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JPRS 83472

16 May 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2141

19981209 113

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EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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AIR FORCE ACADEMY CHIEF INTERVIEWED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 13 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Maj Gen Dimitur Karadzhikov, chief of Georgi Benkovski Higher People's Air Force Academy and honored flyer, on 11 February 1983, by Col Raycho Vasev and Maj Veselin Stoyanov; place not specified: "Wings for Today and Tomorrow"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Major General, a great writer, flyer and humanist figuratively has said that he is a product of his childhood. To start off our conversation, might we turn this thought into a question for you?

[Answer] I accept the suggestion gladly because everybody has his own unique childhood, his family roots. . . I was born in the village of Ostrov (Vratsa Okrug). My childhood was spent on the banks of the Danube. My brother Vangel and I were left motherless at an early age--and before long fatherless too, and coping with the difficulties of living was by no means an easy matter for us. Even now there is a vivid picture in my memory of how my schoolmates in the progymnasium were dressed, how I secretly admired their new clothes, and the pangs with which I swallowed the bitter lump I felt in my throat. Grandfather and grandmother were wonderful people; they not only found the strength to earn a living, but also in their own way taught us labor and honesty, managing to implant in our hearts the sturdy and strong seeds of faith in tomorrow.

And this longed-for day actually arrived, too. The picture of the dawning of the victorious Ninth of September 1944 is vivid and indelible in my memory! Even now I think that still no such glorious and joyous picture has been painted for one canvas cannot contain the joy of an entire nation. Such a thing can only be experienced!

I was 14 years old and it seemed to me that all of a sudden I had grown several years older. Was it possible not to recall the descent of the partisans in my native village? Was it possible not to remember the fiery days of the establishment of the Fatherland Front government? Some inner force, some inner voice summoned me to dedicate my young energies to strengthening the power of the people. With what emotion my comrades and I went together to the houses of the old folks to give them moral support and together count the steps to the ballot boxes to cast their vote in turn for a holy and pure republic!

As early as my entrance into the gymnasium I was admitted to membership in the RMS [Workers' Youth Union]. This was a vital necessity for me and my intellectual growth began from this time forth. I was an excellent student in the gymnasium; I had to measure my strength against mama's boys. And by dint not only of grades, but also my entire conduct I had to justify the vote of confidence in me and prove that a new work shift had emerged on the scene of the new life--sons and daughters of workers and peasants who until yesterday had been sworn at and cruelly exploited. . .

[Question] Turbulent years indeed and still, considering that before your childish gaze the waters of the Danube flowed slowly to the east, fishermen slowly sailed their boats and steamships also passed majestically, where did your dream of flying come from?

[Answer] Frankly speaking, I never even dared to dream of becoming a flyer. I simply thought this was unreal, impossible.

Since I was an activist in the students' committee of the Oryakhova gymnasium, after I was graduated in 1949 I was kept on as a supernumerary instructor in the okoliya DSNM [Dimitrov Union of People's Youth] committee. And since I had no financial resources for continuing my studies, I thought of becoming a teacher in the Rhodope region and doing something more by correspondence.

The comrades of the okoliya committee respected me and had faith in me. And one day I was assigned the important task of persuading young men to enter the military academies. And I set out through Khayrendin rayon. I must have fulfilled my job with ardor and inspiration because many boys signed up. On reporting the results, I was praised and the secretary of the okoliya DSNM committee, Comrade Georgi Tomov (now employed in Vratsa in the Fatherland Front), invited me to his house, and after we had a little chat about my future, he suggested that they include me too in the lists of candidates. And somehow the decision came to me all of a sudden. Perhaps because I respected the secretary and couldn't refuse him. But perhaps, too, some inner voice of mine spoke up inside me. I had but one desire--to be a candidate only for the air force academy. That is the truth of the matter. I passed all the examinations successfully and set forth on the great journey to the skies. . .

[Question] And what helped you most to pass the difficult examinations and earn the right to become a flying cadet?

[Answer] Since I was a child I have liked sports. In the gymnasium I engaged in gymnastics, soccer and, of course, as a child of the Danube, swimming was in my blood, as the saying goes. I can't count the times I have swum across the Danube. It's most likely because of this that I encountered no obstacles with the medical commission, either. Sports are inseparable from flying. Every pilot is convinced of this from his own personal experience.

[Question] Who was your first commander, first instructor, and what do you owe to them for your growth as officer, pilot and commander?

[Answer] My first commander, Petur Zhelyazkov, I will remember forever! He simply set hearts on fire for aviation. He had a saying that I remember too:

"Before you become flyers you have to become soldiers!" Our commander skillfully combined words and deeds. He was not just a fascinating talker; he was good, too, at showing everything we needed for our marching drill. He required us to do everything just as the regulations prescribed. He was equally a marvelous pilot. . . . And my first instructor was Georgi Gradinarov, for whom I feel profound respect too and whenever I meet him now, I am the first to salute (he is now employed as a flight control officer at "Balkan" BGA [Bulgarian Civil Aviation]). He is the one I first flew a PO [aircraft designed by N. N. Polikarpov]-2 with. He not only trained me for my first solo flight, but also for the great flight of life.

Next, my instructor was Tsvetan Tsekov, who continued to mold me as an air fighter. I am very grateful to him, too. He took us to our first concert, and to many more concerts afterward. Tsekov was a person of rich general culture. I could talk to him about newly published books, about music. He taught us to like and prize genuine art, which, according to him, would help us win our wings.

Some of our present young officers claim that they are very busy, that they don't have enough spare time. There is a certain amount of truth in this claim, but valuable time is wasted, too. The literal truth is that the young officer can make great progress in instructing and educating his subordinates not only by his excellent professional training, but also by his high ideological maturity, by his rich general culture. A commander's words can reach a soldier's heart only if they are reinforced by the power of his personal example, which is the basis of our socialist way of working and living.

[Question] No doubt positive personal example is a great force. But you have been flying for more than three decades and therefore we venture to ask you whether during these years you have had any emergencies in flight or have made any mistake that also contain a lesson for the present generation of young flyers.

[Answer] Nobody is insured against mistakes. As a cadet I once flagrantly violated flight discipline, driven by the youthful impulse that I had already mastered everything in flying. My comrades imposed severe Komsomol punishment, but at the same time helped me evaluate the offense, make a detailed analysis of what had happened, and keep my place in the flight formation.

Later in my practical experience as instructor and commander I was not ashamed, in moments of revelation, to tell about the violation I had committed, about the terrible influence of too much self-confidence. Even now I declare at the top of my voice, ground and air discipline are indivisible.

Once during one of my flights above the clouds under inclement weather conditions the aircraft generator failed and I had to manage with standby instruments, which required solid professional experience and self-control. And these, by now, I possessed. . . . The flight ended successfully. Of course, I must mention that in such cases a kind of "double-entry bookkeeping" of time comes into being, with every second acquiring the magic capacity of expanding: you manage to perform so many operations! Practical flight experience shows



that in flight emergencies the role of exertions of the will increases greatly, thanks to which a pilot makes quick decisions and successfully copes with the greatest difficulty.

[Question] Every air route has a starting point and check points. Which of these have been most important in your command experience thus far?

[Answer] I was graduated from the air force academy in 1952 and along with a number of my comrades was kept on as instructor. The assignment was clear and important--by our efforts to train personnel for the Bulgarian air force. In my first group were cadets Kunchev, Lesev, Rachev and Kolev. There was a certain marvelous inner resemblance among them. They studied with great desire. Of these, Todor and Petur were kept on in the academy as instructors, while the other Petur and Zhelyazkov left for combat units.

A year later I was appointed flight commander and in 1955 squadron commander. I was given the honor of studying at the Soviet Air Force Academy. I was one of the lucky ones who had the opportunity to drink, and generously at that, directly from the great wellspring of Soviet military science. We were taught by participants in the Great Patriotic War who told us things that could not be put into ordinary books of memoirs. The chief of the academy himself, Hero of the Soviet Union and famous Marshal of Aviation Stepan Akimovich Krasovski personally participated in the skies of war as commander of the 56th Army Air Corps, commander of the Bryansk Front Air Corps, commander of the 2nd and later the 17th Air Army (until March 1943) and other major air force units. He was awarded six Orders of Lenin and a number of other high medals. Like a brother he shared his rich combat experience with us, and like a brother he advised us that military science must not only be diligently and thoroughly studied, but also persistently adopted in military practice.

[Question] As chief of the Higher Aviation Academy, what do you think of the future military and civilian flyers, political workers and other specialists? Don't you sometimes, if only mentally, reproach them for failing to take advantage, to sufficient extent, of the opportunities afforded them to distinguish themselves professionally and intellectually?

[Answer] Frankly speaking, I envy the young Benkovski cadets the splendid conditions that have been brought about thanks to the concern of our party and government, as well as the new way of life and the instruction at the military academy. It is difficult in words to tell about the modern technical teaching resources and the excellent scientific potential represented by the staff of professors and instructors. I shall not cite names or list scientific degrees and titles--I'd risk omitting someone. For every instructor and commander has a definite share not only in the awarding of wings, but also in the intellectual growth of our young Benkovski cadets.

If I must reproach anybody, again I would begin with us, the commanders and teachers. Together we are called upon every day to give of ourselves unstintingly, to be ardent in our work and to kindle in every cadet the flame of passion for excellent mastery of the complex science of aviation. This is the only right way to find the accurate answers to the most difficult questions arising on the ground and in the sky.



[Question] Comrade Major General, what wish would you like to send our readers?

[Answer]

For readers who are not in the People's Army my wish is that they should like and read our favorite newspaper.

11 February 1983

D. Karadzhikov

6474

CSO: 2200/60

BULGARIA

REGULATION SPECIFIES CONDITIONS FOR ADMISSION TO MILITARY ACADEMIES

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 23 Mar 83 pp 2-3

[Regulation governing the enrollment of students in higher military academies and scholarship students of the Ministry of National Defense for the 1983-1984 school year]

[Text] A. Full-time Training

I. Application Conditions and documents

1. Young people who meet the following conditions may be admitted to apply to the military academies of the Bulgarian People's Army:

Secondary school graduates with a minimal grade of 12.00 based on their diploma grade and grades in Bulgarian history, language and literature, for the political department; chemistry and mathematics for the specialty "Chemical Troops;" mathematics and physics for all other specialties;

Have proper political orientation;

Be Bulgarian citizens;

Love military service;

Be active Komsomol members;

Be physically healthy;

Be no older than 23 years of age and, for candidate fliers, 21; their age will be counted as of 1 September;

Be unmarried;

Have no police record or being tried or investigated;

Be approved by the unit commander (for military personnel);

Career army personnel graduates of the SSVU must have a minimum grade average of no less than very good (5.00) for their diploma and no less than 1 year of service in the BNA [Bulgarian People's Army].

2. Every young man has the right to apply for all specialties (in the order of preference) to two military academies, one academy per group. The first group includes the G. Benkovski VNVVU [Higher People's Air Force Academy] and the N. Y. Vaptsarov VNVMU [Higher People's Naval Academy]; the second group includes the V. Levski VNVU [Higher People's Military Academy] and the G. Dimitrov VNVAU [Higher People's Artillery Academy]. An academy of either group can be listed as first choice.

3. Every applicant must submit the following documents to the commander of the respective military academy via the chief of the military district in which he is registered:

Formal petition for admission to competitive examinations;

Model competition card; the applicant must mandatorily list the desired subjects in the order in which he would like to be graded in his competition card;

His biography;

(The forms for such documents may be obtained at the military district);

A secondary school graduation diploma or an officially certified diploma transcript;

Birth certificate;

Police record certificate;

Pedagogical character reference issued by the secondary school;

Declaration pledging to serve in the Bulgarian armed forces (Bulgarian Civil Aviation, Water Transportation or Ocean Fishing) for no less than 10 years;

Priority enrollment document.

Applicants who are military servicemen must submit such documents through the unit commander.

Documents of military personnel allowed to apply to a military academy, together with their health record, excerpts of their military record showing citations, punishments and official character references, must be sent by the commanders to the military districts in which the personnel are registered.

Young men who apply to two military academies must send their documents to the academy of their first choice, indicating their second choice in their petition. The applicants will send a petition to the second military academy in which they must indicate the higher academy to which the remaining documents have been sent; the petition must be accompanied by a competition card.

Applications which do not include all necessary documents, clearly filled, will be rejected.

4. Application documents must be submitted to the military districts with the following deadlines:

Students who have graduated before 1983 and military servicemen: 4 June;

1983 graduates: 7 July.

After these dates no new or additionally submitted documents will be accepted.

5. Thirty-day preparatory courses will be offered at the military academies to which applicants doing their regular service and students at the People's Reserve Officers School have submitted their main documents. The training course for "Pilot Flier" candidates for the G. Benkovski VNVVU will begin on 27 June 1983; the courses for all other subjects in military academies will begin on 12 July 1983.

## II. Competition Examinations and Tests

1. Competition examinations and the testing of physical and psychophysiological aptitudes and medical examinations will take place at the military academies. The applicants must present themselves at the first military academy of their choice to which they have submitted their documents.

2. All applicants must be present at the first military academy of their choice no later than at 1400 hours on 10 August 1983; applicants for the "Pilot Flier" course at the G. Benkovski VNVVU must show up by no later than 1400 hours on 26 July 1983.

3. Applicants for all military academies will take two examinations: one on a special subject and a second on general culture and political training.

4. The special subjects for which competitive examinations will be required are the following:

For the political course: Bulgarian history;

For the "Chemical Troops" course: Chemistry;

for all other courses: Mathematics.

The competitive examinations will be based on secondary school curriculums, programs and questionnaires for competitive examinations for civilian higher educational institutions; the examination for the "Chemical Troops" subject will be based on the chemistry questionnaire for universities and chemical technology higher educational institutions.

Applicants for the "Pilot Flier" course will be subjected to a psychophysiological test based on a special method developed at the G. Benkovski VNVVU. The psychophysiological qualities of the applicants will be rated according to the six-point system.

5. The examinations will take place on the following days:

Mathematics: 11 August 1983;  
History: 12 August 1983;  
General Culture and Political Training: 13 August 1983;  
Chemistry: 14 August 1983.

Examinations for the "Pilot Flier" subject at the G. Benkovski VNVVU will be given on the following days:

Mathematics: 27 July 1983;  
General Culture and Political Training: 29 July 1983.

The psychophysiological test will be based on a schedule drafted by the school.

Applicants for the "Pilot Flier" subject may not take written competitive examinations for other subjects in the school or in a second VUZ. On the basis of their positive results they may participate in the grading of applicants for other subjects in the same school and subjects in their second choice VUZ as indicated in their documents.

6. All applicants who have successfully passed their written examinations will be tested for their physical and psychophysiological aptitudes and will undergo a medical examination.

7. The physical aptitudes of the applicants will be tested on the basis of disciplines and norms as follows:

#### Disciplines

1. Horizontal bar exercise;
2. 100 meters dash--flying start;
3. 1000 meters run;
4. Swimming--100 meters (for the N. Y. Vaptsarov VNVMU only).

Clothing: sports (provided by the applicants).

The physical qualities of the applicants will be rated "suitable for VUZ" or "unsuitable for VUZ." The rating "unsuitable for VUZ" will be given to an applicant who has failed to meet the norms for two or more of the disciplines.

8. The testing of the psychophysiological aptitudes of the applicants will be based on special methods developed by the military academies. The psychophysiological aptitudes of the candidates will be rated "suitable for VUZ" or "unsuitable for VUZ."

9. The medical examinations will be based on the stipulations of the list of diseases and physical faults. Candidates for the "Pilot Flier" subject will be subjected to a special air force medical examination.

### III. Organization of Competitive Examinations. Review and Rating of Written Tests and Computation of the Competitive Grade.

1. The organization of and administration of the competitive examinations will be conducted in the military academies by commissions appointed by order of the academy commander.

2. The competitive examinations will cover comprehensive subjects. The places assigned to the applicants and the commissions in the various halls will be announced on the day of the examination. The examinations will begin at 0800 hours and will last 4 hours.

3. The written competitive examinations will be submitted on an anonymous basis.

Applicants who have not presented themselves after the topic has been announced or have not taken one of the competitive examinations (tests) or who have been rated "failing" on their special subject or "unsuitable for VUZ" in the examination of their physical and psychophysiological aptitudes and the medical examinations will lose their right to further participation in the competition.

Applicants charged with proven cribbing or an effort to violate the anonymous nature of the written competition will have their written works annulled with a protocol issued by the chairman of the examinations commission and deprived of the right to participate further in the competition.

The results of the competitive examinations will apply for participation in the competition for the specific year during which they were taken.

4. On request the academy may issue official notes to the applicants to justify their leave for competitive examinations.

5. Written tests on individual subjects must be mandatorily reviewed in the premises assigned to this effect by two teachers independently. The works must be rated with an accuracy of up to 0.25. The testing personnel will draft individual protocols on their grading of written tests, recording the errors found in each written test. The protocols together with the written tests will be submitted to the chairman of the examinations commission. The final grade will be computed on the basis of the two protocols and noted on the written test. The examiners must sign and describe briefly the basis for their grade. Should differences in the gradings equal 0.25, the final grade will be rounded up in favor of the applicant; should the difference equal 0.50, the final grade will be the mathematical average of the two grades.

