personal commitment of all workers.

Henryk Sikorski spoke about the party's role in society. He stated that the renewal of understanding, as also the party's recovery of trust, should originate "at the bottom," should result from the activity of individual party members. They must win trust precisely with their position and with what they do. The party's activity should be directed towards the people's affairs, often very simple and very enervating affairs which with a slight effort can be solved at the lowest stage but which unresolved grow to be great problems. They ought not to wander upwards somewhere, up to a continually higher rung, but--if possible--ought to be taken care of on the spot, where they originate. The speaker said that a clear and honest attitude should accompany us in our everyday functioning.

The conference ended in the late evening. Pawel Mazarczuk was chosen again by a majority of votes as first secretary.

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Participants in the discussions of the city-gmina reports-elections conference of the PZPR in Gorowia Ilaweki were 111 delegates, representing 811 party members, as well as representatives of the authorities, among them Zbigniew Kazimierz Huss--a member of the KW of the PZPR in Olsztyn--and the vice

governor of Olsztyn Province, Henryk Baranowski. Lasting over 10 hours, the conference was opened with the delivery identity cards to the candidate-comrades who represented a 14-person group of individuals recently accepted into the ranks of the PZPR in this region.

First secretary of the KMG Tadeusz Klusek presented the accounts report. Czeslaw Ogonowski and Barbara Prokopiuk respectively introduced the report of the audit commission and the party control commission.

The comrades who spoke in the lively discussion were: H. Palczynska, J. Grzelak, A. Lewandowski, L. Wacowski, T. Czernik, W. Kaczmarek, B. Pezyk, B. Prokopiuk, J. Filipiak, J. Mozdzynski, S. Narejko, and others. An ample collection of problems concerning the party, socioeconomic life, matters of national and provincial scope, as well as matters of a local nature, was brought up. The dominant problems were those of agriculture and market supply, housing problems--with that the matter of the scarcity of housing for teachers--, problems with the functioning of instruction, health services, regional administration, bus transportation, equipment for agriculture in centers of production, problems with the prices of goods and services. A serious place in the discussions fell to elucidation of the social initiatives of the inhabitants of the town and the gmina. It suffices here to say that the development of a basic school in Kaminsk and the building of a kindergarten in Gorowia Ilawecki were undertaken. A number of investigative needs were announced in the sphere of roads, instruction and health service.

The problems of the Kandyta State Farm occupied a special place in the discussions. This, as is well known, is one of the province's few deficient agricultural enterprises. The representative of the state farm, which profits from high subsidies in coverage of losses, raised a question concerning the ethics of raising food prices. Taking part in these discussions, I reached the conclusion that, unfortunately, most often those demanding low prices are the representatives of those economic units which could not go on functioning without help from the national budget. Consequently, special material help does not suffice to get out of deficit. If it is to be given, help must be secured through a system of enterprises coercing higher economic efficiency. It seems that with serious treatment of the demands of economic reform in the state farm as well, there is a chance of overcoming the present production-economic crisis.

There is no way to present the whole of the discussed problems in a short statement. It found expression in a 12-page resolution, constituting a program of activity for the KMG of the PZPR for 1983-1986. The vice governor of the province, Henryk Baranowski, took a stand on 13 to 19 detailed matters, saying, among other things, that given the very narrow conditions of centers in comparison with their present needs, communities with initiative will get priority. In other words, the communities to get first priority in counting on support from the provincial level are those which not only announce their needs but also exert effort in the matter of meeting such needs.

A secret ballot resulted in the following elections: a 27-person PZPR KMG; a 13-person city-gmina party control commission and a 13-person city-gmina PZPR audit commission. The delegates chosen for the provincial conference were: Jan Gros, Bogdan Kaminski, Janusz Kloc, Tadeusz Klusek, Stanislaw Ksiazek, Stanislaw Lemiesz, Alfred Neuded. Tadeusz Klusek was chosen again as first secretary of the KMG.

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A reports-elections conference of the party gmina organization took place in Dabrownno with the participation of 57 delegates. The secretary of the KW of the PZPR, Grzegorz Nowicki, took part in the discussions.

Fifteen basic party organizations, comprising 230 members and candidates, function in the village. In the accounts-program report presented by First Secretary Stanislaw Zarczynski, there was a statement of the need for further strengthening of the basic organs of the party, of an extension of numbers.

Dabrownno party members play a significant part in the creation and inspiration of the activity of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. Proportionally, a high percentage of the personnel of work plants--about 60%--belongs to labor unions: a more active participation is necessary in this direction in the Agricultural Circles Cooperative [SKR] and in the health service.

During the term the gmina Committee of the PZPR in Dabrownno held 11 plenary sessions, at which intraparty and socioeconomic matters were raised. The discussion of agricultural affairs jointly with the gmina committee of the ZSL has become a tradition. The head of the gmina, Andrzej Tomaczak, described attainments and intentions in the economic, and above all in the agricultural sphere.

The gmina of Dabrownno is a typical agricultural gmina. It is one of the smallest in the province and has land that is less than the best, a difficult configuration of terrain, and a specific micro-climate. The purchasing of grains and potatoes was carried out over 105 per cent: the purchasing of milk is hovering at last year's level of 110 per cent. The purchasing of pork and beef herds was carried out with surplus: average crops of 4 grains amounted to 26.4 quintals per hectare, which, indeed, is not a revelation, but, for the conditions of the gmina, a good result. The use of manure fertilizer amounted to 146.3 kilograms of NPK per hectare, and high repurchasing is observable, which constitutes a good prognosis for next year. But the investment in lime fertilizer appears significantly worse. In comparison with last year, lime use has decreased to 46.2 per cent. The investment in protein fodder likewise appears fair; in comparison to 1982, sales are 25 per cent higher. A total of 116 hectares of land have been sold in the village. There are still 100 hectares of land left for sale which are allotted for the collectivized sector; these are fully leased and profitted from agriculturally.