If the difference in the grading of a test exceeds 0.50, it must be reviewed by an arbiter whose decision is final. The arbiter enters his grade and reasons for it on the written work and signs. A separate protocol is drawn up for the reviewed works and signed by the arbiter.

The written tests for general culture and political training are assessed by a teacher as "passed" or "failed."

The grade of the special subject chosen by the applicant is reduced by 0.50 should his test in general culture and political training be rated "failed."

The teachers must mark the final grade with a brief explanation for it and sign each examination of general culture and political training.

A written test which includes any kind of mark will be declared null and void.

The results of the written competitive examinations are announced immediately after their review. The grades are final. They cannot be reviewed or re-graded.

6. The rating grade is based on the following:

- a. The grade of the examination in the special subject, doubled;
- b. The overall grade shown on the secondary education diploma;
- c. The grades for two subjects in the secondary education diploma, considered basic for the chosen subject.

The grade of the psychophysiological test is added in the case of applicants for the "Pilot Flier" subject.

The diploma subjects the grades of which are included in the competition grade are the following:

For political training: Bulgarian history, Bulgarian language and literature;

For the subject "Chemical Troops:" Chemistry and Mathematics (for the V. Levski VNVU only);

For all other subjects: Mathematics and Physics.

The rating grade of applicants for the "Pilot Flier" course who were rejected and who have applied in their documents for other subjects at the G. Benkovski VNVVU and to a second VUZ will be set on the basis of the subjects which require a competitive examination in mathematics.

7. Young men who apply to both a civilian higher educational institution and a military academy must mandatorily take a competitive examination at the military academy as well.

#### IV. Rating and Accepting Applicants

1. The acceptance commission bases the rating of the candidates as follows:

The rating grade;

Political and practical qualities;

Results of the physical and psychophysiological quality tests;



Health condition;

Priority status.

2. The following are given priority for enrolling in military academies:

a. The sons of active fighters against fascism and capitalism, who compete for 10 percent of the vacancies.

b. Sons of Bulgarian People's Army military personnel, of military personnel who have died in the course or as a result of carrying out their official duties and reserve military personnel with no less than 15 years of regular service in the Bulgarian People's Army. They compete for 15 percent of the vacancies.

c. Sons of personnel of the Balkan Bulgarian Civil Aviation, Water Transportation Economic Trust, Ocean Fishing Economic Trust and the Central Administration of the Ministry of Transportation, who have no less than 10 years of regular sailing (flying) or operational activities in these departments compete for 10 percent of the vacancies in the respective fields at the G. Benkovski VNVVU and N. Y. Vaptsarov VNVMU.

All other conditions being equal, graduates of the Gen. Vl. Zaimov Secondary Specialized Sea and Ocean Fishing School are given priority for NAPS subjects.

d. Applicants who have completed the full flying course offered by the Organization for Defense Cooperation (OSO) may compete for 30 percent of the vacancies for the "Pilot Flier" subject at the G. Benkovski VNVVU, providing that their grade rating is not lower by more than two units compared with the rating of nonpriority applicants.

e. All other conditions being equal, priority will be given to graduates of the National Reserve Officers School, who have completed their military service and the courses in military-technical training offered by the OSO.

The vacancies set aside for priority candidates, which have not been filled in the course of the rating will be filled by applicants with no priority based on their rating grade.

3. The rating will be based on subjects and on descending grades.

Applicants for the "Pilot Flier" subject at the G. Benkovski VNVVU who have been rated but not accepted may be accepted in the 3-year agricultural aviation course.

The results of the rating will be announced before the acceptance commission has begun its work.

The sessions of the acceptance commission must be completed by 21 August 1983.

4. Every applicant will be summoned for a talk after the completion of the tests and examinations and the final review of the candidates. The acceptance

commission will then make a decision which will be announced to the applicant. The decision of the acceptance commission is final and not subject to approval.

Rated applicants who have not appeared in front of the acceptance commission will be considered as refusing to enroll.

5. The military academies will inform in writing the accepted applicants and the subject for which they were accepted.

6. Rated applicants who fail to show up on the stipulated day at the corresponding military district will have their places filled by reserve applicants in the order of their rating.

#### B. Correspondence Training

1. Correspondence training is offered by the military academies to officers and sergeants in the Bulgarian People's Army or personnel in other departments, for all subjects; workers and employees (men) within the system of the Ministry of National Defense (for engineering and command-engineering subject) and employees (men) in the air and water transportation system, the flying clubs and marine clubs of the OSO.

2. Individuals applying for correspondence training may apply to only one military academy in subjects consistent with the nature of their work.

3. Applicants for correspondence training must meet the following conditions:

To be secondary school graduates;

To be no older than 40 on 1 September 1983;

To have been at work for no less than 1 year by 1 June 1983 in the area for which they are applying;

To have served their regular military service;

The candidates must have the permission of Unit 24080 of the Ministry of National Defense allowing them to apply for correspondence training;

They must be approved by the respective ministries;

They must meet the stipulations for Bulgarian People's Army reserve officers.

The following additional stipulations must be met:

Officers:

To have been approved by their immediate superiors;

For fliers--to have a knowledge of flying and be engaged in carrying out flight assignments.

For career sergeants:

To have been approved by their unit commanders;

To have graduated from secondary schools with a grade of no less than "very good" (5.00);

To be no older than 23 on 1 September of the year during which they apply;

To have served in their specialized field no less than one year.

4. Candidates for correspondence training who meet these conditions must submit a report through channels no later than 30 April 1983 (for employees in other departments, through the corresponding economic trust) to Unit 24080, Ministry of National Defense, requesting a certificate for applying for correspondence training.

The candidates for correspondence training (excluding officers and sergeants) must add the following to their report:

Transcript from their secondary education diploma;

Character reference of the enterprise in which they are employed;

Certificate issued by the respective ministry showing that it approves the application of the candidate for the respective subject;

A transcript of the extract of their labor record certified by the enterprise management.

5. Officers and sergeants applying for correspondence training must submit the following documents:

Petition to the commander of the military academy for admission to competitive examination, indicating the subject for which they apply;

Diploma for completed secondary education or an officially certified copy of the diploma;

Certificate for application for correspondence training issued by Unit 24080 indicating the subject for which they are allowed to apply;

Birth certificate;

Medical certificate;

Biography.

6. Candidates for correspondence training (excluding officers and sergeants) must submit the following documents through the chiefs of the military districts in which they are registered and to the chief of the military academy:

Request for admission to competition examination, indicating the desired subject;

Biography;

Certificate for application for correspondence training issued by Unit 24080;

Secondary school graduation diploma or an officially certified diploma transcript;

Medical certificate;

Certificate issued by the respective ministry specifically indicating the subject for which they are allowed to apply;

Transcript of an extract of labor record, certified by the management of the enterprise or the office, certifying to labor seniority;

Character reference issued by the enterprise or establishment where the candidate is employed;

Military record;

Police record;

Birth certificate;

Priority document (if such exists).

7. Documents must be submitted by no later than 4 June 1983.

8. The presentation of the applicants for the written competitive examinations, the rating of the written tests, the computation of the grade for correspondence training and the rating of the candidates will be the same as for full-time students.

9. Candidates for correspondence training will be granted the same advantages as applicants for full-time training.

10. The decision for the acceptance of the applicants for correspondence training will be made by the acceptance commission after a talk with the applicant.

#### C. Acceptance of Students at the G. Dimitrov VIF [Higher Physical Culture Institute]

1. Young men who apply to the G. Dimitrov VIF for the subject "Physical Training in the BNA" will be asked to meet the requirements of the OSO and must meet the stipulations governing applicants to military academies. They must submit their documents to the G. Dimitrov VIF within the deadlines stipulated in the "Reference for Candidate Students 1983-1984." The following documents must be submitted to the chief of the Chavdar AShVSM, Sofia, through

the military district in which they are registered: petition, biography, birth certificate, police certificate, priority document, transcript of the diploma for completed education and statement that they will serve in the OSO no less than 10 years following their graduation from the institute. The documents must be submitted to the military district by no later than 7 July 1983.

The conditions and procedure for the competitive examinations and use of priority are indicated in the directive of the Ministry of Public Education on the enrollment of students at the G. Dimitrov VIF for the 1983-1984 school year. Army servicemen who are not to be discharged this year may not apply.

2. Young men accepted for the subject "Physical Training in the BNA" will have the same rights and obligations as military academy students.

#### D. Ministry of National Defense Scholarship Students

1. Young men will be accepted as MNO [Ministry of National Defense] scholarship students for the following subjects:

Medicine--at the medical schools in Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna, Pleven and Stara Zagora;

Dentistry--the schools of dentistry in Sofia and Plovdiv;

Physics--at the Kl. Okhridski Sofia University, for meteorologists in the Bulgarian People's Army.

2. Young men who would like to apply for said subjects must meet the stipulations of applicants to military academies.

3. MNO scholarship applicants must submit their documents to the respective higher educational institutions in accordance with the general procedure for candidate students. Applicants who have been successfully rated in the respective civilian educational institutions (with a grade above the minimal grade for the specific higher educational institution) must submit no later than 10 days after the results of the competitive examinations have been announced the following documents to the military district: petition, biography, medical certificate issued by the military hospital (for individuals who have completed their military service), a medical conscript document (for conscripts), a health record (for military servicemen), police record certificate, certificate for the grade at the respective VUZ to which they have applied and a statement to the effect that they will serve in the BNA no less than 10 years after graduation.

4. Individuals who have been granted scholarships by the MNO but have not served their regular military service will begin their studies after their military service.

5. MNO scholarship students who have completed their higher education will be accepted for active military service and assigned to BNA units.

## Concluding Stipulations

1. Military members of commissions who have shown lack of conscientiousness and have violated the stipulated procedure in rating written tests, testing the physical and psychophysiological qualities and given medical examinations, processed documents and rated candidates will be punished in accordance with the disciplinary rules; civilian personnel will be dismissed as per Article 18, letter d, of the Law on Higher Education. In such cases the culprits will not be paid for their review of written tests.
2. Applicants who have submitted documents with a false content, have tried to provide false information through their application documents or to mislead the acceptance commissions will be rejected from the competition.
3. The military academy commanders will have a final say on all applicant problems in accordance with the Regulation on the Acceptance of Students for the 1983-1984 school year.
4. Unit 24080 will be in charge of providing general management and control related to the application of this regulation.

Any questions which may arise additionally on the subject of the enrollment of applicants, not covered by the present regulation, will be resolved by Units 24080 and 22000.

5. The written tests and protocols of their grade will be kept for a period of 1 year after the competitive examination.
6. The present regulation is issued on the basis of the Regulation on Military Academies in the Bulgarian People's Army.

Army General Dzhurov, minister of national defense

## Military Academy Information

Vasil Levski, Higher People's Military Academy

Bearer of the Order of the Bulgarian People's Republic First Class; V. Turnovo, telephone 26-61

The V. Levski VNVU is the oldest military academy. It was opened in 1878 with Russian assistance. Its first students enthusiastically studied and mastered military affairs under the guidance of Russian officers. The national memory will never forget the names of the heroes of the Serbian-Bulgarian war and many other Bulgarian Officers School graduates, who were raised in a spirit of infinite friendship with the fraternal Russian people.

School alumni include Radko Dimitriev, Georgi Vazov (Ivan Vazov's brother), Vladimir Zaimov, Georgi Kirkov, Gotse Delchev, Khristo Smirnenski, Vlado Trichkov and others.

The features and the nature of the training offered by the military academy radically changed after 9 September 1944. Many noted BNA commanders are school alumni. The school has excellent residential and training facilities which offer very good conditions for the training and education of the students.

The academy has command, command-engineering, engineering, rear and political departments.

The command department, with a 4-year training course, offers the following subjects: "Motorized Infantry," "Border Troops," and "Tank Troops-Line."

a. The subjects "Motorized Infantry" and "Border Troops" are for training general army command personnel.

Graduates are given the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and a higher education diploma on "internal combustion engines" with a degree in Machine Engineering.

b. The subjects "Tank Troops-Line" are offered in training command cadres.

Graduates of this course are given the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education with civilian training in "internal combustion engines" and a degree in Machine Engineering.

The command-engineering department has a 4-year study term in the following subjects: "Communications Troops," "Chemical Troops," "Automotive Troops," and "Engineering Troops."

a. The subject "Communications Troops" is for the training of commanders of communications subunits and military engineers.

Graduates are given the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and a higher education with a civilian specialty in "communications equipment and communications systems" and the degree of Communications Equipment Engineer.

b. The subject "Chemical Troops" is offered for the training of officers in chemical subunits.

Graduates are given the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education with a civilian specialty in "polymer technology" and a degree in Chemical Engineering.

c. The subject "Automotive Troops" is for the training of military engineers and commanders of automotive subunits.

d. The subject "Engineering Troops" is offered in training engineering troop officers.

Graduates are given the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education with a civilian qualification. The subject includes:

Road construction;  
Construction and road machinery.

Graduates in road construction are awarded the civilian specialty of "transport construction" and a degree in Construction Engineering.

Graduates in construction and road machinery are given the civilian specialty of "lifting-transportation road and construction machinery" and a degree in Construction Engineering.

The engineering department has a 5-year training term with the specialty "Tank Troops-Technical."

Graduates are awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education with a civilian specialty in "internal combustion engines" and a degree in Machine Engineering.

The subject "Rear Troops" offers training in "food and material supplies."

Graduates are awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant" and higher education with a civilian specialty in "trade and procurement economics" and a degree in Economics.

The political department offers a 4-year training term. Graduates are awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant" and a higher education with civilian specialty "pedagogy of labor polytechnical education" and a degree in Education.

"Georgi Dimitrov" Higher People's Artillery Academy

Bearer of the Orders "Bulgarian People's Republic" First Class and "9 September 1944" First Class; Shumen, telephone 5-75-51

The "G. Dimitrov" VNVAU was opened in 1948. The academy trains artillery personnel for the BNA. Thanks to the care of the BCP, the academy offers very good conditions for the training and education of the students. The academic staff consists of personnel with high military, specialized and engineering-technical training. Some members of the faculty are candidates of sciences and docents.

The school has command, command-engineering, engineering and political departments.

The command department offers a 4-year training course with the following subjects: "Ground Artillery," "Artillery-Technical Troops" and "Anti-Aircraft Artillery."

a. The subjects "Ground Artillery" and "Artillery-Technical Troops" are offered for the training of ground artillery officers. Graduates are awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education with a civilian specialty in "computer technology" and a degree in Computer Engineering.

b. The subject "Anti-Aircraft Artillery" is offered in training anti-aircraft defense commanders. Graduates are awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education with a civilian specialty in "radiotelevision equipment" and a degree in Radioelectronics Engineering.



The command-engineering department offers a 4-year training term with two subjects: "Artillery-Instrument Reconnaissance" and "Geodesy, Cartography and Photogrammetry."

Graduates in "Artillery-Instrument Reconnaissance" and "Geodesy, Cartography and Photogrammetry" are awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education with a civilian specialty in "geodesy, cartography and photogrammetry" and a degree in Geodesy Engineering.

The engineering department offers a 5-year training term in the following subjects: "Artillery Weaponry," "Radioengineering Troops--Radar Stations," "Radioengineering Troops--Automated Control System," "Computer Technology," "Automated BNA Control Systems" and "Anti-Aircraft Troops."

a. The subject "Artillery Weaponry" is offered for training officers in the operation and repair of all types of artillery and radar equipment. Graduates are awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education with a civilian specialty in "technology of general and heavy machine building and metal-cutting machines" and a degree in Machine Engineering.

b. The subject "Radioengineering Troops--Radar Stations" is offered in training officers for the radioengineering forces. Graduates are awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education with a civilian specialty in "radio and television equipment" and a degree in Radioelectronics Engineering.

c. The subject "Radioengineering Troops--Automated Control Systems" is for training cadres for the radioengineering troops. Graduates are awarded officer's rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education with a civilian specialty in "radio and television equipment" and a degree in Radioelectronics Engineering.

d. The subject "Computer Equipment and Automated Control Systems" is offered for training officers for automated BNA control. Graduates are awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education with a civilian specialty in "computer equipment" and a degree in Radioelectronics Engineering.

e. The subject "Anti-Aircraft Troops" is offered for training officers in anti-aircraft defense. Graduates are awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education with a civilian specialty in "radio and television equipment" and a degree in Radioelectronics Engineering.

The political department offers a 4-year training course.

Graduates are awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant" and higher education with civilian specialty in "pedagogy of labor polytechnical education" and a degree in Education.

"Georgi Benkovski" Higher People's Air Force Academy

Bearer of the Orders "Bulgarian People's Republic" First Class and "9 September 1944" First Class; Dolna Mitropoliya, Pleven Okrug, telephone 2-20-79.

The "G. Benkovski" VNVVU was opened in 1945. From its very beginning it adopted the progressive Soviet methods for training fliers and aviation engineers. That is why many of its alumni have developed into fliers with high grades in military and civil aviation.

The school is proud of all deserving Bulgarian fliers and its alumnus Col Engineer Georgi Ivanov, the first flier-cosmonaut.

The school has command-engineering, engineering and political departments.