Edward Tupaj, commander of the police station, spoke first in the discussion. Speaking of the state of public harmony and order in the village, he said, among other things, that with the cooperation between the community and the Voluntary Reserve of the Civic Militia [ORMO], crime in the village is dropping. Much yet remains to be done in the area of enforcing the anti-alcoholism law and the fire prevention and sanitary rules.

The secretary of the GK of the ZSL, Wladyslaw Widzowski, wished for constructive talks and a successful implementation of the accepted program for the delegates. He pledged far-reaching assistance in the name of the ZSL members.

Tadeusz Waszczyszyn, director of the village health service in Dabrowno, brought up the difficult situation which exists in that service: for more than a year now, there has been no dentist. Now the situation should improve. A building has already been bought for a new health center and, thanks to the strong commitment of the workers, the center will soon be equipped for its new functions. Two applications have been received from dentists interested in taking up work in Dabrowno. Until a dentist becomes employed on a full-time basis, Doctor Gaworowa, a retired dentist from Ostrod, has offered her help. She is treating the inhabitants of the village free of charge, taking no money for her work.

Jan Lozynski, chairman of the gmina cooperative [GS] in Dabrowno, chairman of the gmina council of PRON, spoke about the role and the principles of this organization's activity. The PRON, he said, is a sphere of understanding and patriotic education; it does not supersede any other organization or institution.

In a later part of his speech, Comrade Lozynski concentrated on intraparty and ideological matters. In the past term, the gmina organization in Dabrowno accepted few new candidates; there is a need to undertake an extension of party ranks.

Adolf Skowron, director of the PGR in Grunwald, spoke about the problems of a state farm community. The Grunwald State Farm occupies first place among 28 associated units in the Olsztyn union; its personnel can be proud of the good results in agricultural production: for instance, four grains gave a yield of 29.2 quintals per hectare, last year's profit amounting to 75 million zloty. This year's will surely not be lower.

In spite of these unquestionable accomplishments, some troubles also emerge. Out of the 620 families of employees in Grunwald, each year 30-50 workers retire. The personnel is growing older, while there are not enough houses for the young. This year construction has been initiated on a 10-family building in Samina and three 4-family buildings in the agricultural department in Lewalda. The support of the provincial authorities is necessary for a realization of the inhabitants' investment.

The secretary of the KW of the PZPR, Grzegorz Nowicki, carried out the summing up of the discussion and an appraisal of the work of the gmina echelon. A

10-person committee and a 5-person gmina audit commission were elected in a secret ballot. Stanislaw Zarczynski was again chosen as first secretary. Henryk Rajchel--a farmer from Tulodziad-- and Jan Erchman--a tractor-driver from the Wierzbic State Farm--were chosen as delegates for the provincial conference.

#### Campaign At Various Plants

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 5 Dec 83 pp 1,2

[Text] Summing up the experiences in party work during the period of the last term, delegates at the recently held plant reports-elections conferences of the PZPR repeatedly stressed the familiar principle, already, tested more than once, that the party lives in its departmental organizations, that precisely in these its program arises and is implemented, that precisely in these organizations, because they are closest to the masses of members, one can see most accurately what needs, thoughts and endeavors, difficulties and successes the party members have.

This was likewise the case at the conferences held this past Saturday and Sunday in two of the biggest industrial plants in Prudnik: Frotex and the Shoe Plants. From among 9 OOP's actually numbering 375 members in the Shoe Plants, the chairman of the plant audit commission, Bronislaw Mazur, in the report presented to the conference, particularly singled out OOP No 8 for carrying out its party meetings in accordance with statutes--through good attendance and through the suitable attitudes of its members, for carrying on documented, active functioning consistent with a plan of work. The accounts report of the retiring executive board, delivered by KZ First Secretary Kazimierz Barszczewski, announced a clear increase of activity in the OOP's in the present reports-elections campaign. But it is a question of making the activity of the OOP's a lasting phenomenon. It is possible to obtain such activity through straightforward and honest information, through listening carefully and intently to the problems oppressing party members, and responding quickly to these problems. Consolidation of the party--Tadeusz Kziezarczyk convincingly stated in the discussion--is best realized when we react in a well-disposed way to the people's slight grievances and troubles, since, after all, life is comprised of such everyday troubles. Party discipline, so indispensable in the work of the OOP's, cannot go together only with the payment of fees, only with attendance at meetings. These are, indeed, statutory and therefore important responsibilities, but, after all, party discipline--declared the comrades in the conferences in the Shoes Plants--is, above all, a consistent implementation of one's resolutions, submission to the resolutions of superior authorities, behavior consistent with the statute of the plant committee of the party in the Shoe Plants and rooted in the assumption that the time in which it falls to us to act is exceptionally difficult, that the time has impelled us toward the organization of the largest circle of activity possible. A number of problem-solving commissions and groups have therefore been called together. Party members are taking active part in the workers' council, which, as one of the first councils

in Oposzczyz, did not begin its activity in the Shoe Plants. On the initiative of the KZ, a "team of chiefs" has been called together, drawn from socio-political organizations, to examine matters causing doubt and conflict. Also, simultaneous sessions of the KZ, the management, the workers' council, professional unions and the PRON, as well as other organizations, are taking place.

In spite of the difficult conditions in which Prudnik's Otmet functions (shortages in employment, troubles with materials), the current production goals are being met with a surplus. The director of the plant, Jozef Giersok, informed the delegates about this. One should, however, pay more attention to the quality of the produced shoes. Another participant in the discussion, Jan Lesny, asked whether party members could not be obliged to become, in their workers' posts, controllers of the quality of their forerunners and, above all, to offer a good example, themselves, of high-quality and efficient work. Such tasks likewise follow from the resolutions of the 14th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee.

The delivery of PZPR candidates' identity cards at the conference in the Shoe Plants to Maria Bizon, Tadeusz Jasinski, Jozef Olejnik and Bronislaw Baran can be regarded as a concrete instance of the party's recovery of authority and of trust in the plant.