The command-engineering department has the following subjects: "Pilot Flier," "Air Force and Civilian Aviation Controller" and "Air Force Staff."

The training for the last two subjects is 5 years.

a. The "Pilot Flier" subject is offered for training pilots for the BNA and Bulgarian Civil Aviation. Graduates will be awarded the officer title of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education in "operation and repair of aviation equipment" and a degree in Flight Engineering.

b. The subject "Ground Controller" is offered for training of ground controllers for the BNA and Bulgarian Civil Aviation. Graduates will be awarded the officer rank "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education in the specialty "radio and television equipment" and a degree in Radioelectronics Engineering.

c. The "Staff Air Force" subject is offered for training staff air force officers. Graduates will be awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education in the specialty "communications equipment and communications systems" and a degree in Radioelectronics Engineering.

The engineering department, with a 5-year training course, will offer the following subjects: "Operation and Repair of Flying Machines," "Operation and Repair of Aviation Equipment of Flying Machines," "Operation and Repair of Radioelectronic Equipment of Flying Machines," "Operation and Repair of Communications and Radioengineering Facilities" and "Operation and Repair of Aviation Armaments."

a. The subject "Operation and Repair of Flying Machines" is offered for training operation and repair engineers. It will be used for training engineers for Bulgarian Civil Aviation as well. Graduates will be awarded the officer rank "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education in "operation and repair of aviation equipment" and a degree in Machine Engineering.

b. The subject "Operation and Repair of Aviation Equipment of Flying Machines" will be offered in training operation and repair engineers. Graduates will be awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education in "electric power supply and electric power systems in transportation" and a degree in Electrical Engineering.

c. The subject "Operation and Repair of Radioelectronic Equipment of Flying Machines" will be used to train operation and repair engineers. Graduates will

be awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education in "radio and television equipment" and a degree in Radioengineering.

d. The subject "Operation and Repair of Communications and Radioengineering Facilities" will be used for training communications and radioengineering equipment engineers in aviation. Graduates will be awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education in "communications equipment and communications systems" and a degree in Radioelectronics Engineering.

e. The subject "Operation and Repair of Aviation Armaments" will be used in training engineers in the operation and repair of aviation armaments. Graduates will be awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education in "automation and systems engineering" and a degree in Automation Engineering.

f. The academy will also train cadres in "Pilot Flier in Agricultural Aviation," with a 3-year term. Applicants for fliers who have passed the competitive examinations and the air force medical examination may apply. Graduates will be considered as having served their military service in a reserve officer school.

The political department will offer a 4-year training. Graduates will be awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant" and higher education with a civilian specialty in "education in a labor polytechnical school" and a degree in Education.

"N. Y. Vaptsarov" Higher People's Naval Academy

Bearer of the "G. Dimitrov" and "Bulgarian People's Republic" Orders, First Class; Varna, telephone 2-80=28.

the N. Y. Vaptsarov VNVMU has covered the glorious path of machine school, secondary technical school and higher naval academy. Its alumni include Ivan Zagubanski, Anton Ivanov, Nikola Vaptsarov and other noted party leaders.

Today the school's alumni proudly carry the flag on all seas and oceans and honorably represent our people and state in their courageous and difficult yet romantic maritime service.

The academy has a command-engineering and an engineering department, both offering 5-year study terms.

The command-engineering department offers the following subjects: "Navy Ship Command" and "Civil Ship Command."

a. The subject "Navy Ship Command" is for training navy commanders. Graduates are awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education in "ship navigation" and a degree in Ship Navigation and Engineering.

b. The subject "Civil Ship Command" is for training engineers for maritime transportation and ocean fishing. Graduates are given a higher education in "ship sailing" and a degree in Ship Sailing Engineering.

The engineering department has the following subjects: "Ship Machines and Mechanisms--Navy," "Ship Machines and Mechanisms--Civil Fleet," "Maritime Communications" and "Civil Fleet Radioengineering."

a. The subject "Ship Machines and Mechanisms--Navy" is for training ship mechanical engineers. Graduates are awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education in "ship machines and mechanisms--operation" and a degree in Machine Engineering.

b. The subject "Ship Machines and Mechanisms--Civil Fleet" is offered for training ship mechanical engineers for maritime transportation and ocean fishing.

Graduates are awarded higher education in "ship machines and mechanisms" and a degree in Machine Engineering.

c. The subject "Maritime Communications" is for training engineers in communications equipment for the navy. Graduates are awarded the officer rank of "lieutenant-engineer" and higher education in "communications equipment and communications systems" and a Radioengineering Degree.

d. The subject "Radioengineering for the Civil Fleet" is for training civil radioengineers. Graduates are awarded higher education in "radioengineering" and a degree in Radioengineering.

5003

CSO: 2200/62

ALCOHOL ABUSE SEEN AS PROBLEM IN ARMED FORCES

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 12, 1983 (signed to press 14 Mar 83) p 7

[Interview with Lt Col Karl-Heinz Schumann, military prosecutor of the Unterdoerfel Unit, by Lt Col Heinz Rabe; date and place not given: "Alcohol Enjoyment and Alcohol Abuse Are Mutually Exclusive"]

[Text] A responsible attitude toward alcohol is of particular importance in the National People's Army (NVA) and in the Border Troops of the GDR. Here a direct and most responsible contribution must be made every day to the solution of mankind's most important question, the question of war--peace. It is quite logical that in every sector of the national economy the consumption of alcohol during working hours is strictly forbidden in order to prevent accidents and production losses. Of ever so much more importance is this rule for our armed forces where constant battle readiness must be guaranteed and thereby the security and peaceful life of our citizens. These considerations led to the following interview with the military prosecutor of the Unterdoerfel Unit, Lt Col Karl-Heinz Schumann.

[Question] Comrade Lieutenant Colonel, in your line of work, are there things that are really unnecessary?

[Answer] Unfortunately, yes. We must expend much effort on those criminal offenses committed by people under the influence of alcohol. It is well known that such offenses have by far more harmful effects, also on fighting strength and battle readiness, than other offenses of similar kind. It is typical for these offenses that the offender does not plan them before he starts abusing alcohol but decides to commit them only after the effects of alcohol have lowered his inhibitions. In most cases he can then not say why he has committed a criminal offense. He has no motive.

[Question] What is your definition of alcohol abuse?

[Answer] First, the excessive consumption of alcohol. Secondly, and this is true in the majority of cases, if alcohol is consumed at an inappropriate time and place. To put it concretely: One glass is already too much in army barracks!

We should remember that abuse of alcohol in no way lessens or excludes guilt but rather increases it. Our legal code provides that a person who through his own fault gets into a state of intoxication where his sense of responsibility is diminished or completely eliminated will be punished to the extent of the particular law he has broken. And I don't want to be misunderstood: Alcohol enjoyment and alcohol abuse are mutually exclusive!

I'll give you a practical example: During an official trip in an army truck model L0 1800, two members of the armed forces took a different route than the one officially authorized and consumed alcohol together. This means that they abused alcohol in the sense I have already explained. The driver became incapable to operate the truck and on the way back hit a tree. There was considerable property damage.

The military court sentenced both comrades to prison terms. Also they were fined 12 000 mark, the maximum possible, to make restitution for the property damage they caused.

I have before me a claim for restitution from the national insurance company resulting from injuries suffered in an accident caused by alcohol abuse. The claim includes sick pay, the cost of hospitalization at 92.80 mark per day, and doctor's fees at 10.80 mark for each consultation. The total sum is 2 136.05 mark. I am asking myself: Couldn't expenses like these have been avoided? I say: Yes!

[Question] What do you suggest should be included in preventive measures against criminal offenses caused by alcohol abuse?

[Answer] The best preventive measure is strict implementation of appropriate service regulations and directives. To observe these is not a matter of discussion but a requirement of disciplined action without "ifs" and "buts". Nobody has the right to tolerate violations of discipline in this field. We need consistent control, vigilance and determined reaction by each commanding officer and superior, by each sergeant and duty officer, by each soldier on guard duty and, not least in importance, by each senior member of each barracks room. This means that we should observe true socialist relations in our battle collectives, relations of mutual aid, respect, comradeship and confidence. This also means that free time should be given a cultural objective and not just be considered time off.

On the other hand, the fight against alcohol abuse also begins with consistent and quick reactions to violations and criminal offenses resulting from drug abuse. This implies discussions not only with discipline violators or criminal offenders but also with military collectives. And why should major court proceedings not be held before a wider public and in the respective service locales? I have already done this in my practice.

This whole problem is also included in the work of our legal publicity department. I have prepared, e.g., a tape recording that is available to all units for instructional purposes. Also available are wall posters that are interesting and thought provoking.

[Final Comment] Comrade Lieutenant Colonel, we thank you for the interview.

DISSONANT NOTES AT EAST BERLIN KARL MARX CONFERENCE REVIEWED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 Apr 83 p 12

["Politics" feature article by Peter Jochen Winters, datelined "Berlin, in April:" "Something Unexpected from the Fraternal Party--SED's Marx Conference Permitted Deviating Opinions"]

[Text] If proof were still needed that today a unified political and ideological system of world communism no longer exists, then it was furnished by the 6-day scientific conference "Karl Marx and Our Time--the Fight for Peace and Progress," which drew to a close this weekend in East Berlin. Despite the improved climate between the Soviet Union and China, which has been noted for months, the SED did not succeed in persuading the Chinese Communist Party to participate in the East Berlin conference. There is no rapprochement at the party level. The self-confident Chinese Communists could not even bring themselves to sit at the same table with the Soviet Communists and their East European "brother parties." It was almost a matter of course that the willful Albanians had no intention of sending a delegation to East Berlin. But the Communist Parties from East and West, North and South, who sent their representatives to the Karl Marx Conference, definitely did not present a picture of Communist unity in their prepared speeches. For example, what was presented by the representatives of Yugoslav, Romanian, Italian, Japanese and Spanish Communists made it clear that the leaders in the Kremlin are no longer unanimously accepted as the leaders of world communism, that Moscow is no longer recognized as the ideological center and that the "true existing socialism" in the Soviet Union definitely does not serve as a model for the Communist Parties of other countries. The formerly monolithic bloc is split up, and more and more Communist Parties search for their own road to socialism, which had led to an ideological erosion of the dogmatic Marxism-Leninism preached by Moscow. That the federation of the East European Communist countries also shows cracks will probably become visible at the COMECON summit meeting, which will soon take place in early May.

At the Marx conference in East Berlin, the representative of the Spanish Communists stated that everything must be done in order to prevent the rise of a dogmatic view and a dogmatic concept of Marxism. The Yugoslav representative pleaded against attempts to establish an ideological, political or organizational monopoly and against the imposition of viewpoints on other parties and movements; he also spoke out against "models" of socialism and the "export of

revolution." The representative of the Italian Communists was of the opinion that it was contradictory to the thinking of both Marx and Lenin, if their teachings were to be turned into a unified doctrinary system, and that it was absurd to think of a type of centers which "could dictate the so-called true forms of interpretation of Marx's ideas." What is only thought by dissidents in East European countries, the Italian Communist declared openly in East Berlin--and NEUES DEUTSCHLAND had to print it: "It is no longer a matter of governing in the name of the working class and the working population but of truly involving the working class and the working population in every respect in the management of society and the nation." This is the essential question if one wants to meet the crises--in some cases, dramatic ones--which have occurred in various countries going the socialist route. Who did not think of Poland then?

To dogmatic communists of the Moscow persuasion, it must have sounded like heresy when the representative of the Communist Party of Japan described the true existing socialism in Japan it is striving for: a democratic body politic, with a parliament as its highest organ; universal suffrage; separation of the three powers, legislative, executive, and justicial; pluralistic parties, including opposition parties, even those which stand for the restoration of capitalism; and the power of government in the hands of a parliamentary cabinet of that party or party coalition which, in the elections, gains the support of the majority of the people, with the possibility of a cabinet change based on election results. In the "true existing socialism" desired by the Japanese Communists, the party will guarantee comprehensive freedom of thought and religion and will not tolerate ideological pressure with which certain ways of thinking or religious creeds are to be enforced or outlawed. No ideology is to be raised to a place of "national philosophy," and the freedom and rights of the people--"including the right to strike"--are to be defended. Japanese Communists--who have 29 of 511 representatives in the Japanese Lower House--are convinced that there must be a clear distinction between the party and the state or society, according to their representative in East Berlin, and that neither the theory nor ideology of the party should be forced upon society or the people through administrative means. The allocation of material means, which make it possible for people to enjoy their freedom fully, must not be abused by censorship and control.

It was not the purpose of the East Berlin Marx marathon, however, to feign the ideological unity of the Communist camp. Originally, the SED host was concerned with arranging something like a world peace meeting--it had deliberately invited Socialist as well as Social Democratic parties and liberation movements. The Communists were to present themselves as the spearhead of a worldwide peace movement, and beyond all differences, the East Berlin conference of all parties and movements based in some way on Marx was to be united in the endeavor to show that the danger of a world war, which would be a nuclear war, "is becoming increasingly more real due to the ever more aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism under Reagan." It was hoped that, because of the "peace agitation" against the United States and NATO, they could assemble in East Berlin, under Honecker's chairmanship, Andropov and Brandt, Husak and Palme, Jaruzelski and Mitterrand, Ceausescu and Kreisky, as well as a considerable number of party chiefs and heads of state, in the name of Karl Marx, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of his death and his 165th birthday.



But finally, only the Mozambican Machel, the only attending party chief and head of state, came for 1 day. The Social Democratic and Socialist Parties of the West did not play along; either they did not come at all or sent low-ranking representatives. The Soviets also lost interest--Andropov stayed home and sent as head of the Soviet delegation the Leningrad regional party chief, who, moreover, was the only one of the approximately 140 delegation heads not to speak but left the reading of probably the most vacuous speech at this conference to Moscow Central Committee secretary Simjanin. Thus the East Berlin meeting, conceived as an historic event, became rather a third-class affair. Although everyone talked about peace and attacked the United States more or less vehemently, due to the uniformity and verbosity of the prepared 145 speeches it was rather the dissenting opinions that drew attention, particularly when presented by representatives of Communist Parties. For it was to be expected that Social Democrats, if they went to East Berlin at all, would set their own interpretation of Marx against that of the Communists. Incidentally, the representative of the Social Democratic Workers Party of Sweden succeeded in this most impressively, and he proved with a great many quotations from Marx that Marx had uncompromisingly spoken up for democracy and freedom of opinion. Democracy with universal suffrage--but a parliamentary democracy--and freedom of opinion, are important and necessary for the self-development of every people, for the development of contacts between peoples and, therefore, for peace.

9917

CSO: 2300/214

BANNED ROCK SINGER'S POPULARITY SEEN GROWING

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 37 No 16, 18 Apr 83 pp 44, 46

['GDR' feature article: "Hallo, Erich--In his recent LP record rock star Udo Lindenberg pokes fun at SED chief Erich Honecker. In the West he received a Gold Record for his song, which in the GDR has covertly become a hit."

[Text] The SED bureaucrats' ban curse was directed at a dead man: they wanted to save the walls from the trumpets of Big Band leader Glenn Miller.

His swing standard "Chattanooga Choo Choo" (1941), which describes a leisurely steam train ride on the Tennessee Line, is no longer broadcast in the GDR. Youth clubs were ordered to remove that golden oldie from their programs. In one East Berlin disco the culture guardians dragged a would-be pianist from the piano when he picked out the tune.

Almost 39 years after his death, maestro Miller's melody is in second place on the underground hit parade. As of last January, number one is West German rock senior Udo Lindenberg, 36.

He sings new lyrics with Miller's music. The "Billerbeck Nightingale", with its "beautiful wreck of a voice," as he described himself, is not attracted to Chattanooga, but to the "special train to Pankow." On the new LP "Odyssee" he confronts SED Chief Erich Honecker: "Hey Erich, don't be such a dumb crate--let me sing in the workers' and peasants' state!"

Lindenberg has been waiting for a reply to this request for some 8 years. Originally he applied to the GDR Artists' Agency and the Ministry of Culture for permission to perform. But while West German kings of the tear-jerkers like Rex Gildo and Costa Cordalis and Katja Ebstein and Udo Juergens found triumphal acclaim in the GDR, the "talented yodeler" (Lindenberg) couldn't get in. As a GDR official put it unofficially in 1978: "The time isn't ripe yet."

The SED censors themselves were at a loss as to what to make of Lindenberg. While the FDJ journal NEUES LEBEN praised him in 1977 as "just about the classic opposite of those slicked down pretty-boy tear-jerker singers of the ZDF hit parades," they deplored the fact that "unfortunately he had not joined the 'organized progressive forces in the FRG'" (meaning the German Communist Party).

On one occasion the Eastern culture managers were upset because Udo sang an inter-German song about "A Girl From East Berlin," whose Western boyfriend wasn't permitted to spend the night. Another time they raised his hopes when the state-owned recording firm "Amiga" published a record of his.

When Lindenberg finally performed at the "Rock Against the Right" festival in Frankfurt in 1979 and expressed his feelings against Franz Josef Strauss, the [Frankfurt airport] west runway and counterarming, he finally appeared to be acceptable to the East Berliners too. In May 1982 Lindenberg was permitted to explain to the readers of the FDJ daily JUNGE WELT why he didn't think highly of Bonn's political controls. Four months later the main SED journal NEUES DEUTSCHLAND devoted much space to him when he helped to prepare a peace festival in Bochum.

But he still can't come in; the cultural functionaries as not saying a thing. Says "Special Train" lyricist Lindenberg: "I've tried all official routes." Now he has imparted musical impetus to his 8-year old application by writing insulting lyrics, much to the GDR guardians' displeasure.

In the West the sly song climbed to the top of the hit parade; Lindenberg finally had a Gold Record. The West Berlin Broadcast Service accordingly plays the song addressed to "Honey" Honecker very frequently. Countless off-the-air tape recordings are circulating in the GDR; young people are whistling the Chattanooga melody on the S-Train and on the Alex.

According to an East Berlin youth visiting the "Rock for Peace" festival in the GDR, the song is a great success: "I wish he'd come over here, one way or the other." Agrees another: "I believe he has the greatest number of fans here. He's never seen that many!"

His fans are everywhere. When Lindenberg privately visited the GDR 3 years ago for the last time, he said selfconsciously: "In the GDR practically everybody knows me." Since his Pankow song hit the market he has been receiving about 50 letters from the GDR every day, some of them from older people. None from Erich as yet.

That is why Lindenberg persists. A few weeks ago he once again requested a reply in a letter to East Berlin, "subject: yodeling license for the GDR:" "You, being the Chairman of the Council of State, are up to your neck in heavy stuff and have therefore probably not found the time to answer my song. I can understand that: I'm very busy myself." Lindenberg

continues: "But I hope now that you'll soon give me the green light for my trip to the Red country. If not, please be good enough to make your Indians give me a good and sufficient reason why not."

The latter now have a reason at last for disapproving the request. Philipp Dyck, director of the cultural division of the FDJ central council and as such responsible for youth clubs and their activities, expressed doubts at the East Berlin rock festival last January as to whether Lindenberg has a "clear position with respect to peace politics." Says Dyck: "I have no idea whether there will be any possibility at all."

And FDJ member who follows the party line said that Lindenberg had "shot himself in the foot with the new song," and that "basically the ban against his performing is his own fault." Two GDR disc jockeys have already lost their licenses because they played the Lindenberg record. Both were fined 3,000 marks.

But the rock star pretends that he continues to hope for admittance. He believes that the GDR leadership worries that performances by him could lead to "emotional outbreaks" and "uncontrollable turmoil." "But that," says Lindenberg, "is not my intention at all." While he would speak his mind during concerts accessible to one and all, "I wouldn't knock the GDR."

Lindenberg thinks that Honecker should really have some understanding for him. "After all, the man made music himself once." Indeed, 55 years ago young Erich played the snare drum in the military band of the association of Red combat veterans in Wiebelskirchen in the Saarland.

9273  
CSO: 2300/208

NEW PRIVATE SOCIAL AID SERVICE USES VOLUNTEERS

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 13 Apr 83 p 9

[Letter to the editor of MAGYAR NEMZET by Mrs Judit Laszlo Urbanek, with the MINERVA Family Aid Service]

[Text] I should like to supplement the reply given to the "question" in your 26 February paper: "Are there enterprises willing to provide social care?" Since 1 November 1982, in addition of LARES, there has been another private enterprise. Its goal, among others, is to organize the supervision of patients in their home.

The MINERVA Family Care Service is engaged only in mediating between those who can provide family care type services on an occasional basis and those who need it. Those wishing to provide service are helped by MINERVA for a referral fee of 50 Ft for 6 months. Those requiring service are, of course, paying much more diverse reference fees, between 50 to 500 Ft, depending on the nature of the service and the difficulty of the request.

During the first 4 months, 333 individuals have registered at the MINERVA Family Care Service to provide services. Of these, 120 were students, 52 were retired, 150 were employed and 11 were on child care benefits. Actually, MINERVA is dealing with everything in the sphere of family care and 190 requests had been satisfied so far.

Regrettably, we cannot help everyone who turns to us. So far, we were unable to find concrete solution to 90 requests. Either we could not find service providers available at the requested time or, more frequently, in spite of repeated attempts, we were unable to find an individual suitable in every way for the task.

The requests coming to us reflect numerous difficult, at times hopeless family situations where they cannot expect social aid to solve the problem. Our experiences so far confirm that these people are not asking for institutional help, they assume their burdens themselves and they merely ask for a mediating organ toward solution.

MINERVA is supposed to fulfill this need. Based on the results of the first 4 months, it can already be concluded with certainty that the organization of family care type services will not become particularly remunerative even later, but there is tremendous social need for it. Generalizing our current experiences, we already know that it would not be feasible to establish any profit oriented structure. The primary goal is to keep referrals and services affordable to every social stratum. Therefore, we did not establish uniform hourly rates. This determination is always left to the two interested parties. Thus, the fee for the service is always agreed upon directly by the ones who request and provide it, depending on the nature of the actual task and the very diverse ability of the families to bear the costs.

2473

CSO: 2500/216

## MEMOIRS OF HUNGARIAN WRITER IN ROMANIA REVIEWED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Mar 83 p 15

/Article by Pal E. Feher: "A Book on Humanity and Responsibility"

/Text/ 1.

"Well, isn't it unique, really, that all this has happened to me?" This is how Sandor Huszar poses the question, and if some thought that this is just a pose or simulated naivety he is badly mistaken. The Hungarian writer living in Bucharest wrote the memoirs of his life. During the 50-some years he spent on this Earth he has been a factory worker in a Kolozsvar /a/k/a Cluj/ shoe factory, then author of a bulletin board, from where he went directly to Kolozsvar's daily newspaper, the IGAZSAG /TRUTH/, after which he became a young writer, and simultaneously a university student, then according to the customs of the era (we are at the very beginning of the 1950's!) also a teaching assistant at the university, which means he could have administered tests to himself. In 1959 at the age of 30 he was the director of Kólozsvár State Hungarian Theater, and as he confesses "this in itself was the cultural revolution since I attended a theatrical performance for the first time in 1948". And for quite a few years now he has been the chief editor of one of the highest ranked Hungarian cultural weeklies, the A HET /THE WEEK/, published in Bucharest. And don't let me forget this: he is a writer, first of all and in spite of other functions he is a writer, whose works I will not list here since I am not writing a lexicographic article, but I must let you in on that much that Mr Huszar is one of those artists whose works are strongly autobiographically inspired. This is so whether we are talking about his earlier short stories or about his novels written about the world of the theater. Therefore his questions and the passion with which he inquires into fate, are far from merely defining personal experiences. To at least the same degree, they immortalize the experiences of the generation.

To put it briefly and schematically, Sandor Huszar professes the generation which lived through World War II as child-adults and in very great poverty, then it was caught up by the revolutionary momentum after the liberation, then it had to catch up to itself by tremendous suffering, with superhuman work which tested man, that is, it had to prove with performance the advantage it received from history. In Hungary we call this generation the generation of the "shining breezes", but actually the life of the Hungarian writer in Romania

does not differ much from it. Perhaps Sandor Huszar's life differs to the extent that he is a representative of the workers, so the path of moving up was that much more difficult for him. Huszar writes about this as the "poor start", and in this book which, considering its format, contains his essays about his fellow writers, but in reality it is a concealed and shy autobiography, this motif appears many times.

2.

Memories of My Life--this is the title of Sandor Huszar's book, and its explanatory subtitle which refers to its substance, says: "Confessions about the damnation of a sinless generation". And the book contains essays and memories about his masters and contemporaries. A few names from this collection: Gabor Gaal, Istvan Asztalos, Sandor Kacso, Janos Kemeny, Sandor Tomcsa, Imre Miko, Gyula Csehi, Tamas Deak, Jozsef Meliusz; and the ones mentioned living in Hungary: Marcell Benedek, Istvan Orkeny, and a nice number of Romanian writers.

Of course, I should have mentioned Istvan Nagy and Laszlo Foldes first, because looking at their lives and their fates, the two essays about them bear the heaviest of what Huszar has to say. And they are of interest not only to Romanians and even less exclusively to Romanian Hungarians, but they have things to say to the universal Hungarian literature. Or--to further whet the reader's curiosity--these are confessions with a sort of Eastern Central European credibility.

But before I would discuss these two pieces of writing, I should inform the reader that this book of Sandor Huszar at the same time is also a sort of subjective history of literature of the last quarter century of the Romanian Hungarian literature. The way an editor sees it, the way a writer always in action could see it. Huszar has also had more objective reports than this about Hungarian writing in Romania. That series of his interviews which was published in a volume entitled "Az iro asztalanal" /At the writer's desk/ and which to this day is an indispensable source work, since he let everyone who "mattered", speak. Therefore, then, that old interview volume and this essay collection should, or is a good idea to read together. In that the writers speak about themselves, while in this one Huszar speaks about them.

3.

So, Istvan Nagy... Huszar's meeting with Istvan Nagy, the communist worker writer was a matter of necessity. One reason is that they come from the same proletarian section of Kolozsvar, Huszar lived the same proletarian life, and consequently the same creations had the strongest influence on him which depicted this world he knew the very best way. And also, the behavior of Istvan Nagy impressed him. "By having become possessed about becoming a man under the most inhumane circumstances. That, indeed, he became an example and a picture of an example. Not of perfection, nor of faultlessness or of irreproachability, but of what is much more than this, because it is sized for humans: the example of unbreakable faith and will."



Huszar also learned much from Istvan Nagy. Obviously also as a writer, e though their makeups differ much from each other's, and from that of the editor, of the literary politician. Huszar states: "He was not a man of the moment. He was a man of life. He lived the era, the art and the class consciousness." And this is why Huszar, and not only he but also his entire generation, finds and found themselves in conflict with Istvan Nagy. There were those who kept and are keeping quiet about this hard fought battle, but I consider it a credit to Huszar that he talks openly about it because this is how the memory of Istvan Nagy becomes authentic and really living.

The substance of the conflict was that Istvan Nagy implemented every stipulation of the dogmatism of the 1950's rigidly, and with full conviction. There were those for whom this overfulfillment was careerism, the baseness of spinelessness. Istvan Nagy did not overfulfill, he behaved at all times in a way that he was carrying out the orders of the class, of the party. Yes, but literature had to face the dogma and the prejudices. Anyone who said these things, Huszar first boils within himself, then accepts the debate openly. For Istvan Nagy, not not against him. Huszar exposes not the person but the ideology.

And he adds this: "His works steadfastly stand up for Istvan Nagy. But who will stand up for the humanity of those who--like myself also--can not abandon Istvan Nagy the man, the social phenomenon? What should those do who feel the despise of those coming after them, for certain things that happened to them?... This is what they should do. They should reveal what happened. They should show posterity that they have nothing, and no reason, to conceal and be secretive. We were naive. But not of poor faith and ill will. And if things seem clearer now, then we have also had at least so much to do with it which should be enough that they would not doubt our honesty." It is unmistakably clear from the text: we are talking not only about Istvan Nagy's errors, as Huszar confronted not only them, but to at least the same extent his own self, and his generation. And he had to say those things, he must not deny the errors, so that the values could be preserved that much more clearly and brightly.

And this moral is quite important to us.

Laszlo Foldes's 40-page-plus writing entitled "A kapitány" [The captain] is quite a historical document of the era. Of course, does a reader in Hungary know who Laszlo Foldes was, since his tragically short life was geographically restricted? Laszlo Foldes has been dead for about 10 years, and he was the chief editor of UTUNK [OUR ROAD], the literary weekly in Kolozsvár, then he was replaced, became a university lecturer, then in 1970 when the A HET started, he became the deputy of Sandor Huszar. But these dry data say nothing about the colorful individuality of Laszlo Foldes. He was a sort of a literary gentleman, a terrific editor, an informed, cultured and capitivating lecturer, and an excellent critic. Huszar is searching for the reasons of the tragedy: why did Foldes's life path develop in the way that at the end the man was more than his works, when everything could have also happened differently. But the works were not born, and the papers edited by him are just as fallible as most of the others. Huszar recalls the individuality. He also does not forget his personal gratitude, since Foldes often and effectively helped his career

as a writer. But he is not quiet about Foldes's unnecessary and unneeded compromises either, which he made because he considered himself (and he was) useful as an editor, but the compromise became so grave that in its shadow he could no longer remain an editor, either. And while he worked a lot in the meanwhile, he still did not write the works.

A dry and unmercifully harsh judgment? If my summary has this effect, then I must emphatically stress: Huszar does not want to and cannot pass judgment. He outlined the life path of a friend, because of the usefulness of the possible conclusions. So that he could learn, and so could others, even if Laszlo Foldes himself can no longer do so.

4.

Huszar calls himself a sensitive man, and in all probability this is true. But I feel the adjective "responsible" is more appropriate for his book. Sandor Huszar wrote the writings of this volume, this continuous self-confession in which his own individual injuries suffered are also obviously included, in order to warn his generation of its responsibility. Before his contemporaries and posterity. The secret of this responsibility is extremely simple: only the words of those are credible who do not consider themselves blameless, who is capable of facing his own mistakes, and who can evaluate the road that leads from intent to implementation. Hopefully with an accurate measure.

What does the subtitle of this volume mean then, why does he consider his generation to be sinless? The answer: "my original sinlessness is obvious, as I could not have committed any kind of political error or war crime (I was 15 years of age at the liberation). The question is justified because I participated as a full fledged fighter in the social battles that followed it, so I have no excuse. What happened actually? I became a newspaper reporter at age 19. In 1952 I went to work for UTUNK and published sketches. In 1959 I was appointed theater director. In 1964 I was relieved from the director's position per my own request. So, what happened was the young worker came into power, and once came to realize that he cannot change the world. More precisely, that he had missed the arena of changing the world. By then literature had infected him so much that he begrudged the time for changing reality. His world, the one he wants to change, is in the literature..."

Thus, Sandor Huszar considers the virtue of his generation that he arrived into literature with faith and desire, and then he was able to recognize which of his desires remained illusions, what he had missed, and he does not forget his tasks. Because those are still there. A large number of them.

5.

Sandor Huszar's book is a very serious one. And like in all books to be taken really seriously, the author also finds room for humor and irony. One of his anecdotes is about Petru Groza, the Romanian statesman with deeply democratic feelings, and a true friend of our people. Sometime in the early 1950's when visited Kolozsvar as president and, as he used to, went out for a walk. Someone asked him: "Mr President, aren't you afraid that some---well, will

harm you? You know: there are many mean people in this world." "You see, son"--Groza said then--, "I have nothing to be afraid of. After worlds have collapsed and a new one rose from the ruins, and I have remained in the service of my people in a practically unique performance, in the front lines, the only thing that can now happen is that someone will do me a favor and make me a martyr." The episode is typical of Groza but also of Sandor Huszar who wrote it down because he knows that old truth (which so many forget) that humor does not drag human greatness (or simply: humaneness) down into the mud, but rather to the contrary: it elevates it.

And Sandor Huszar could not do without humor either because he wrote a human book about our human problems.

"Memories of My Life" was published early this year by Kriterion Publishers in Bucharest.

8584

CSO: 2500/187

## BLUE COLLAR BUDAPEST AREA GETTING NEW CHURCH

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 3 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by Maria Galantai: "A Church Is Being Built in Angyalfold"]

[Text] "This is also resurrection," says pensively Gyorgy Herpy, the pastor of the Vizafogo parish while he locks the door of the chapel in the humid basement.

One has to go down several steps into the Saint Martin chapel of Frangepan street, Budapest XIII. Tall cement thresholds and pumps stand by to prevent flooding, yet it is clearly visible on the board of the confessional how high water stands after each rainfall.

For example on 17 December, 1979, when a main drain-pipe bursted on Vaci-avenue, dirty water rushing through the damaged sewers broke the cement ground of the chapel and water rose to one meter in it. But there is no need of such an inordinate event; a summer shower suffices, a somewhat abundant rainfall and water rolls on in the chapel.

Thus it was high time that the faithful of this developing neighborhood exchange their humid, damp, unhealthy, and stuffy chapel for a proper church. In 1981 the City Council of Budapest allocated a plot on the intersection of Vaci-ut and Fay-utca for the new parish house and chapel. The plans for the parish-church building were drawn up by Istban Szabo, an architect decorated with the Ybl-prize, and were submitted to the authorities. In the summer of 1982 the groundwork was started. Now the walls of the parish are already standing. The chapel will be built on the top of it.

At the time of our visit work was going on despite the inclement weather and the strong wind. Each minute is precious. We would like to be ready with our work by the end of 1984, when the Metro-station will be opened here. This means that we have to roof the building by coming summer. It would be of course cheaper if construction could proceed along veneer and the necessary insulation work, since this way we would avoid building scaffoldings twice. Whether we will be able to do this is merely a question of finances. With the help of the chief diocese, foreign contributions, and last but not least local resources work has been so far running smoothly. And what is also important, it is a beautiful, precise and careful work. We will have large liabilities. For example just the door

and the window frames cost one million forint, the stone veneer amounts to two million.

The generosity of the faithful in the neighborhood and environment is moving. We received a donation of 10,000 forint with the remark: "Out of gratitude to God that we could live to see the 50th anniversary of our wedding." A couple with two children have already moved from this neighborhood. A Sunday afternoon they came to see us: "We heard that you are building, so we brought a contribution of 15,000 forint."