At the accounts report of the conference in Frotex, Leslaw Jamroz said, "Our party organization sees the path for regaining authority and trust in the plant through direct work with the people, through involvement in their painful and difficult affairs." A great many delegates at this conference devoted their speeches in the discussion to the problems of increasing the party's authority in its own community, of the need for greater activity on the part of party members, of the further restoration of ideological and organizational party unity. At last the time has come--it was said--for entire party organizations, not just their activist groups, to begin functioning, for the weakened intraparty discipline of the OOP's to yield to a distinct improvement. In the plant audit commission's report, the chairman, Antoni Budzin, likewise indicated such a need. For some party members do not take an active part in organizational work. And it is precisely through their individual attitudes that the party members should set an example for their non-party co-workers. Party members cannot count on any rights, just on additional duties, and right now there is a good opportunity for every party member to prove himself through such an attitude. It is the responsibility of party members and organizations to extend ties with non-party people, especially with workers, to win their trust and support. This requires everyday, direct contacts with people at their work posts, as well as the elimination, from life, of everything that violates the principles of general equity.

Appraising positively the whole of the work of the 500-person plant party organization in Frotex, the first secretary of the city-gmina committee [KMIG] stated that in spite of a great many troubles and difficulties--emerging

especially in the first half of the term and associated with the political situation then existing in the country--the organization had managed to maintain its guiding role in the plant and had a considerable influence on the social and economic life of the institution. The production results of the current year in Frotex, in conformity with the report of director B. Pohl, are shaping up favorably. On the other hand, from the assumptions of the plan for 1984, it becomes evident that most of the production, and consequently the sales resulting from it, is determined not by raw materials--of which there should have been no lack last year--but solely by employment, which will be giving way to further decreases.

In a secret ballot the delegates again chose as first secretaries of the party plant committees Leslaw Jamroz in Frotex, Kazimierz Barszczewski in the Shoe Plants. Participants in both conferences included, among others, Zofia Wilczynska, member of the Central Committee; Jozef Stankiewicz, member of the executive board of the KW; Eugeniusz Brudkiewicz, director of the Political-Organizational Department of the KW; and M. Magdziarz, first secretary of the KMiG.

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The party gmina organization of the PZPR in Korfantow numbers 465 members and candidates, that is, 99 fewer than at the beginning of the term, June 1981. This rather significant quantitative drop, however, has had no influence on the strength of the organization. Yesterday's gmina reports-elections conference showed that the party in the village of Korfantow--after numerous troubles at the beginning of the term--has clearly become consolidated in the last months, has acquired faith among its youth, and has started to regain authority in the community through successful activities.

As is evident from the gmina committee's report (presented by the first secretary of the KG, Kazimierz Suchodolski), the authorities in Korfantow did not wring their hands on account of the crisis, but tried to benefit from all possibilities for improvement of the circumstances of life and work of its inhabitants. This fact was repeated many times in discussion (by, among others, Kazimierz Strzelczyk, Stanislaw Maj, Zdzislaw Martyna, Comrade Czechowski), with reminders that only now is the first post-war communal housing block being built (not counting the PGR ones), with 30 apartments. But it will satisfy just the most urgent housing needs; and a great many of these have accumulated over so long a period. Therefore a movement toward the initiation of cooperative architecture was set before the new KG as one of the most important tasks in the resolved program for next term.

Much has also been done for farmers. Several roads have been built or modernized; moreover, the number of machines sold in the village is increasing yearly (for example, tractors: in 1982, 22; in 1983, 31). But even in this respect not all expectations have been met, because--in actuality--they were far greater. The problem of water requires an immediate solution. Certain villages are experiencing a continually increasing lack of water which very much hinders the growth of breeding. And much was said on this topic yesterday (by, among others, Wladyslaw Obrzut, Grzegorz Bladowski and Z. Martyna).

Another of the frequently repeated issues (Comrades Ztrzelczyk and Czechowski in particular spoke of it forcefully) is sanitary care, and especially its insufficiency. Jan Wojcik from the railroads raised the matter of such excessive social rights as have come to certain members of the community in recent years (accelerated pensions, prolonged educational leaves), which now reflect negatively on everyone, as well as on those profiting from such rights, because the production potential of many plants is not fully exploited when there is a lack of workers.

A separate theme in the discussion was directed at the attitudes of party members and of citizens (by, among others, S. Maj, K. Strzelczyk, Jan Bednarek); on the other hand, the problems of ideological and educational work were mentioned; and as was stated in the report of the KG--in spite of the advances in party training in recent weeks--there are still many areas of neglect in this sphere.

But this deficiency could not influence the high appraisal of the conference, and of the activity of the KG up till now, as expressed by the first secretary of the KW of the PZPR, Eugeniusz Mroz, a participant in the discussions. The first secretary said, "Much still remains to be done, but there was even more to be done in the spring of 1981. You are entitled to a well-founded satisfaction which, in fact, ought to be the motivation for further ambitious initiatives and accomplishments. A great many difficult tasks which we must take care of await the party. That is why even greater activity on the part of all party organizations and all members of the PZPR is necessary."

The conference chose a new 27-person gmina committee, of which Kazimierz Suchodolski again became the first secretary--as a result of a secret ballot.

12460

CSO: 2600/429

## MILEWSKI SPEAKS AT GDANSK CONFERENCE

LD221630 Warsaw PAP in English 1419 GMT 22 Jan 84

["Milewski's Speech at Gdansk Conference (Short Version)"--PAP headline; speech by Mirosław Milewski, member of PZPR Central Committee Politburo; not date given]

[Text] Mirosław Milewski considered this term of office of PUWP voivodship authorities in the entire country uncomparable to all past terms over the 35 years of PUWP's existence. No other period was noted by such big threats to the nation's and the socialist state's existence as this one. Also, the forces of counterrevolution have not emerged in such a determined way in any other region of Poland as in the Gdansk Voivodship where they had taken advantage of the workers' protest.

PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski's words to the effect that "the worst is behind us" reaffirm the progress achieved in a number of spheres. This is the first step which should be followed by next ones accompanied by the experience acquired during the struggle against opponents.