It is a very nice but by no means surprising fact that most donations, the source of which is the generosity of the faithful of a church on nearby Huba-street (formerly a Carmelite-church), consist of merely a few hundred forints, and the money orders are obviously filled out with trembling old hands.

While walking on the construction ground I try to imagine on the basis of designs and maquette photos I have seen the beautiful and modern house of God, which will harmoniously complement the other buildings of the renovated Angyalfold. Meanwhile I remember the priest's words: this is also resurrection. It is indeed. And as the resurrection occurred in a hidden way, and it was a fait accompli when it became visible, hopefully here too the fact of the renewal will be merely a symptom and a consequence of a complete and innermost renewal of the parish and within it of all the faithful.

CSO: 2500/218

## GRZECHOWSKI VIEWS SPECIFIC PRON TASKS, ACTIVITY

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 10, 5 Mar 83 pp 1,3

/Interview with Prof Marian Orzechowski by Anna Azymanska and Piotr Ambroziewicz, secretary general of the Interim National Council of PRON/

/Article headline: "Something Completely New is Being Born"/

/Question/ The party is one of the political signatories of PRON. The comrade secretary recently talked about this, that the development of PRON is for the party a matter of strategic dimension. The party's interest in the development of motion is understandable, although it also awakens anxieties. If in reality conditions will be created for PRON so it will become socially authentic, sovereign, will it repeat the mistakes of FJN /National Unity Front/, in which after all the party fulfilled a key role? The fact that the secretary general of the Interim National Council of PRON is at the same time the secretary of the party, also may give the impression that the party excessively at the outset of the movement, wants to interfere with its matters and steer it, and still the society's support, whose base is to be PRON, for authority, generally speaking, in this also--and properly above all--for the party, cannot be again organized from the top.

/Answer/ In the Interim National Council of PRON there are over 330 people, of this 100 are members. Among 10 of the vice-chairman only one is a member of PZPR, among the 46-person Presidium less than a third are party members. Combining these facts, there is no greater significance than that the general secretary of the Interim National Council of PZPR fulfills functions in TRK from the arm of six signatories--PZPR, ZSL, and SD and three Catholic organizations, and not only the "white house".

When we undertake discussions, we do not take into account party affiliation, but the arguments, the propositions of activities.

The 20 July 1983 declaration of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth was negotiated in the true meaning of the word. It is a political compromise in this sense, that it recognizes the basic rights of the state, whose bearer is the party, but also recognizes the rights of others, present realities, and the political situation of the country.

This does not mean, however, that I do not share the doubts contained in the question. They are totally understandable, if you take in consideration the large baggage of bad experiences. You cannot be surprised at anyone who does not want to accept things on faith. We are aware of the doubts and indifference of a segment of society. How big a segment? Thirty percent, 40. So say the press-clipping researches, but I underscore, press-clippings. So maybe more, maybe less. These attitudes in addition are constantly fomented by Radio Free Europe, and similar to its publicity, by the underground propaganda.

Question And what can counteract these arguments?

Answer It goes in two directions. In the first: the communists will not invent anything new, outside of modifying variants of the National Unity Front. In the second, they communists go for concessions, because otherwise they cannot survive, they grab for the last "board saving" temporarily to delude society, and in time they will return to the old tried methods.

This can be answered with many, a great many words, declarations, assurances, ...but the most important is social practice. PRON already in its inception arose as a movement dissimilar to the FJN, although like the National Unity Front, like national fronts, grow out of the same native soil, as old as the labor movement. Now we arrive at a premise, that you cannot bring about a socialistic revolution by the hands of the communists alone, and not even solely by the labor class. Socialism arises for society and is created by it, and not for itself. A socialistic structure built exclusively by communists--is a building erected on sand.

We therefore desire to create in Poland socialism in a rational, economical way, with public approval. We are establishing steady political and social activity of some, and spontaneous for others, those namely who will not go to the party or its affiliates with their discipline and internal rigors, but could certainly come to PRON and here find a level of social activity suitable to their desires.

Question In what way then does the format of the political movement of rebirth differ from the unity front?

Answer First of all with new subjects of alliance opened up toward nonparty individuals. To the PZPR and three affiliates came in Catholic organizations with bases of socialistic coalition. The political formula of PRON is an open one, different than it was up to now. We accentuate partnership, the political and ideological identity of the individual signatories of this new, as a matter of fact, affair of socialistic alliance. We are breaking away from treating them as a specific "transmission to the masses" as a facade. As an example: ZSL does not occupy itself solely with the narrow sector of matters strictly connected with farming, but with all affairs of the nation. With the principle of partnership combined is however the problem of mutual liability. Also that of failures. We want to break away from such practice, with the thought in mind that successes and failures would be exclusively ascribed to the party.

Question In the social consciousness such an opinion rooted itself however very firmly.

Answer That's the truth, for years it has emerged as a permanent element, and this cannot be changed from one year to the next. The bus service is bad, they did not deliver the bread to the village cooperative-- this is all the fault of the party. This stereotype will still function for a long time, but we want to change it.

Question Doesn't however partnership on the same level of basic principles carry with itself the danger that again everybody will begin talking the same language and say yes to one another?

Answer No, we don't have to, and we don't want to talk the same language, use the same arguments, the same reasonings of world opinions and ideologies. From the declaration of 20 July, from the prepared material for the national congress, which will be the subject of general discussions, no attempt is shown to force any opinion on others. The formula of PRON is different, broader. The movement is to function after all not through the delegating of representatives, but through voluntary accession. This can be individual participation, participation of community organizations, differently under- than in FJN.

Question Exactly, what is it really like? An organization approaches PRON, numbering some hundreds of thousands--do they all automatically become participants in the movement, without their knowledge and consent?

Answer Such an opinion is a misunderstanding. Accession to ZSMP or TPP-R does not signify that all members of the union or society are "incorporated" into PRON. It only means that the central administration accepted the aims and assignments of PRON, however their desire to participate in the rebirth movement are declared--if they want to--for instance, individual groups, individual members. In general it has to be said that PRON is formed simultaneously from the top, and from the bottom, which is also a certain novelty. We can talk with everybody, we can sit with everybody at the table, to hear out his reasoning and present your own, even if today they do not accept them. Readiness for discussions denotes a readiness to accept arguments.

Question "...even if today they do not accept them." Does this mean that, certainly we can have discussions, but in any event our arguments are right from the beginning sentenced to success?

Answer Not at all, of course with the exclusion of questions pertaining to policy and allies. The national understanding was supposed to rely upon this. I will remind you that on 4 November 1981 a meeting was held with Walesa, Primate Glemp and Gen Jaruzelski. Who extended a hand? Whose fault was it that it did not bring results? The declaration of PRON did not prejudice as "no" to the question of "Solidarity's" existence--it continued the mentioning of a dialogue, an idea of an agreement, but that is exactly what the opposition wanted to impose, it's own conditions: a return to the status prior to 13 December. It rejected any compromise whatsoever.



Today the situation is different. A socialistic country, authority--won an important campaign in a war for socialism. These brought out some conclusions from the past and are now proposing a new foundation for agreements. There are some groups in the society, which with disinterest are looking on what is going on in our country. There are groups that think realistically--they were at first on the other side, but they found that this road leads nowhere and are looking for a way out with honor. The opponent violated the rules of fair play, we, on the other hand want to adhere to them, and facilitate just such an honorable crossover on the left, socialist side. I doubt that a discussion with Mr Bujak would yield anything or either with the Interim National Committee, since their platform is not one declaring an understanding, but one of battle to the point of bringing the authorities to their knees. I didn't have them in mind, only those who doubt and feel like losers, but at the same time reflect on their errors. In their subjective conviction they consider themselves as adversaries of socialism, but in fact they are adversaries of compromised practices, leading to degeneration. They are resigned, but often full of anticipation--maybe just for a gesture from the authority's side, or the party's? PRON could help them and will attempt to help. It is necessary to approach these matters with moderation and restraint and without cheap optimism.

Question Are meetings in one group, which with all it's differences is PRON and it's authorities, that possibly is the wrong word--let's say organs-- does not deprive it of authenticity, independence, even though you declare an ideological and world-opinion divergence?

Answer There are doubts in the movement itself about this. Representatives of the authorities, but really of political power, are in the minority however, at which point it is better possibly to stand eye-to-eye with them instead of settling matters in a roundabout way through intermediaries. Meetings of the council - on the outside, for instance in the Sejm or with the government Presidium, have a prominent labor character. I therefore think, that a lot of schematization is evident in PRON presentations in the mediums of mass communications: self-censorship, self-restraint in fear of sensation, that possibly somebody may have a different opinion than the premier, or vice-premier. The reality is much more interesting than what we hear, read, or see.

Question A stumbling-block for journalists, but the press also has its own dispatchers.

Answer The mental stereotypes are still serving their penance, we have somehow not had the time to break free from them. After August there was a degeneration, a tilt in the other direction, now some believe that 1 December there came about a total reversal to the old ways in the presentation of our public life, this at a time when we had to preserve and continue all that is good and beneficial. You cannot surround the authority with a cloud of secrecy, for they are only human. Anyone who attentively observes the press, in spite of its deficiencies, can see that you cannot level out everybody in one full swoop, and that many, very

many matters are no longer a public taboo. However there is appearing within society an understanding of politics exclusively in personal categories, in contests, such as, who will come in, who will go out, and who is with whom and against whom? Particularly in Warsaw, a cafe-type of politician has developed. These are marginal items, but you could have anxieties, that a too "open" formula in this propaganda material could stabilize such a stereotype.

In the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth we desire to incorporate and vitalize the formula "variety in unity." Notice the shifting of accents--from "unity in variety". In the declaration of 20 July we give expression to the things that unite us, it is now the turn for variety in the realizations of things which are of common interest. It will be interesting to see how the public opinion will accept this. Anyway the movement is becoming a lively phenomenon, both social and political.

Question In view of this, what tasks is it supposed to perform? Realistically?

Answer You can single out four groups of functions. For the first, participation in the establishment of laws through society's initiation of new legislative acts.

Question Legislative initiative?

Answer No, since the constitution mentions the bodies which have the right to such initiatives. That is why I spoke of society's initiations, first of all, through the representatives and members of the movement. Yet with time, who knows, maybe we will be able to attain appropriate entitlements.

Secondly - society's control over the functions of the law and administration in connection with social consultation. We want to know its opinions and views. We are therefore planning to create a Public Opinion Research and Social Analysis Center, independent of existing agencies of this kind - jointly with the Sejm, which is interested in this initiative.

The implementation of control functions relative to the administration will be performed mainly through committees on the provincial and municipal level. We are not looking however for just another bureau to handle charges and complaints, or examination of individual cases, but one with a broader scope, to form conclusions and petition on the grounds of gathered suggestions.

As third - the matter of elections to the Sejm and national councils. Creation of election program, presenting candidates, conduct electoral campaigns, concern for the maintenance of ties between the representatives and aldermen with the electorate, devising efficient mechanisms for the impeachment of representatives and aldermen.

Finally, the fourth - initiation of local enterprises, of various contest such as a champion of economy, the best self-government, best afforestation and the like. Speaking more generally, the intention is to release surplus social energies so badly needed by us in the crisis. In this regard, we will have the most in common with FJN, but it is difficult not to recognize these particular activities as positive.

/Question/ The voice of public opinion states at times, that just as soon as the authorities feel strong in the saddle, they will stop flirting with the public and they will talk in a different tone of voice. And at that time even PRON will fall to a secondary role.

/Answer/ Today we can only talk about declarations. Its intentions regarding the movement the leadership treats seriously; PRON was created as an element of socialist renewal, and also as a mechanism for warning, preventing, and correcting, a mechanism recognizing moods and transmitting signals to the authorities. In this sense you can talk about a movement of rebirth in the aspect of arriving at conclusions, and reflecting on experiences coming from a crisis.

/Question/ We will ask again in the way in which we ourselves are often asked: Have these experiences been thought through to an end? Did "they" finally learn anything at all?

/Answer/ These questions are the order of the day also among "them," among people within the system of authority. They do not deny the source of their fears. There are remarks about the dangers of the authority' arrogance, their forgetfulness, saturation with success, about the danger of self-justification and the return to the old methods of administration. The proof of authenticity therefore can only be the creation of new mechanisms. PRON is one of these and it will what we ourselves make it.

There are however those who see only the departure from the principles of marxism-leninism. They do not understand what has transpired, which Lenin, whom they quote so often, understood. They could recall what he said about the realities of politics, of compromise, telling what politics are and what they are not. About the conditions creating socialism, about the numerous roads leading to it, about the necessity of constant experimenting, searching. The party will remain marxist-leninist, but it finds itself in a situation, that neither Lenin or Marx could foresee. Something completely new is being born, but our road is also one of experiments, creating something which nowhere up to now has been tried.

/Question/ Because to create PRON and later live with it and let it live, that's two somewhat different things...

/Answer/ I myself cannot as yet envision this completely, beyond general presumptions, which positively have to be fulfilled, that PRON should first come into existence in our sociopolitical system.

We thank you for the interview.

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CSO: 2600/698

## POLITBURO MEMBER GRZYB INTERVIEWED ON STATE OF PZPR

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 11, 13 Mar 83 pp 5, 14

Interview with Zofia Grzyb, forewoman at "Radoskor" and a PZPR CC Politburo member, by Sladyslaw Misiolek: "Close to Peoples' Problems"; date not specified, interviewed in Radom

Text Zofia Grzyb: an ex-member of ZMW and ZMP, in 1947 she joined PPR, since December 1948 member of PZPR. She has started her professional career at the Radom Tobacco Works, thereafter she worked as a laborer at the "Walter" Works, starting in 1953 she has been working as production forewoman at "Radoskor." She has held many party posts in branch and basic PZPR organizations. For many years she has been a member of the City Committee and the Executive Committee of the "Radoskor" Works Plant Committee. Since February 1980 member of the PZPR Central Committee. In July 1981 she has been elected to Politburo.

Question The journalist's curiosity equals that of readers, so please do not feel bad, comrade Zofia, that I will start with this question: Has the fact that you have joined the highest party organs changed anything in your personal life?

Answer In one way, yes. The problem of my private life has been solved radically. Time for my personal and family affairs has been always a thorny question for me, while since July 1981 I simply do not have any time for this. So much for this problem. Although there is one complication, since my husband has not yet completely resigned himself to this, and sometimes he would like to take his wife out somewhere.

I do not hide it that I dream not so much about free Saturdays as about at least free afternoons on Sundays in order to meet friends and acquaintances, to take longer walks with my grandchildren and to celebrate family holidays. I dream also that the acquaintances whom I meet privately talk to me not only about politics.

Question Unfortunately, this discussion will be also about politics. But first I would like to ask you about your opinion about Radom.

/Answer/ This is my beloved city. I was born and raised here, I started, and have been engaged for the past 35 years in, my professional career, here I was learning how to conduct social and political activity. I am bound with Radom with all my heart, while what I am I owe to large extent to my city, its working class, part of which I consider myself.

/Question/ Turning to politics... We are talking at the final phase of the PZPR reporting campaign, so it is an opportune occasion to ask this question: Does the party have already enough strength to implement decisively the program of the Ninth Congress?

/Answer/ You are not the only one who asks this question. At each meeting or discussion in which I have participated we were trying to establish whether the party has recovered previously lost positions. Those questions are still valid. What were the reasons our ranks were weak? Were we able, or are we able now to act differently? In our discussions we continually recall that difficult period preceding the introduction of martial law when our adversaries were getting ready to remove the party from factories, when the leaders of "Solidarity" use to relish counting returned party cards.

/Question/ They truly had many chances to feel that satisfaction.

/Answer/ This was, however, a result of party's improper practices, not of their strength. I have in mind the so-called mass party membership drive. As a secretary of the basic party cell, I myself had a recruitment plan to account for. Stress on quantity resulted in the candidates' preparatory period being highly inadequate. How little was being said at that time about a party member's aims, about his personal responsibility for events occurring in his neighborhood as well as elsewhere in the country. When everything was functioning comparatively well those people remained in party, but when the time of trial has come they failed the test, some even simply deserted.

/Question/ Are such people just a bitter memory for the party?

/Answer/ Unfortunately, still not quite so, some of them are still among our ranks. To put it differently, not everybody still understands what does it mean to be a party member.

/Question/ You are saying this with a considerable dose of concern, comrade Zofia.

/Answer/ Because this is an exceptionally important matter. Party's recovery proceeds not only on the plane of great ideological problems, it should also involve attitudes and manner of activity of each party member. Party's authority depends also on the way we, its members, perform our duties at work, whether we fight the negative phenomena that surround us, what kind of example we are for our family and the social group that we are part of. We cannot pass indifferently unfinished business. The party, its cells and individual members, should be present among people and workforces. It must be an active presence, that is one which wins over people for the commenced cause of socialist renewal, which shows the need of disciplined and productive work--the only foundation of our existence and social justice.

Question Not only party is present at the workplaces, there are also trade union cells, self-governing and social bodies...

Answer The party is for the largest possible membership in those organizations, they should be active and militant. Not only party's governing bodies want this, I have encountered similar wishes at party meetings and conferences. And this is good. The worker wants and has an inalienable right to be a cohost of his workplace, while the party's inalienable duty is to help him in this respect. How? Among other things, by creating the conditions necessary for the functioning of independent trade unions and workers' self-government. Functioning of these organizations is also necessary for the solution of problems involved in production.

Question Sticking to party matters: Would not the concern about unity cause atrophy of critical attitudes, consequently ending up with the old errors?

Answer If the party is to fully regain its strength, if we want to rebuild its authority among the population, we need party discipline. The core of the matter lies not in constant disputes and multiplying of resolutions but in consistent implementation of the accepted program. I have in mind program of the Ninth Congress. Determined realization of this program is a condition on which the party's credibility in the eyes of the population depends. I would add: the party cannot afford the luxury of resolutions that are not being implemented.

This, however, does not mean the end of discussions. They should continue, even very sharp ones, there should not be any "taboo" topics. Our concern is that they are conducted inside the party, and not outside it, they should occur among us, and when we approve a resolution commonly agreed on, it is everybody's duty to implement it.

Question You have mentioned that you had participated in many meetings and reporting conferences. What are your impressions from these debates?

Answer They are not different from our life; that is, they do not pamper us. People are tired, impatient, nervous, there are cases of hateful explosions or resigned apathy, everybody wants to know when our situation will improve. Unfortunately, not all have yet understood the hard economic law saying that if one wants to divide something one has to produce something first. So, we could hear economic demands that were addressed to the state, demands to increase salaries. However, it is not a problem of manufacturing money but producing goods. Fortunately, more and more people begin to understand this, and it is up to us to make awareness of this widespread.

I repeat: people are tired and impatient, but general attitudes are changing for better. Only few people doubt today about our ability to disentangle ourselves from the crisis, while ever more frequently a question is being asked: When will this happen? It proves that we are regaining our self-confidence, that the party's program is being accepted. It is important, it is very important, since--as you know--we can overcome our difficulties much faster if we believe that it is possible.

The reporting campaign has also provided proofs that more and more party organizations keep close to people's problems, consequently they see these problems better and solve them more effectively.

Question I think that party members are not the only ones who are interested in your work at the Central Committee and Politburo. Can you lift the cover of secrecy?

Answer It is by no means secrecy, nor it is a revelation. It is simply very responsible and difficult work, as are the problems that the PZPR leadership has to solve. Participating in the work of the Politburo I have to familiarize myself with all kinds of materials. Some of them are quite simple to read, but there are also not an insignificant number of texts requiring very attentive study, one has to delve into them. I admit this frankly, because I am a laborer and by becoming a member of the party leadership I have not gained wisdom, so I have to learn a lot now. While my strength consists in my knowledge of people's problems, attitudes and views of the workers, which is very important when the decisions are made. Like other comrades, I fully participate in all the work of the Politburo.

I am heading the Commission on Health and Protection of Environment and the Commission on Women at the Central Committee. I feel very close to these matters and I find considerable satisfaction while working in those areas.

Question I guess that because of your functions many people must be coming to see you personally and to present their problems...

Answer Oh yes! Sometimes they stop me in the street. Most often they come to the Plant Committee or the Voivodship Committee where I have a room. I do not ask them about their party membership, all I care for are their problems. Such visits lift one's spirit, since they prove that people, after all, do trust the party.

A Politburo member is not omnipotent either, thus my interventions are not always effective, especially considering the very difficult housing problems. I am trying, though, number one--to talk to each individual, and number two--to start appropriate bureaucratic proceedings and to answer the petitioner even if his case could not be decided positively. It is very important, because one can understand that somebody's problem cannot be solved but one would not reconcile with lack of respect.

As a Politburo member I often frequent workplaces, not only attending meetings but also visiting workshops and individual work positions. I talk to people, I listen to their discussions in order to know better their views on matters that party has to solve. Among people like myself, among working people, I am finding strength and encouragement for my party activity.

Question Thank you cordially for the interview.

A Postscript

I think this interview should be supplemented with a mention of the circumstances under which it was conducted.

Our editor's request for an interview with comrade Zofia Grzyb listed a number of problems we wanted to discuss. Shortly thereafter she has called me saying that she is ready to meet a representative of the editorial board at the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom. When I arrived at the agreed upon date I have sighted Zofia Grzyb writing some kind of text.

"Please forgive me, but after my call to the editorial office my schedule has been changed and I have barely 15-20 minutes for you, and this is not enough for an interview."

I was about to say that I am sorry for this and that I would come some other time but she was faster:

"I do not want to trouble you for the second time, I came to work earlier and I have prepared for you some written comments on the problems we intended to talk about. I do not know if you can read my handwriting... And we still have now a couple of minutes for coffee and supplementary questions which you consider the most important ones..."

There are two reasons why I have described this episode. I think that it says much about my interlocutor, the second reason being my wish to dedicate it to the various parish, voivodship, and ministry dignitaries who recourse to any pretext in order to close their door to a journalist.

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CSO: 2600/658



## MINISTERS QUESTIONED AT WORKERS' AKTIV CONFERENCE

## 'TRYBUNA LUDU' Report

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Mar 83 p 2

[Report on questions posed to government ministers during recesses in deliberations at the National Workers' Aktiv Conference, held on 30 March in Warsaw, by Wodz: "Ministers Questioned"; 30 March in Warsaw]

[Text] On the initiative of General Wojciech Jaruzelski during recess in deliberations, the directors of departments answered questions posed by the participants. The ministers were besieged by scores of people asking hundreds of questions.

Stanislaw Nieckarz, minister of finance, was mainly questioned by young people. They asked, among other things, whether credit for young married couples will be reestablished. In answer they heard that first of all checks for 40 billion zlotys of already contracted credit will have to be realized. During the second half of the year the credit will most probably be reestablished. Then the increase in taxes on "luxury items" was postulated more distinctly than the anti-inflationary program foresees. The controversy was caused by the matter of upward adjustment of taxes. The minister answered that the upward adjustment should not concern the working class because it will amount to one percent of monthly salary of wages of 20,000 to 27,000 zlotys. Numerous reliefs will be applied to taxes for an unemployed wife. Somebody proposed that we should begin to respect also...the zloty bills themselves. The state suffers too large losses on that account. Many questions concerned concrete financial matters of plants.

The Minister of Construction Stanislaw Kukuryka was showered with questions about the new system of wages. The minister confirmed that the new method will reward efficient work without flaws. The problems with goods supply were also raised, as there continue to be many instances such that the buildings which are ready cannot be made available for use because there is a shortage of paint or lacquer. A suggestion was also made that people would be more willing to get involved in the construction industry if the builders could get a portion of the apartments they built.

Minister Zdzislaw Krasinski, the director of the Board of Prices gave answer to about 80 persons questioning him. The questioners underlined the excessive

price arbitrariness of the private sector. Objections were voiced to the projected rise in state assigned apartment rents and to fuel and utilities bills. Questions were asked about what other price raised await us this year. In answer Minister Krasinski stated that no new rise in prices which have been officially set on goods is expected now.

Minister Zygmunt Lakomic (of the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services) heard out the comments referring to, among other things, the rules for distribution of bulk of goods among the voivodship districts. Reservations were expressed especially by those centers which have a large working class engaged in large industry. They criticized the insufficient supply of market with industrial articles. It is characteristic that not even one voice out of a score of those that have been raised concerned the question of food supply.

"The first meeting of this kind," Comrade Stanislaw Gebala, director of the Economics Department of the Central Committee said, "gave us an enormous amount of material. Eight hundred and fifty-two questions were asked of ministers in direct conversations. Over 650 of them were given satisfactory answers. Over 160 cases will require a written reply. Some 40 meetings in provinces with ministers were initiated."

The meetings confirmed that many people in plants are not sufficiently informed about decisions that the authorities reach. The administration bears the guilt for this. The lack of knowledge of rules and regulations often leads to unfounded difficulties and conflicts. Conversations were very useful and will for sure be continued at future meetings of this sort. This is an enormous amount of material which will surely contribute to improvements in the Three-Year Plan, in savings-related activities and will result in a more effective prevention of inflation.

#### 'SZTANDAR MLODYCH' Report

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 31 Mar 83 p 2

[Article and commentary by Ryszard Noteszkiewicz: "Consultations in the Lobby: Workers--Ministers"; 30 Mar in Warsaw]

[Text] Stanislaw Ciosek, the Minister of Labor, Wages, Social Affairs and of Trade Unions:

Czeslaw Zbrzezniak: I work in the metal industry, I have worked for 30 years and I earn less than the national average. What do you think about this, Mr Minister?

Minister Ciosek: Not being better acquainted with this matter, I can only express my personal opinion. I believe that this is an absolute irregularity. From past times we have received a peculiar "time bomb." These are situations which recognize that everybody should be paid equally, at the same rate. If everybody gets the same then nobody will have enough. And the truth also is that the present system of pay does not have the force to motivate.

C. Zbrzezniak: I am from "Rawar" in Ostrawa Mazowiecka. We have many more cases like this.

Minister Ciosek: Today, however, as a result of the reform, the administration can set wages to a much larger extent independently. Nevertheless salary scales exist.

C. Zbrzezniak: I am in a workers' council and I see that a director does not have the ability to set the level of wages.

Minister Ciosek: Oh, no! The fact nevertheless remains that a review of salary scale is needed still this year. We published a booklet "To Whom, How Much, For What," which actually went unnoticed, in distinction to the brochure about prices by Minister Krasinski which stirred a lot of noise and aroused a social response.

Jerry Malinowski of the Propulsion Institute group in Wyszkow: In 1982 we sold products for 1,447,700,000 zlotys. After we subtracted all that has accumulated and all taxes, it turned out that the firm had 26 million zlotys left to divide. We spent over 6 million on wages, money was subtracted for social tasks and we were left with 15 million for a developmental fund. We still use the machine park left over from the fifties. If we analyze similar "developmental funds" year by year we will see that with the present-day prices for machine tools we will not be able to replace our machine park before the 80's! This also refers to resolution No 186 of the Council of Ministers. We fared poorly by it. Our plant was always the only one in the voivodship which maximally utilized its productive powers. In spite of shortages we were working to full capacity. We are in the line of production of Passenger Car Factory which, too, thanks to maximal production fell to 15th place in wages.

Minister Ciosek: I can answer only this: the one who abused this resolution, if he cheated, will suffer for it. Justice will have to prevail.

Malinowski: The problem however is this: What did we gain by being honest? Today some boast and are praised, as for instance "Radoskor" has been praised for savings by Deputy Chairman Szalajda. For me savings can occur only if the institution works to full capacity, utilizes all its abilities and still is able to save. And not when it does not use all its abilities.

Deputy Minister Jozef Bury: The reform at the outset had to fulfill too many goals: economic, political, and social. It assumed a moderate and relatively comparable rise in wages. At the same time, however, it was not sharp enough in motivation. And that is why while it functioned, a new parameter was formulated--a relation between the rise in production and the rise in wages. The higher was the rise in production the higher was the rise in wages free of any encumbrances. A principle was accepted, which I believe is wrong, that the rate of increase in the second half of the year is compared to the rate in the first year. This found a very different situation for different enterprises. Some fulfilled their production to full capacity, not much smaller than last year.

There were also enterprises which for many reasons had large productive abilities and reserves. These reserves were used in the second half of the year. A question arises whether it was worthwhile to pay so dearly for this increased production? And the increase was considerable. Between January and December there occurred increase in production by 25 percentage points. That is counting in comparable months.

We paid for it, however, 200 billion zlotys which exceeded the plan. You are right that disproportions occurred. They were tolerated for the price of increase in the tempo. Minister Ciosek said that the "dishonest" ones will pay for their humbug. This encumbrance is of the moral type. You cannot blame the enterprise that paid 14 or 16 because this stayed within the rules of the game. The error was that many enterprises earmarked all for wages and not for development. This will take its toll in a year or two. We have not learned to think in long term categories yet. Today the wages increased--the crew is satisfied. But in two years it may find itself in a serious trouble.

I cannot, however, agree with what Minister Ciosek said. Formally speaking such directors cannot be dragged to court. They are subject only to moral judgment.

Minister Zdzislaw Krasinski, Office for Wages:

[Worker] I am a foreman in a distribution warehouse. Our base salaries are 4,000-5,000 zlotys. This includes the compensation.

Minister Krasinski: Enough, enough, enough! I do not believe.

[Worker] It is true. This is heavy industry. Four thousand and with the compensation--over 5,000 to 7,000.

Minister Krasinski: Comrade! How can you say that? Four thousand with compensation?

[Worker] Well, no. I had in mind the base salary. And with compensation and fringe benefits we earn 7,000 to 9,000.

Minister Krasinski: What plant is this?

[Worker] Air Conditioning and Fan Equipment Factory Converter in Lipno near Wloclawek. A lot, as much as 40 percent of production is for export.

Minister Krasinski: By how much did the wages increase by comparison with last year on average?

[Worker] By one category, that is, by about 2,000 zlotys monthly.

Minister Krasinski: But on average in the country as a whole they rose by 2,250 zlotys. I remember our conversation in the plant named after 22 July, the one you saw on television. One of the packers tells me "I earn 6,000."

I turn to her: "The director says that the average is 13,200?" She answers: "That is correct, it is 13,200 but my base salary, according to rank, is 6,000. For what I get the remaining seven, I do not know." She does not know for what she gets an additional seven.

[Worker] But we here earn 7,000, 9,000!

Minister Krasinski: Yes, but the Office of Wages holds discussions next door, although nowadays as a matter of fact, the "Office of Wages" is located usually in the plant itself, on account of it having a large degree of independence in this matter.

Zygmunt Lakomiec, Minister of Domestic Trade and Services.

[Worker] Why are there such big differences in agreed upon prices for different firms for the same products? For instance for jams?

Minister Lakomiec: The producers have different production costs--although Minister Krasinski would be a better person to answer this question. I simply advise you not to buy more expensive products but to buy the cheaper ones. It will be a lesson to those more expensive products--they will lower their prices.

[Worker] But usually in a store there is only one such product in one price. Then occasionally there is also one that is cheaper.

Minister Lakomiec: If there are two--buy the cheaper. When there will be more goods then the mechanism will work.

[Worker] But this should be regulated from above. The same product the same material and a different prices. This is not correct!

Minister Lakomiec: This is a big problem. Both in industry and in trade everybody learns how to trade with agreed-upon prices. In cases which we know and which we controlled, the majority of prices were established improperly. This impropriety comes usually from the producer. We investigated through the Trade Inspectorate the cost of producing jam in the Production Cooperative of Teresin. A liter costs, they say, 330 zlotys. The inspection showed that the cost was too high by 40 zlotys.

Mieczyslaw Laszewski from Plock: In May they are supposed to abolish the rationing on footwear. Is it true?

Minister Lakomiec: Starting with the first of May we should stop rationing footwear. We prolonged the rationing by a month because industry was producing too small sizes and we would not be right if we were to stop rationing now. I think that a great many of those in need in April will realize their rations.

Laszewski: What will be then?

Minister Lakomic: I think that with the level of supply industry provides them, we should be calmly but surely buying shoes. We have in stock 12 million pairs of shoes. In the best of all times it did not happen.

Laszewski: I am afraid that after the rationing will be abolished the shoes will be bought mainly by the entrepreneurs who have the time to stand in lines. They will buy them out before noon and the working people will miss them.

Minister Lakomic: I was told the same thing when we were about to stop rationing laundry detergent. Do not get nervous. If the conditions will not be opportune for abolishing rationing then we will not abolish it. If they will be then we will. This nightmare must end.

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CSO: 2600/671

## CULTURE COUNCIL CHAIRMAN DISCUSSES TASKS, METHODS

Warsaw KIERUNKI in Polish No 7, 13 Feb 83 p 3

[Interview with Bogdan Suchodolski, chairman of the presidium of the National Council of Culture, by Krystyna Gerber; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] We have had many social and consultative councils; perhaps there are even too many of them. In what way is the National Council of Culture different?

[Answer] We ought to be aware of its new and unique characteristics. First, I should mention that the council is to operate under the premier, which means that the range of its interests, studies, responsibilities, and opinions will cover not only the area administered by the Ministry of Culture and Art, but the entirety of Polish culture irrespective of administrative departments and jurisdictions. In other words, this means that Polish culture will be treated as a unique whole and that the conditions of its creative development and its dissemination can and should be defined in various spheres of social reality in our country.

The second characteristic of this council is its belief that culture is not synonymous with creative activity but that it also encompasses the way of life, both everyday and ceremonial, of the broad masses of people, as well as the various activities to disseminate culture that are carried out by institutions devoted to this purpose and by the social movement, which can and should be expanded in this field.

[Question] You mentioned the social movement, which is made up of people with their hobbies, interests, and opportunities. What can we expect from the membership of the council?

[Answer] Half of its members are residents of Warsaw. Some will say here: up to half; others will say: only half. The rest come from other places. I would like to emphasize here that the council also reaches into areas of our country that are almost unknown. I will name several of them, and I can bet that few people will be able to say where these places are located. For example, Glucha Puszcza, Krzyck Wielki, which has its own Rural Poetry Theater "Kalina", Gogolin, Kolonia Polska, Poreda, Golancza. Do you know any of these places?

[Question] No.

[Answer] That's a very symptomatic problem for the council members.

[Question] What will be the council's organizational set-up?