Today, one can and should approach openly, without making promises but presenting the party's intentions and using the possibilities of swifter overcoming of difficulties. It is not an easy task, the more so as it is where the defenders of Westerplatte shed blood on the soil that after many years returned to Poland, liberated by the Soviet and Polish armies. The soil where slogans and appeals calling for Poland's weakening and designed for hampering the process of stabilization, for supporting adventurism of the U.S. Administration and ideas of waiting for that which will not return, are repeatedly sounded here.

M. Milewski also touched upon trade unions' issues saying, among other things, that in the Gdansk Voivodship they continue to remain one of the most important matters.

CSO: 2020/65

VATICAN SUMMARIZES BISHOPS' COMMUNIQUE

LD271732 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1515 GMT 27 Jan 84

["Extended excerpts" of communique of 198th plenary session of Polish Episcopate]

[Excerpts] The plenary conference of the Polish Episcopate was held in Warsaw 25-26 January 1984. It was preceded by a session of the General Council. The conference was chaired by its chairman, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, Primate of Poland.

This was the first conference in the current year 1984, concerning which the holy father in his New Year message said that the year 1984 augurs to be everywhere a year full of insecurity and fear but also promises to be a year rich in hopes and possibilities.

The difficult economic situation of our country, the bishops write, is recalled again by the increase in foodstuff prices. This will demand new sacrifices and privations. One must endeavor to show mutual and solidarizing help by sharing with the poor. The situation also demands that a just compensation as regards wages, pensions and old age allowances be implemented.

So far as relations between the church and the state are concerned, the bishops heard reports of the primate of Poland and the secretary of the Episcopate on the state of negotiations on the stabilization of relations between the Apostolic See and the Polish People's Republic. The normalization would serve our country, our society and the church. This, however, demands patient negotiations. The bishops consider that the normalization of relations between the church and the state and between Poland and the Apostolic See should be based on durable legal foundations ensuring the well-being of the church, the Catholic population and the state. The bishops entrust this entire important issue to the prayers of the faithful.

The social tensions persist. Many working people are disappointed; some remain in prisons although they believed that they served a good cause. Many were deprived of their jobs or suffered social degradation. The church will not cease to strive to eliminate the wrongs since this is part of its mission, although the church at the same time teaches the need to preserve the common services of the state.

The bishops express their hope that the just endeavor to get the necessary foreign aid to Polish farmers will bring the expected results.

The bishops note with concern the severity and unrestricted character of censorship interventions, including those operated against texts published in church and other Catholic publications while the publications of immoral and pornographic publications are increasing. This also concerns some televised programs.

The bishops write that the church and national property in many dioceses were recently seriously put to risk and sometimes definitely destroyed by fires in churches and by burglaries and thefts. Moreover, in some of these cases the Most Holy Sacrament was desecrated. In general, the perpetrators have not been found. The bishops call on the faithful to protect their churches watchfully.

CSO: 2600/597



## PROFESSOR PROTESTS INTELLIGENTSIA PAUPERIZATION

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 50, 10 Dec 83 p 11

[Article by Prof Celina Bobinska of Krakow-Jagiellonian University: "The Stimulating Example of the Poor and Conscientious Intellectual"]

[Text] I actually tried to type arguments exposing the absurdity of the point system used for higher education enrollment when a short press notice appeared indicating that the Council on Science and Higher Education passed a resolution about revoking the point system. However, the resolution is an advisory proposition because the final decision rests with the ministry. But I will contribute my 2 cents' worth against the point system.

Higher education is being tormented by several old apparitions. We continuously criticize these apparitions, but they will not disappear. The metaphysical and bureaucratic way of thinking in terms of points is one of the apparitions. Every spring and fall our press is rocked by a wave of desperate discussions, namely that the enrollment of worker and peasant youth for in high schools has again fallen short of our expectations, or that our presently used point system that favors these youth failed again. Once more the debaters and bureaucrats reach for their paper, pencils and calculators, and with sweated brows think about even better points. Very often an atmosphere of mistrust arises among the recruiting commissions of the higher schools. They ponder: Are the crass pedagogues sufficiently discerning, sympathetic and fair toward this group of candidates?

For some time now, and justifiably so, the worry has shifted one level lower. After all, where will the candidates for studies be obtained if worker and peasant youth are not attending college preparatory schools? But, has not the invention of points and the creation of preparatory courses (another very old apparition) severed the whole system from its social justifications? After all, it is social reality and not point combinations that propels or hampers youth toward higher studies.

Permit me an historical excursion. It is full of paradoxes. For example, for almost 100 years (from the mid-19th century to 1939), or during "aristocratic and bourgeois" times, the flow of young peasants and children of workers to UJ

[Krakow-Jagiellonian University] increased systematically such that prior to 1914 they represented the highest percentage of such students in all of Poland's higher schools, especially those of peasant background, who represented 16 percent of the total (21 percent of the total were of either peasant or worker backgrounds).

An even more interesting thing happened in independent Poland: in Krakow and its university--known as a center of old and new conservatism--30 percent of the student body were plebeians during the second half of the 1930's, placing Krakow at the top of the Polish universities. What was the reason for this? Can it be that it was because of UJ's facilities at that time or that the former Galicia--a region of Galician poverty and mining indigence--distinguished itself with intellectual culture stimulating youth toward knowledge? Or perhaps the wealthy, literate peasantry of old Galicia cared about the careers of their offsprings? This supposition is certainly erroneous. At that time 74 percent of UJ's peasant students came from that proverbial Galician poverty, that is, from farms occupying 1 to 5 hectares. Thus it was from the poor rural areas where there was not enough to eat, where there were no prospects or hope, where one looked for bread or work wherever it could be found, where parents dreamed of careers for their sons as priests or teachers, who would have prestige and who would be addressed as "if you please, Father" or as "Mister Professor." It was the apex of peasant dreams for success in life.

But the studies of young workers and peasants required tenacity and self-denial. Tuition alone amounted to several hundred zlotys (today that amounts to about 15,000 zlotys). Although philanthropic funds and rector grants were available, stipends were not. The student had to work to earn money for tuition, living expenses and books.