[Answer] We must cope with many difficulties, and we must realize this at once. Of these difficulties is the natural tendency of people to join together in groups, which we define rather awkwardly as vocational groups. Of course, one cannot deny the legitimacy of such alliances. I understand that council members who are engaged, let's say, in painting or in music will tend to form a group in this field of cultural activity. However, we wouldn't want the council to become a mere federation of vocational groups. First of all, because there are separate institutions, associations and councils that deal with individual fields such as book publishing. Second, because we advocate a comprehensive social view of culture as an integrated whole. Exchange of experiences is precisely what is important and valuable, and it should take place between creative individuals and the cultural life in various regions of the country.

[Question] How does the council intend to accomplish this goal?

[Answer] It won't be easy, but we should head in that direction. This means that in addition to spontaneously formed "vocational" groups we will want to elect several, perhaps even a dozen or more special groups, which will include people of various creative backgrounds and with various experiences in disseminating culture. The special groups will handle various problems and tasks of the council. Certainly we must have a group to evaluate the plans for socioeconomic development in the parts relating to culture, which are formulated in the Planning Commission and other departments. There must be a group to evaluate the expenditures of the Fund for Development of National Culture, a group to deal with personnel problems, a group to prepare a report on the state of culture, and groups to assess cultural policy and especially the extent of cultural participation.

[Question] The fact that the first meeting of the council was held in the Royal Castle in Warsaw has truly symbolic significance.

[Answer] And we attach great significance to the fact that the Royal Castle is the headquarters of the National Council of Culture. Although it won't be easy to accomplish, we want to make our headquarters a place for contacts and for spreading ideas important for artistic creativity, a living center of concepts of culture and its dissemination. It's very important to us that the National Council of Culture be representative of the entire country and that what we awkwardly call the Polish province should have a major role in it. We are also thinking about some regular meetings at the castle, which depending on the needs and the situation would be devoted to various problems of national culture and to the exchange of artistic experiences, scholarly insights and comprehensive visions of the future from all over Poland.



[Question] Do you know how often the council will meet?

[Answer] Yes, the bylaws stipulate that its plenary sessions be held no less than four times a year. The council's presidium, however, will meet every month. The first working session of the council will be held on 28 February.

[Question] The council has about 170 members. Is there a possibility that its present membership will be increased?

[Answer] Yes. the number of council members is not fixed. As the artistic unions that are still suspended resume their activities, they will be able to present their candidates for council membership. We also, as a council, have the right to elect additional people if this should prove necessary in the course of our work. The current term, as we know, is to last 3 years, and within this period these additions will obviously be possible. Finally, I would like to say that the council will not be a "closed" organization-- quite the contrary. We have promised ourselves to ask many people outside the council to participate in our work.

[Question] Is participation in the National Council of Culture on a volunteer basis, or is it paid?

[Answer] I can set your mind at ease. We are not creating a financial sinecure for a new type of bosses. As in all scholarly councils, work is solely on a volunteer basis.

[Question] What are the council's most urgent tasks, in your opinion?

[Answer] We should begin by establishing the council's first-year work plan and its internal organization.

[Question] What will be the guidelines for these activities?

[Answer] They are laid down by the statute on the National Council of Culture. This statute sets four main tasks: "strengthening the active role of culture in enriching the spiritual life of the people; preservation of traditions and protection of our cultural heritage; encouragement of social activity to foster culture; and making Polish culture known throughout the world." These tasks are of fundamental importance. They lead to the conviction that culture is not only a great national cause but a significant factor in the life of every individual, even in the difficult times in which we live.

[Question] Your reply seems a bit rhetorical...

[Answer] But it's the truth. These tasks, which define the greatness and importance of culture, are divided into smaller, specific tasks. The statute enumerated 12 of them. I don't wish to cite them, so I will say in general that we must start working as soon as possible on the annual report on the state of culture, because it will take a long time to prepare. Moreover, in the immediate future we will have to assess the way in which the Fund for Development of National Culture is distributed and used. Also, in collaboration with the Parliamentary Committee for Culture and the Arts, we will evaluate various legislative acts, particularly the long-awaited law on the dissemination of culture.

[Question] The spring session of the parliament will begin in March...

[Answer] Our terms are not yet clear; besides, I don't know when the bill will be submitted for discussion.

[Question] Is the National Council of Culture going to take part in the dialogue between the government and creative figures?

[Answer] I don't quite understand the meaning of your question in regard to the council's tasks. What dialogue? Between whom? It seems to me that we've created a myth about dialogue in situations where collaboration is needed, and not only collaboration between the government and creative figures.

[Question] Nonetheless, these people exist; they have definite problems and lack a forum for solving them.

[Answer] The National Council of Culture is not a trade union of creative figures or activists. Nor is it something like a union of unions, or an office of complaints, grievances, or interventions. All these matters must be handled through other channels. In this regard, I believe that "dialogue" is not the proper term for describing the council's activity.

[Question] What would be the proper term?

[Answer] We should simply say that cooperation is needed to provide optimal conditions for creative activity and for the dissemination of culture--cooperation with the administrative authorities as well as with various organizations, institutions, and individual activists and creative figures.

[Question] Polish culture is diverse and complex, with various sources of inspiration. This diversity is recognized in the programmatic principles of the National Council of Culture. Is it also reflected in the council's membership?

[Answer] Do you mean the extent to which representatives of, say marxist and Christian viewpoints are represented?

[Question] Among other things.

[Answer] The membership of the council has been announced. I'll let those who have an investigative bent discover the viewpoints of the individual members. As council chairman I am interested only in collaboration for the good of the country. And I have no doubt that the people on this council will collaborate.

[Question] That's not the answer I would like to hear, perhaps, but let's leave this topic and discussion of these issues for another time. One of the council's tasks is to evaluate the distribution of the Fund for development of National Culture. Is there anybody on the council who is knowledgeable enough about fiscal matters so that the council would have a good idea how to use this money when it makes its decisions?

[Answer] Our task is to evaluate the fund's "main trends of usage," although we're not sure even today how we're going to do this. But we do know that the council isn't a kind of bank for assessing fiscal policy, nor is it a kind of Supreme Control Agency. Our task is to evaluate qualitative aspects. I would put it this way: it is more a matter of trends and priorities than of the budget itself. We make our assessments from the viewpoint of cultural policy.

[Question] The National Council of Culture, as an advisory and evaluative body operating under the premier, is a precedent in the social life of the PRL. Do you know how frequently it will be in contact with the premier?

[Answer] That question is premature. It will take us a lot of time to prepare evaluations and proposals; we cannot produce "manifestos," but rather material carefully justifying our decisions. I doubt whether we'll be ready in the next few months to present our basic position to the premier. And when we are ready, we'll work out a procedure in regard to the contact you asked about.

[Question] We've been waiting for the election of the council for a fairly long time. We realize the importance and difficulty of the issues it will be dealing with, so we'd like it to begin its activities as soon as possible.

[Answer] Expectations have ended for the time being with the election of the council. But its presidium will have a meeting in the immediate future, and there we'll prepare a work plan. We'll propose special groups and ask all the council members for their comments on the proposed organizational structure. The council's plenary session on 28 February should be well prepared.

[Question] What is your opinion of the council's principles and operating procedures in the adopted bylaws?

[Answer] I greatly appreciate the fact that the bylaws accept the possibility of alternative views in the council. Thus, in case we're not able to work out a uniform position on some issue, we'll give the premier various points of view with a justification for each of them. Point 9 speaks about this. It is also important to formulate the next point, which concerns the method of editing the annual report on Polish culture with an indication of its main developmental trends. If the council members have a difference of opinion, the alternatives and views of the individual members will also be published.

[Question] In your speech during the inauguration of the council at the Royal Castle, you used the expression: "Together with others, not above them." How is this to be understood?

[Answer] Why, it's very simple. Groups elected to make evaluations and give advice are liable to become arrogant, to believe that they know best and can manipulate everyone else. We want to avoid that, and that's why we want to be nearest those who create and disseminate culture. We want--

insofar as it is possible--to participate in their experiences and inspire those experiences. The statute on the National Council of Culture rightly uses such expressions as "encouragement", "inspiration" and "initiating".

[Question] Thank you for the interview, professor.

12277

CSO: 2600/577

INSPECTION OF ZAMOSC COMPLETED; OFFICIALS REMOVED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Apr 83 p 5

[PAP article: "Disciplinary Recommendations Against Those Guilty of Negligence"]

[Text] The two-week-long comprehensive inspection of Zamosc Voivodship has been completed. It was the first inspection operation carried out by a newly created organ of the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection--the Main Territorial Inspectorate [Glowna Inspekcja Terenowa].

Representatives of 11 ministries and, in a consultative capacity, experienced officers of the Armed Forces Inspectorate also participated in the inspection.

The results of the inspection were summed up at a special briefing in Zamosc, attended by the minister of administration, local economy and environmental protection, Gen Div Wlodzimierz Oliwa. Also present was Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the PZPR Central Audit Commission.

It was emphasized that the sociopolitical situation in Zamosc Voivodship is stabilizing. Social and professional activity on the part of working people is systematically increasing. The level of discipline in production is rising. But the progress being made in the basic areas of life in Zamosc Voivodship is unsatisfactory. Of the 11 sectors encompassed by the inspection, 5 were evaluated as inadequate and 2 as barely adequate. Things would no doubt be better if those persons in managerial positions in local administration, as well as in other socioeconomic units of the Zamosc region, would perform their duties to society more honestly and competently.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers, having become acquainted with the results of the comprehensive inspection of Zamosc Voivodship, has, on the recommendation of the minister of administration, local economy and environmental protection, decided to remove the following officials from their posts: Stanislaw Peter was from the post of governor, and Marian Pietras from the post of vice governor.

In addition, the directors of the Main territorial Inspectorate of the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection have prepared recommendations concerning the removal of some department directors of the Zamosc Voivodship Office. Thirty-one persons employed in inspection units were also singled out for distinction.

CSO: 2600/802

OLSZTYN PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Pre-Plenum on Residential Construction

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 1 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Adam Bartnikowski: "The 'Tragic' Variant in Construction is Discarded" under the rubric "On the Eve of the Plenum of the PZPR Province Committee"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /On 3 March a plenary session of the Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee will be held concerning housing construction. A few days before this important event, the party organizations associated within the PZPR Community Committee on Construction held a plenary session of that committee to discuss the principal current and future problems of construction in our city./

As ensues from the assessment of the Executive Board of the Community Committee, construction in 1982 had performed barely 60 percent of the tasks fulfilled in 1979. The 1982 plan for the city of Olsztyn (1,276 dwellings) was not fulfilled (there was a shortfall of 60 dwellings). The output of many enterprises declined markedly compared with 1981. The output of the Province Rural Construction Cooperative fell nearly in half. Somewhat better results were recorded by the Communal Construction Enterprise and the Workshops for the Preservation of Relics. On the other hand, progress was made by the Enterprise for Engineering Operations, the Olsztyn Industrial Construction Enterprise, the Warmia Construction Enterprise and the Enterprise for Agricultural Civil Engineering Operations.

In the opinion of the Executive Board of the Community Committee, the territorial development plan for Olsztyn should be revised and a coherent investment policy worked out. Local raw material reserves should be exploited more broadly and used to develop the local production of building materials. The modernization of the existing large-panel construction technologies should continue and the possibilities for using other technologies should be considered. A more economical management of building lots in the city is needed; the designing of high-rise buildings with ground-floor store service premises appears expedient. Organizationally, in particular, incentive wage system models for construction

should be explored, and the organizational structures of enterprises should be altered flexibly according to need.

The possibilities for expanding housing and attendant construction in Olsztyn were reviewed by the city's mayor, Marek Rozycki. He assessed as satisfactory the level of basic utility services, that is, the water supply, heating and sewage disposal.

WATER: soon the city's water supply will increase by 26,000 cu m daily owing to the attainment of full capacity of the Wadag water intake and treatment plant.

HEATING: owing to the expansion of the heating facilities at the Olsztyn Tire Plant [OZOS] and the planned increase in the capacity of the Kortowo Heating Plant, adequate heating will be assured even if the most optimistic version of the housing construction plan is adopted.

SEWAGE: this year a sewage treatment plant will be partially put into operation. Next year it will reach its designed capacity, sufficing not only for the current but also for the future needs of the city.

Regarding the shape of housing construction in the next 3 years (1983-1985), variant solutions are under consideration. For it is--justly--assumed that there is no way of anticipating at present all the local and national determining factors affecting construction.

/The first variant,/ the most cautious one, assumes the construction of 3,473 dwellings during that period. Further major difficulties with land development on building lots are expected. In view of the small scale of construction in relation to social needs, this variant is termed tragic. It is assumed that the scale of construction will diminish each year, ultimately falling to the horrifyingly low level of about 700 dwellings in 1985.

/The second variant,/ commonly regarded as the most objective and realistic, assumes the construction of either 3,683 (version 1) or 4,110 (version 2) dwellings. Version 2 presupposes greater development of plant-sponsored construction.

/The third variant,/ which specifies as many as 5,017 dwellings, is the least realistic in view of the need to allot considerable additional investment funds for land development.

Different variants of the development of single-family construction also were programmed, from the general premise that this form of construction should be an increasingly important complement to multi-family construction. The different variants presuppose 420, 548 and 600 houses, respectively, for the period in question.

The mayor also offered his views on the future build-up of the vacant lots still existing in the city. Their number is large, and so it would seem that so-called filler construction would be the best solution. But several other issues have to be borne in mind. First, Olsztyn has very few communal facilities, especially as

regards the health service, education and culture, and also trade and consumer services. Schools, nurseries, preschools and clinics are needed just as much as apartments. Secondly, any city must have some vacant space where people go for recreational purposes (parks, greenery). Lastly, there is the growing problem of finding parking space. For all these reasons, the program for filler construction is too modest, involving the construction of about 300 dwellings by housing cooperatives, about 150 by plants and about 200 by the communal construction system.

During the discussion, attention to an unusually important problem was drawn by Jan Wieczorek, director of the Construction Combine. The combine is--as known--the prime contractor in building the Jaroty Housing Project. Even now, according to director Wieczorek, construction brigades should start work on the so-called task B-2 where buildings scheduled for completion in 1984 will be erected. But so far the transfer of the needed land from its private owners has not been finalized. Unless the combine is enabled to start work in the next few days, these dwellings might as well be deleted from the 1984 targets. Whatever the causes of this situation (of which the most important appears to be delays in initiating the necessary proceedings), it should not be allowed to burden significantly the already low level of housing construction in our city.

Another important problem was touched upon by a representative of the Bureau for Rural Construction Designs. It turns out that last year about 30 million zlotys allocated for land development work was not utilized in this city. On the other hand, province and municipal authorities are struggling for higher allocations for projects of this kind, arguing that unless land development work is expedited, the number of dwellings built cannot be increased. This is a just argument, but the question arises: who will handle this work? considering that the existing engineering companies cannot even cope with utilizing the more modest funds allotted so far.

Wlodzimierz Romanczuk, the Chairman of the Council of the Association of Construction Enterprises, described initiatives of the Association intended to alleviate the difficult housing situation of the construction work forces. The Association plans to organize a cooperative for building single-family houses. A preliminary study showed that some 300 people would be willing to build their own houses. In addition, the Association intends to use the resources of its member enterprises to build each year one residential building in excess of the plan targets so as to provide housing for the employees of construction enterprises.

A digression: I asked Stanislaw Marcinkowski, the director of the Department of Construction at the Olsztyn Province Office, whether a provision has been made for allotting additional materials for additional construction? He answered: "Savings of materials on Olsztyn construction sites would suffice for this purpose. In other words, were the companies utilize their allotments properly and in accordance with the norms, then these 'additional' materials would surely be found." I think that this remark, said half-jokingly, has a deep meaning.

Of course, there was no lack of comments pointing to the difficulties related to the crisis. But these matters (e.g. shortages of spare parts for motor vehicles and construction machinery) are so well known that we shall not repeat them here.



Stefan Strumillo, first secretary of the Olsztyn City PZPR Committee, assessed the state of Olsztyn construction very critically. He put forward the thesis that the crisis in construction will last much longer. In his opinion, this is indicated by the lack of a coordinated long-range master plan for construction in the city over a period of more than 1 or 2 years. S. Strumillo declared: "You don't know too well what is to be done; no one thinks farther ahead than 1985. Let us once and for all stop talking about the crisis. This is a catch-all term under which everything is conveniently swept. There is a crisis on--thus nothing can be done."

One of the symptoms of the difficult social situation in construction is the slow renaissance of self-government and trade-union structures. Trade unions as yet operate almost nowhere. The self-governments, established more out of a feeling of duty than comprehension of the need, increasingly begin to delve into trade-union problems.

As I gathered, construction people felt affected by such acute formulations. First, there exist variants of the 1983-1985 housing construction plan and the 1985-1990 program. Secondly, a master plan for the expansion of Olsztyn should be drafted by urban-planning and architectural services upon the behest of the municipal authorities.