Then People's Poland came into being. For 40 years now the worker-peasant student group has been obtaining the largest stipends as well as free or low-cost tuition and food. And a new paradox arose: in 40 years of People's Poland, that high 30 percent pre-war index was achieved only during some periods and in individual years. In the initial years after the war, with the number of applications in absolute numbers multiplied several times over, the trend of worker-peasant youth enrollment headed lower. The first wave of increases occurred only during the 1949-1954 period when both these groups together represented 50-60 percent (including 30 percent worker students) of the total number of students, which did not deviate from the national average.

Then we had to wait a couple of years for aspirations for higher studies to be reignited among youth from that class that long ago was called "lower." The boom continued through the first decade of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] up to the 1954-1955 period. The number of first-year students that were accepted from both groups oscillated at about 50 percent and often exceeded it.

If before the war the impetus to break class barriers and class discrimination drove worker and peasant youth toward higher studies to escape poverty and into the ranks of the intelligentsia, then after the war the expanded aspirations were part of the historical advance of the worker and peasant classes. To a great degree these impulses were romantic. However, these ambitions encompassed

not only the obvious impetus for knowledge but also the desire to achieve the title of "Master" or "Mr Engineer." Thus it also was an impetus to achieve the status of an intellectual.

The cited upward trend collapsed in the second half of the 1950's. In the years that followed, the percentage of students from worker-peasant backgrounds fell at times to about 10-11 percent, both for the worker and peasant groups.

The instability of this trend, at times alarming and at times optimistic, continues; for example, this year the percentage of these youth accepted for first year studies at UJ amounted to 42 percent. At the same time we have arrived at a shameful situation in that a young person feels ashamed when he must admit that he has "points." After all, with the passage of the years the point privileges are being characterized not as a parody but as a farce because the children of our worker-peasant students of 30-35 years ago, who as intellectuals do not have the right to obtain points, are in this manner punished because their parents in the decade following the war did their utmost in the difficult competition for a diploma.

And how do the social impulses, which in fact stimulate or hamper aspirations for higher studies, look today, and what did they look like yesterday? I dare say that economic realities are anti-impulses for worker-peasant youth.

#### The Pauperized Intellectual

We live in a time of sobriety and common sense. At one time a university professor was considered by public opinion to be the most prestigious of all professions. Today, a university professor is at the bottom of the list. Today the prestige of a profession is associated inseparably with the living standard it provides. Therefore, prestige and respect are awarded to those professions that pay well. One of the effects of the ongoing national crisis is that the working class, perhaps as never before, is aware that it is the dominant force in society, deciding the life of the nation. This fact should satisfy the entire modern Polish left. The high wages of the working class are not merely an economic necessity. After all, the ruling class cannot be a class of beggars.

And what is the other side of this coin from the point of view of matters that interest us? Will the worker or peasant in modern Poland advise his child to pursue higher education? After all, the worker and peasant do not lack common sense. It is known that miners and mill workers make high wages, but it is heavy, dangerous work and harmful to health. But what is it like in the other worker trades? We hear on the TV that a young lathe operator or a metal worker, in replying to how much he earns, replies: "I work well, thus I earn 20,000 zlotys (...) everyone who works well earns as much."

Of course, I agree that to a certain extent the relatively low earnings of intellectuals are the result of the spontaneous process of the autonomous wage policies of the enterprises. However, a question arises: Should not the state intervene at some time in this spontaneous process? Thus, Minister J. Urban, during the "Kuznica" discussion a short time ago, was asked: Does the government believe that people in professions requiring higher education should earn

less than the national average? He answered: "That policy is economically correct even though, undoubtedly, wages in the typically intellectual professions have depreciated." This results from "the conscious policy of linking wage increases with increases in labor productivity and with producing a concrete product." Thus, increasing the wages of the non-production professions would be inflating the money supply. "For example, an academic would receive a wage increase, but his new money would not be covered by goods."

In fact, it is not true that academics and artists do not create material value and products for the market. For example, they create books that are marketed and produce income for the state. Let us add that when a book is produced by a university or the Academy of Sciences which is published in English or French and manages to reach Western markets--despite the incompetence of the responsible export institutions--it produces dollars for the state and not for the author or the university. So much so that considering the incompetence and bureaucratic antipathy of the Polish institutions appointed to do this, it is like the 13 labors of Hercules, almost impossible to complete.

Hungary can serve as a model. The Hungarians export many beautifully published academic books in world languages for the world market. It is worth asking how much they earn from this (to say nothing of the prestige). And what about inventions? Of course, those that do not disappear along the way in the depths of government offices serve not only the country but export as well, as long as Poland sells them. And what about an architect--does he not help to create material goods? Examples of this type are manifold.

Lately we also are hearing that we are living off the labor of the workers and peasants. But this is not what the workers think. It is not true that workers have anti-intellectual attitudes. The working class, which is mature and established mainly because it feels that it is the manager of the country, believes that it and the country need the intelligentsia. The proverbial miner and mill worker is exacting and needs a good intelligentsia; he wants his child to have good textbooks and to be taught by good teachers. When he enters a hospital for an operation, he wants to be sure that the surgeon cutting his stomach will not also be worrying about how he will manage financially till the first of the month. Thus the worker is deeply convinced that good work must be properly rewarded. Finally, when he sends his child to a university, he wants it to have good professors.

In the meantime, what is the reality? We will make use of data issued several months ago. Thus museum experts, document experts, archivists and library workers earn an average of 8,800 zlotys. In all the cited professions, the highest earnings can be achieved by a senior librarian with 20 years' experience: 10,000 to 11,000 zlotys. A senior curator with a degree in museum science, the equivalent of a docent (he must have the titles of doctor and assistant professor and almost 20 years' experience) earns at most 13,000 to 14,000 zlotys, and a degreed archivist earns 11,000 to 12,000 zlotys. From the letters to POLITYKA we learn from an engineer with a master's degree that his average wage is 6,700 zlotys; and from a teacher with all three professional appendages, 8,100 zlotys. To be objective, it should be added that one can earn 10,000 zlotys in a secondary school after many years of experience. And what about those dramatic letters

concerning the upper salary limits of up to 7,200 zlotys for philharmonic musicians?! In terms of wages, the fields of culture and art fell from 10th position in 1980 to 16th place (occupying last place with an average of 8,600 zlotys); science and technology fell from 4th to 9th place with an average of 9,900 zlotys. It is not known what is hiding behind the description "technology"--most certainly the average wage in the field of science itself would be lower.

Here are some data concerning academics and the higher schools. An assistant, who is a distinguished university graduate already teaching students, earns 8,000 zlotys; an experienced assistant with a doctorate earns 9,000 zlotys; a lecturer with a years-of-service premium, about 12,000 zlotys; an experienced assistant professor, 15,000 zlotys; an associate professor with a years-of-service premium, 10,000 zlotys; a full professor, 18,000 zlotys (21,000 to 22,000 zlotys with a years-of-service premium). This is only one-half to one-third the real wages of professors in the CEMA countries.

At one time, one of the professors said that the government believes academics are hobbyists and will work even without pay. However, not everyone believes they are hobbyists. Engineers working in the universities who are making the cited salary of assistants are departing for industry. The most capable assistants in the technical schools are leaving for industry. Even master craftsmen employed to operate university computers receive only 10,000 zlotys, while they could earn 20,000 in industry.

In 1972, the salary of a full professor was 2.8 times higher than the national average; by 1976 it was only 2.2 times, and now it is only 1.4 times the national average. Today the real wages of a docent are equal to the real wages of an assistant at the end of 1972.

We mentioned the 21,000-zloty full professor as the top university earner. Now, thanks to TV, we find ourselves in Warsaw's Old City square talking with a likeable Warsaw organ-grinder. He is the only organ-grinder with a monkey, in the complete "old style"; we like him very much. But who does not like old organ-grinders? And thus we approve of the fact that he is under the "special care of the Ministry of Culture and Art," which also repairs his instrument. The organ-grinder is asked: How much do you earn? "I earn as much as any Pole, from 16,000 to 20,000 zlotys." I do not know if I should laugh or cry because in at this very same Old City square, on the opposite side, my colleagues work at an Academy of Sciences institute where a full professor (with premiums) earns that lower organ-grinder wage, that is 16,000 zlotys; and an associate professor, together with compensations and premiums, earns about 13,000 zlotys. No one at the institute earns the top organ-grinder wage of 20,000 zlotys.

But let us return to our "blockheads," to the situation where the son of a worker after graduation from secondary school asks his father if he should continue with higher studies. The father would be firm in his reply: son, why should you slave for 5 years and ruin your nerves during examinations? So that you can later earn 7,000 to 8,000 zlotys? And even if you make it a career, after 25 years you will earn only 18,000 to 20,000 zlotys. You can take construction courses, go to mining school or mechanics' school and in a year or two you will be earning that same 20,000 and perhaps even more. And what good will those points do you?

For the long term, this situation is disturbing. If the wages of archivists, museum experts, academics, artists, scientists, teachers and so forth who are higher school graduates are only equal to that of the lowest retiree and are no more than one-half or two-thirds of the national average, then the drastic statement concerning the ongoing process of pauperization of the intelligentsia emerges. This means that the enumerated fields of Polish culture, education and artistry will not look too good.

As I mentioned, in academia only the earnings of higher school professors exceed the national average, and not by much. If this continues, then the level of our education will fall inexorably head over heels because the mechanism of negative selectivity will operate at all levels (after all, it already is so). Not only will that class of students that are considered to be most valuable from the point of view of our state not enter the higher schools but, in general, those that are simply capable, intelligent, ambitious and energetic also will not come. They will enter the trades where they will be able to qualify more quickly, guaranteeing--in accordance with criteria that are now so prevalent--a more satisfactory life. Then, after studies are completed, a capable humanities graduate seeks work in Orbis, in the militia, in export, but not in academia. An even more severe negative selection process operates in post-technical studies. After all, there are still the professions of directors and secretaries. The former earn more than professors, and the latter more than assistant professors.

One can doubt that our state has finally decided to admit that culture and education are unrenumerative, but money must be allocated for them in good as well as bad times, in prosperous and in poor times because they are areas in which the "nation breathes" which we simply cannot do without.

#### My Chance Voice in Consultations

An avalanche of demagogic egalitarian slogans have inundated the nation over the past 3 years. The call is for "everyone to be equal!" Something of this infectious epidemic remained in the government's wage and allowance activities and permeated many structures and centers. It is true that we say that the principle of pay according to work accomplished is obligatory. But the compensation system demolished this principle. A senior assistant with two children receives more than an assistant professor, an independent scientist. Unfortunately, the wise words that "it is easier to earn more by having a child than by obtaining an assistant professorship" contains an absurd truth, absurd because a child is not a substitute for a promotion or an assistant professorship.

In casting about to make both ends meet, must Poland continue to be the most protective state in Europe, even while it is too expensive even for Sweden? Once again, in association with the relatively small price increases, the plan calls for the payment of very high supports (not compensations, as if the name changes the essence of the subject). Thus, those families that have a per capita income of 2,000 to 2,500 zlotys will receive support payments of several thousand zlotys (along with existing support payments) as well as those families where the per capita is 5,000 and more zlotys! This is a move that will further destroy the principle that compensation should be paid in accordance with professional competence and output. It can become absurd: If a professor has

three children and a wife to support, and thus less than 5,000 zlotys per capita, then he will obtain an allowance just like the "lowest paid worker."

The consultations to date have produced the sad conclusion that our citizens have not shaken the nonsensical conviction that the government is responsible for the social and financial welfare of practically the whole nation. And through its actions the government supports such convictions. In the meantime it should be remembered that one of Marx's greatest achievements is the principle formulated in 1875 in "A Criticism of the Gotajski Program," which states that in our type of society the "bourgeois principle of division of income must prevail." In a society with a socialistic structure of production "equality depends on this: that a uniform standard, namely work, is used." This principle "silently acknowledges (...) the inequality of individual talents, and thus the unequal ability to work (...) thus it implies inequality in principle, as in every principle." Marx also wrote that "in treating workers according to the standard of work, all else is put aside; workers are examined exclusively as workers (...) one worker is married, another one is not, one has more children than another and so forth (...) with equal work output, one worker is richer than the other."

It also is known that the social value of work produced contains within itself the value of the qualifications and the social costs of obtaining them. A. Walicki wrote about this antiegalitarian principle, stating that it is necessary and inevitable in a transitional society, in several somewhat persuasive articles in 1981. But who has noticed them, who has reflected on them?

It seems that too little is said in our society, and with some apprehension, that the Marxist "bourgeois principle of distribution" must be an iron principle of remunerations. It is obvious that the realization of each principle or law requires modifications and can never be applied with doctrinaire exactness. But as long as the public does not understand that income should be divided not according to the amount of problems, expenses and children a Pole has, but according to the real worth of his labor, then the state will be subject to ruinous pressure as an institution of social help. Then the state will be too poor to have schools, culture, universities and science at a level for a civilized nation of the 21st century.

11899

CSO: 2600/509

## PRESS CIRCULATION FIGURES, POLICY INDICATED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 51, 17 Dec 83 p 15

[Article by S.W.: "Terror"]

[Text] Next to every "Ruch" kiosk stands a "goalie." When someone wants to buy RZECZYWISTOSC, the guardian grabs his 20 zlotys, hits him on the hands and presses into the work-worn palms of the reader the latest copy of POLITYKA. In offices, homes, colleges and libraries special fighting squads operate forcing people to read POLITYKA. Adults lose their bonuses, and children cannot even dream of a good grade for behavior if they do not demonstrate familiarity with our publication. The dictatorship of POLITYKA is conducted in an especially cruel way against kiosk-keepers and post offices. The kiosks of honest kiosk-keepers who do not want to sell POLITYKA, only more committed publications, are devastated by the fighting squads and even burned altogether. In post offices where there are subscriptions other than POLITYKA cash disappears in suspicious ways. It is not beside the point to note that the thefts are executed as a rule in the style of English crimes of the century, which surely is no coincidence. The agents of POLITYKA know no better examples. Despite the efforts of friends of this publication, it was not possible to conceal from public opinion the shameless attack on the innocent express train number 2105 on the Trzebinia to Malkinia run when "unknown" assailants, reminding one of a living freemasonry, tore up the rails, terrorized the crew and set fire to a wagon filled to the brim with committed press. They barbecued their roast next to it. And it is not true that the wagon caught fire by itself because of the inflammatory nature of its cargo.

From the time that POLITYKA became a publication of sizable circulation, that is, about 20 years ago, there appeared against it accusations of monopolizing the press market. Not able to reconcile themselves with the growing popularity of the publication, our opponents started, along with accusations of a technocratic nature, of cosmopolitanism and sorcery, to accuse us of monopolizing the press market. When during the 1960's the then press leaders created PERSPEKTYWY, popular to the present day, giving them the best press service, color, and paper better than any other in the country, for the first time it was heard that at last an end would be put to the so-called monopoly. In time PERSPEKTYWY reached a circulation of more than 200,000, costing only 20 percent more than black and white publications, and the relationship between the two publications arranged itself properly but the nonsense about the monopoly is useful to someone and



rumors linger on the margins of public life in Poland. "It looks almost like a monopoly" wrote PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY under its former editors (No 5/1983); lately bile has flooded the eyes and made impossible an objective appraisal of the press reality of editor Pardus.

Meanwhile, in Poland for years there have been several dozen national weeklies, among these a sizeable group of social-cultural publications. Let us take just a few of them in different time periods. In 1976 appeared, among others, ARGUMENTY, PRAWO I ZYCIE (115,000 copies), KULTURA (107,000), PERSPEKTYWY (270,000), LITERATURA (65,000), ZYCIE LITERACKIE (76,000), POLITYKA (290,000), ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, the widely read youth weekly RAZEM, ITD, the military press, ZSL, SD, CZAS, a publication of a technical-social profile (PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY) and many others. Their combined circulation totals millions of copies. In the 1970's POLITYKA never sold more than even 15 percent of what the other weeklies, who never were partial to social-political problems, sold combined. In 1981 the following were added to these weekly publications: TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC (536,000), RZECZYWISTOSC (then 138,000), JEDNOSC from Szczecin and others. Only nine weeklies (PRAWO I ZYCIE, POLITYKA, ARGUMENTY, KULTURA, LITERATURA, TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, ZYCIE LITERACKIE, PERSPEKTYWY, and RZECZYWISTOSC) had then a combined circulation of more than a million and a half copies, and if you add to that RADAR, PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, CZAS, ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE and a few others, then their circulation went over 3 million. In 1981 POLITYKA comprised about 10 percent of the weekly market.

And how did the situation present itself later? According to information from PAP, in November of 1982 the combined circulation of weeklies--not counting such giants as PRZYJACIOLKA (1.8 million) or PRZEKROJ (.5 million), which do not fall within this group--amounted to over 2.5 million copies.

POLITYKA came out then with a circulation of 300-350,000.

Currently the press market has had more than one change take place (the weekly TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC has stopped publishing, as have KULTURA, LITERATURA and several others), whereas large circulation publications have appeared (VETO, PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY, NIEDZIELA) and some with small circulation (TU I TERAZ); certain titles also fell head over heels (we will not name them here since they are very thin-skinned.)

Some of the opponents of our publication, and every publication has those who are against it, linked with the state of martial law the hope that it would mark the end of POLITYKA. They cannot reconcile themselves with the fact that despite internal and external difficulties, including the mood of the country, the earlier leaving of the editor-in-chief and the director of the national department to work in the government, the later leaving of groups of journalists, POLITYKA survived all this and is selling today more or less the same as before December 1981.

Despite these obvious facts, again the accusations of monopoly have started. Why? Is it to create before the readers in the nation and overseas the false impression that in Poland only one outlook exists? Is it to persuade the society

that public life, including the press, is ruled by some type of Mafia, or is it rather to hide their own incompetence and the failures of those who speak such nonsense--in spite of the numbers and in spite of the facts.

Perhaps the authors of the slogans about "monopoly" confuse the circulation of a periodical in Poland with its position, the trust and sympathy of its readers, judging that an honest path will not gain them, that behind this must hide some kind of Great Conspiracy. These are people who mistake the sale of a publication with its influence, and the attachment of its readers is imagined as being maintained only with the help of a rope. To them the reader is mindless--a stupid idiot whom you can lead to a kiosk and command to pay out 20 zlotys for that which he does not want. In their opinion, that is the collective intelligence of the readers.

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## BRIEFS

MOKRZYSZCZAK ATTENDS KIELCE CONFERENCE--The bond of the party and its class, working people; the consolidation of social trust: those are the most important tasks for us. Under this slogan, [word indistinct] (?150) delegates representing the 75,000-strong party organization in the Kielce region are deliberating at the PZPR Report-Back and Election Conference. Taking part in the conference is candidate member of the Politburo, Secretary of the party's Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak. The introductory report, paid much attention to youth matters--to awakening their activity in solving problems of social pathology--and to cooperation with the fraternal political parties, social and youth organizations. It was said that the process of normalization of social and economic life which had begun, being the result of persistent and patient work, is yielding the first results. Party initiatives have found and are still finding an increasingly broad response and support from society. The deliberations are continuing. [Text] [LD220550 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 21 Jan 84]

MOKRZYSZCZAK ATTENDS RADOM PARTY CONFERENCE--Not everything undertaken in the region has always been effective. Nonetheless the achievement of the 40-year period in Radom land is the work of the whole of society and it should be augmented only through joint effort. This, in briefest outline, is what was said during the first 2 and 1/2 hours of the party's report-back and election conference in Radom. In the report by the executive of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, areas were pointed out which require particular attention on the part of the authorities and joint effort by society, for example housing and communal building construction. Zofia Grzyb, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, and Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, candidate Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, are taking part in the deliberations. The almost 37,000-strong party organization is represented at the conference by over 300 delegates, of whom almost half are workers and farmers. The completed report-back and election campaign showed, as the first debaters stressed, that although the party in Radom land in comparison with 1980 is numerically smaller, its ability to act in the interest of the working class is considerably greater. [Zdzislaw Henk report] [Text] [LD261242 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 25 Jan 84]

MILEWSKI ATTENDS BIALYSTOK PARTY CONFERENCE--Bialystok--It is essential for the party's ideological thought to serve in a penetrating analysis of reality. Party ideology must express itself in deeds. This was said by Wlodzimierz Kolodziejuk, first secretary of the party's voivodship committee in Bialystok, at today's 19th Voivodship Report-Back and Election Conference of the PZPR. He also said society in Bialystok region is marked by political maturity and caution, and it has proved this in particularly difficult situations for the nation. Taking part in today's discussion at the voivodship party conference are 289 delegates. Among the invited guests is Miroslaw Milewski, politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The conference began about 12 minutes ago, and the first delegates are taking the floor to bring up the most important problems of socioeconomic life in Bialystok region. [Text] [Text] [LD261404 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 25 Jan 84]

SWIRGON ATTENDS LOMZA CONFERENCE--The party, setting internal matters in order, is beginning gradually to rebuild its authority in society and society's trust in it. Despite a considerable quantitative drop in the number of party members and candidates, our ranks have grown tighter and closer. We have created strong foundations for developing energetic activity to restore the Marxist-Leninist character of the party, the democratic machinery for its operation and for fulfilling the leading role in society. That was an excerpt from the speech by first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Lomza, Qlodzimierz Michaluk at today's Report-Back and Election Conference. It is being attended by 256 delegates chosen at urban and parish party conferences. The guest of the Lomoza Conference is Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Waldemar Swirgon. The deliberations of the fourth Report-Back and Election Conference were begun with a ceremony in which long-term labor movement activists were presented with high state decorations. A discussion is now in progress. [Text] [LD220439 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 21 Jan 84]

ORZECZOWSKI ATTENDS PARTY CONFERENCE--The party's strength and its activeness in solving the region's problems are being discussed at the PZPR Voivodship Report-Back and Election Conference in Legnica, which has now been in progress for 3 years. Last year more and more plants achieved better results here than 4 years ago. This applies to the production of electricity, copper and agricultural machinery. Thanks to strengthening of the cadre, building construction workers commissioned 820 dwellings over and above the plan. Copper is linked in the popular mind with Legnica: more than 40,000 people are employed in its extraction and processing. Legnica is in fifth or sixth place among other voivodships as regards agriculture. What should be done to eliminate the damage done to agriculture by industry? How can the environment be better protected? How to improve health care? Those subjects are waiting for solution. The report, in which these topics also appeared, was presented by first secretary of the voivodship committee Jerzy Wilk. The conference is attended by delegates from this region: Marian Orzechowski, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and general secretary of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, and Zbigniew Szalajda deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. [Waclaw Sajej report from Legnica] [Text] [LD261327 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 25 Jan 84]

BARCIKOWSKI SPEAKS AT SZCZECIN CONFERENCE--While positively sizing up the attainments of the party organization in Szczecin, Kazimierz Barcikowski said that in a very difficult and persistent struggle it managed to defend its unity and to carry out an effective activity against socialism opponents. It is also worthy of mention that the Szczecin Voivodship noted a palpable progress in the economic sphere initiated by the Szczecin PUWP organization and achieved with its participation. We should remember about political experiences of the crisis in order to never allow for its recurrence. While talking about the past we must have the future in mind. Our starting point is much better than a year or 2 years ago, but our tasks are difficult and require the pooling of all efforts concluded Barcikowski. ["Barcikowski's Speech at Szczecin Conference (short version)"]--PAP headline; speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo; no date given] [Text] [LD221623 Warsaw PAP in English 1416 GMT 22 Jan 84]

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