As ensues from the "Program Assumptions for Housing Construction Until 1990 and Changes in Certain Principles of Housing Policy," drafted half-way during the last year by the government, the provinces should draft their own programs of this kind that allow for housing needs and specify the construction targets until 1990, as well as their own plans for the development of the local production of building materials, programs for utilizing the capacity of the existing house-building factories, etc. Insofar as I know, details of such a program have not yet been worked out in this province. This fact must surely have been meant by secretary Strumillo when he spoke of the absence of a master plan. Construction people also, as ensues from numerous comments made not only at the plenum of the Community Committee, would like to learn as rapidly as possible about these general assumptions in order to tailor their plans to them. It is the common goal of all--the authorities and construction enterprises--to avert that "tragic" variant of construction mentioned by mayor Rozycki.

#### Plenum on Development of Construction

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 4 Mar 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Adam Bartnikowski: "Cutting Real and Apparent Costs as a Condition for the Development of Construction" under the rubric "Plenum of the Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /Yesterday 3 Mar 83 a plenary session of the Province Committee of the Polish United Workers Party was held in Olsztyn. It was attended by, among others, Janusz Prokopiak, deputy minister of the construction and building materials industry, and Wacław Kulczyński, deputy director

of the Economics Department under the PZPR Central Committee. The Plenum dealt with assessing the state of housing construction in the Olsztyn Province and the problems its development through 1990. The deliberations were chaired by Jan Laskowski, first secretary of the Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee./

/The report of the Executive Board of the Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee, "On Activizing Housing and Attendant Construction in the Olsztyn Province During 1983-1990," was presented by Jan Malinowski, Province Committee secretary. Below are the principal theses of his speech:/

The 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress acknowledged the provision of a separate dwelling for every family to be one of the chief principles of the party's long-range social policy. This, of course, requires a marked expansion of housing construction and its technical infrastructure, along with the modernization and improved utilization of the existing housing stock. It is assumed--and this assumption is consistently implemented--that each year 30 percent of overall investment outlays will be allocated for housing construction.

The Olsztyn Province at present has a population of nearly 700,000, of whom 390,000 are urban residents. Our region is characterized by a high proportion of young people--that is, of potential clients of housing cooperatives. But the point is not only the building of new cooperative dwellings but also the proper maintenance of old housing stock and the prevention of its decay. In addition, measures should be taken to keep rural dwellers on the land by making their life more comfortable, considering that many applicants for cooperative housing come from the countryside. In addition, the causes of the poor development of plant-sponsored housing construction should be investigated and combatted. Single-family construction requires particular attention.

As stated in the report, a basic prerequisite for expanding socialized construction is reducing its actual and apparent costs. Not all the mechanisms of the economic reforms as yet fully operate in construction enterprises. The absence of incentive systems is particularly evident on construction sites. In a nutshell, the tasks of construction are: build more, better and more cheaply.

A prerequisite for large-family construction is land development. The underdevelopment of the so-called technical infrastructure in our province has for years been a major obstacle to progress in housing construction. Investment outlays on this infrastructure during 1983-1985 were to be 1 billion 15 million zlotys a year, but the central authorities decided to reduce this sum to 878 million zlotys a year. Thereby also the fulfillment of the original plan will require "searching" for 200-250 million zlotys a year.

A crucial problem is the correct sequence of investments in the infrastructure. Special attention should be paid to the cities in which housing construction has declined. As conducted by the Socio-Economic Department of the Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee, an analysis of the fulfillment so far of communal investments (particularly those relating to sewage disposal and treatment) has shown that delays in the on-schedule and complete release of facilities for use may occur in many cases.

The report also discussed the program for rural housing construction. It stated that the figures proposed by the Olsztyn Province Office in the materials prepared for the plenum cannot be approved by the province party committee. Let

us recall: 803 dwellings to be built by socialized construction in 1983, plus 553 dwellings each year during the subsequent 2 years. for the 1986-1990 period the construction of only 1,200 dwellings is envisaged.

/Sixteen comrades took the floor in the discussion and four submitted written comments for the minutes./

Tadeusz Gorecki of Lidzbarka Warminska pointed out that current financial regulations do not promote the growth of plant-sponsored housing construction. In his opinion, the minister of finance should be asked to spread the repayment of investment loans over 10 years and reduce the interest rate to 1 percent (from the current 4 percent). In Lidzbark plant-sponsored housing construction proceeds so that five plants build jointly a single apartment building. No plant can afford for financial reasons to do it by itself. Comrade Gorecki also opined that Lidzbark Warminski is treated in an exceptionally miserly manner so far as allocations of funds for cooperative housing construction are concerned.

Edward Tomkiewicz, director of the Office of the Delegate of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] in Olsztyn, raised several important issues. As ensues from NIK inspections, the organization and discipline of labor on construction sites are deficient. This results in idling of people and equipment and prolongation of the construction cycles. The conservation of raw and other materials also still is a problem. The year 1982 brought no improvements in this respect. Construction equipment and transport are poorly utilized. On one construction site only one of the 15 or so machines there was found to be operable. The quality of construction concerns not only the builders themselves but also the construction materials industry. E. Tomkiewicz lastly drew attention to the fatal condition of the so-called old housing stock. For example, in Olsztyn in recent years an average of 5 buildings annually has been renovated instead of the planned 70.

Alfred Wenzlawski, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the Construction Combine in Olsztyn, raised the issue of the discrepancy between general assumptions of the reform and the specific conditions of construction (dispersal of personnel, long production cycles).

Jan Szydowski, chairman of the "Pionier" Housing Cooperative in Ketrzyn, expressed the opinion that the program for expanding construction cannot be based solely on needs but should also allow for various determining factors, such as, especially, the quality of building lots. The related possibilities do not for the time being meet the needs, unfortunately. Hence any initiative as to expanding the scope of construction deserves attention. J. Szydowski recalled the initiative of the Association of Construction Enterprises in Olsztyn regarding precisely such additional construction.

Those present applauded the speech by Danuta Boryszewska, director of the Comprehensive Gmina School in Mragow. She expressed tremendous anxiety concerning the absence of prospects for expanding school construction in Mragow. The aforementioned materials of the Province Office made no provision for any such investments in the next few years. And yet, that city of 20,000 has only two schools, which are open from morning to evening--and on Saturdays as well although in

theory these are days off in the school system. The situation is worsening with each year: it is expected that during the coming school year the schools will have to stay open until 2100 hours.

Comrade Boryszewska also raised the issue of excessive social services provided by the state. Fewer and fewer people think of earning their livelihood by honest and productive labor, and the queues for assistance from the "state cashier's office" are growing longer.

Wojciech Jezowski, deputy director of the Gas Works in Olsztyn, described the development of the gas supply network in the Olsztyn Province. Two segments of the new pipeline, Nidzica-Olsztynek and Olsztynek-Dobre Miasto have begun to be built. The supply of natural gas to more regions hinges on the completion of these projects: this concerns the lines Dobre Miasto-Bartoszyce, Dobre Miasto-Morag, Lidzbark Warminski-Gorowo II. and Wilkowo-Rzeszel. In addition, Lidzbark Warminski is to be supplied by a branch of the trunk gas pipeline. The principal problems in implementing this plan are funds and materials--particularly special steel pipe. A separate problem is the inadequate equipment of the construction enterprises of the gas industry. For all these reasons, at present it is not possible to give specific dates for the completion of discrete targets.

Jan Madej, director of the Enterprise for Engineering Operations [PRI] in Olsztyn, stated that the correct implementation of construction tasks requires making preparations far ahead of the investment process. Director Madej once again made an offer concerning bridge building. So far the PRI has not received a single order to build bridges.

Jakob Kolpuc, deputy director of the Local Enterprise of the Communal and Housing Economy in Morag, discussed single-family construction. He stated that the financial terms are unacceptable to many families. For example, who can afford to repay a loan at the rate of 5,700 zlotys a month? Another factor discouraging people to undertake private home building is the fact that building lots are allotted--at least in Morag--on undeveloped land. The speaker also pointed to the need to revise the terms for amortizing the loans granted by plantss to employees wishing to build private homes (this concerns more realistic income limits per member of a family applying to amortize the loan).

Some problems of the housing construction program were discussed by Henryk Baranowski, the deputy governor of the Olsztyn Province. He declared that the volume of socialized housing construction for 1983 (3,807 dwellings) was fixed on the basis of the amount of the investment funds allotted, the local possibilities and the processing capacities of construction enterprises. It should be borne in mind these funds are about 360 million zlotys less than what had been allotted last year.

Deputy governor Baranowski presented the major assumptions of the program for housing construction through 1990. It is necessary once more to re-examine in detail the plans for territorial build-up, to balance the spaces available for so-called filler construction, and to consider the possibilities for adding superstructures. Generally speaking, the need of conserving developed building lots has to be accepted.

To improve quality, investment monitoring has been restored. Such monitoring should be assured during rather than after construction. The selection of prefabricated components should follow rigorous criteria. Work to improve the accessible technologies of multi-family construction will be continued. By now a thicker heat-insulating layer has been introduced in structural elements throughout the Olsztyn Province. The technology variant OWT-NS, which eliminates heavy internal reinforced-concrete partitions in buildings is being introduced.

The drafting of a comprehensive program for private home building has already been greatly advanced. A real and evident effect of this work at present is the fact that all those who complete building their own homes this year have been guaranteed the supply of materials in needed quantities. Those just starting to build, on the other hand, will be given promises for acquiring the materials needed for a smooth conduct of building work. All those concerned should know of this, the more so considering that these measures are being implemented by gmina chiefs, gmina cooperatives and building materials centers.

A list of socialized enterprises intending to start producing for the needs of private home building has already been prepared. Soon a contest for the design of a low-cost house will be ended.

Returning to the problems of socialized construction, H. Baranowski stressed that transfers of construction employees from administration to production must finally take place.

/The deputy minister of construction, Janusz Prokopiak, also took the floor./ He declared that the situation of the Olsztyn Province--though very difficult--is not exceptional.. A similar situation due to the crisis occurs in other regions of the country. The deputy minister discussed the causes of the deep crisis in construction which, in his opinion, is very far reaching and affects human morale. Here and there appears lack of faith that emergence from the nadir of the crisis will be possible.

In J. Prokopiak's opinion, the principal cause of the crisis in construction is the fact that in the last 15 or so years builders have been posed with tasks surpassing their possibilities. A way out began to be sought through the so-called simplification and streamlining of the investment process. In practice, this meant deviations from technological requirements. The systemic principles on which construction was based began to be eliminated: norms were not followed, the construction law was altered, investment monitoring was abolished, cost estimates were eliminated, and the conduct of construction logs was abandoned. We witness the consequences today: thousands of abandoned construction sites on which billions of zlotys are unproductively immobilized; several thousand buildings with technological flaws; the lack of developed land; the operation of huge house-building factories at barely half capacity.

The reform abolished the directive-distribution system and its structures but it did not treat the consequences of that system to construction enterprises. The ministry has adopted a program for improving the existing situation which includes work to normalize construction laws, introduce investment and design monitoring, and set up commissions for certifying the quality of construction

operations. During this year a gradual transition to individualized construction cost estimates will take place. Universal limits on materials for construction projects and a system for clearing the related accounts also are being introduced.

The abovementioned actions of the ministry are of course of a strategic nature; there still remains the complex whole of specific problems that have to be resolved by individual enterprises and on individual construction sites.

/Taking the floor in the discussion, Waclaw Kulczynski, deputy director of the Economics Department under the PZPR Central Committee,/ declared that, despite problems, the construction program outlined at the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress is being consistently implemented. This program assumes some alleviation of the housing situation toward the decade's end. But the attainment of this goal hinges primarily on an improved performance of the national economy as a whole. For what would be the use of allotting to construction as much as 30 percent of all investment outlays if that huge sum were to assure the same scale of construction as had existed in the mid-1960s.

Comrade Kulczynski declared that one way of improving the situation is to expand private home building. For if the state budget lacks funds, it is the citizens themselves who should provide them. The more so considering that certain preferences have been granted to private home building. Earlier, some objected that the interest rates on loans to private home builders are too high. This is a misunderstanding considering that loans are profitable only when bearing an interest rate of at least 12 percent, whereas these loans are granted at 3-percent interest [as published].

Toward the end of the discussions Jan Laskowski, first secretary of the Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee, took the floor./ He declared, among other things: "We posed this topic at the plenum in order to finally look truth in the eye. /For nowadays we can no longer talk to people about things we will not do. The presented program will not assure meeting all needs, sometimes not even minimal needs. In such cases we must examine the assumptions more thoroughly and look for ways of improving them./

Comrade Laskowski stated that the potential real capacity of the province is estimated at about 200 dwellings more than adopted in the program.. But in order to build these 200 additional dwellings we must receive 500 million zlotys more in loans to housing cooperatives and about 300 million more for the infrastructure. This refers to the current year alone. /In the subsequent years, on the other hand, the restoration of the old scale of construction should be the goal. Thus, the year 1984 should be no worse than 1981. Perhaps one way out is to link the increase in the number of dwellings built to increased allotments of dwellings for construction workers./

Jan Laskowski declared: "Neither the report nor the discussion touched upon the new housing law and the just distribution of dwellings. And yet it is a fact that many families own two apartments each. As for the distribution of dwellings, some cooperatives are beginning to follow strange criteria. Here is a field of action for the party cells active within housing cooperatives.

"As for the systemic aspects discussed by deputy minister Prokopiak, after all every director knows that he can introduce them in his enterprise as of the next day, this being what autonomy means. Lastly there is the issue mentioned in the Province Committee resolution of 3 years ago. This concerns complementing our province plans with city and gmina initiatives. Even small initiatives will help us all to surmount the crisis more rapidly."

The Plenum unanimously adopted a resolution--its text is published elsewhere in this issue--outlining the complex whole of the tasks facing construction enterprises, investment services, party cells active within them, and province authorities as regards the development of housing construction. The resolution also separately treats of private home building.

#### Plenum Resolution on Activization of Construction

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 7 Mar 83 p 3

[Text of the Resolution of the Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee Concerning the Activization of Construction]

[Text] The 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress acknowledged that one of the main goals of the socio-economic policy of our state is providing every family with a dwelling of its own.

The share of outlays on the housing complex is to be at least 30 percent of all investment outlays, thus providing the conditions for a gradual increase in the number of dwellings gained.

Implementing this resolution of the Congress, and upon examining the submitted materials and the report of the Executive Board, the PZPR Province Committee resolves as follows:

#### I

The Plenum recognizes and appreciates the work forces, party cells and management at the enterprises which fulfilled the 1982 targets. Their efforts and socio-political attitude deserve to be publicized.

#### II

The Province Committee declares that the possibilities for meeting society's housing needs are much greater than the accomplishments so far. They require understanding by and mobilization of the entire work forces of construction enterprises and organizations participating in the investment process, as well as of agencies of state administration.

### III

A significant role in meeting the housing demand should be played by the youth movement, public and trade organizations and work establishments, which requires a preferential tax system for the enterprises which sponsor housing construction for their employees. Assuring the expansion of construction requires the procurement of funds for the technical infrastructure. The Olsztyn Province Governor shall apply for these funds to the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers.

### IV

The materials presented by the Province Office do not exhaust the possibilities and do not guarantee meeting society's needs as regards housing policies. It is recommended to the Olsztyn Province Governor that he draft an expanded housing construction program and submit it to the Executive Board of the Province Committee.

To accomplish these goals, the Province Committee deems the following to be necessary:

1. The initiation, by the basic party organizations [POP] at the enterprises participating in the investment process, jointly with trade-union organizations and worker self-governments (through the mediation of the party members active in these organizations), of measures intended to:

- implement the principles of the reform on construction sites and at plants and work stations;
- select properly individuals to hold managerial posts, with special consideration of the middle-level cadre;
- reduce the turnover of personnel (especially of skilled workers) by providing appropriate social, organizational-economic and financial conditions;
- stimulate activism and ambition and provide the conditions for the achievement of occupational satisfaction.

2. Improvements in the practical application of principles of the autonomy, self-government and self-financing of construction enterprises, which will require:

- proper application of price instruments;
- a marked reduction in operating cost;
- streamlining of the utilization of labor resources;
- more economical and rational design solutions;
- the development of plant incentive, social service and control systems;



--improvements in the quality and efficiency of construction and installation operations and all work related to the investment process.

3. Augmenting the construction capacities as regards civil engineering operations. Prior development of land for construction will serve to expand markedly the scale of housing construction while at the same time halting the process of the degradation of the natural environment.

#### V

It is necessary to provide the conditions for the proper management of the available housing stock by:

--expanding the scale of the repair and renovation operations that raise the level of housing amenities;

--providing the economic conditions for the exchange of dwellings to fit the needs of individual families;

--implementing the new housing law.

#### VI

Private home building represents a major possibility for augmenting the supply of housing with dwellings built and funded by the public itself. Accordingly:

1. The Olsztyn Province Governor will submit to the Executive Board, within a period before the end of June of this year, a program for expanding private home building with allowance for such factors as:

--provision of building lots and settlement of land titles;

--development of house designs suited to the possibilities and needs of the province;

--utilization of local raw material resources, particularly timber.

2. To be effective, these measures require further changes in the regulations governing loans for private home building. The Olsztyn Province Governor will submit a proposal for revising these regulations upon consulting private home investors.

#### VII

Individual and local proposals made during the discussion will be transmitted to the Economic Commission for review and submission, along with comments, to the Executive Board of the Province Committee.

#### VIII

In view of the exceptional importance attached to meeting the housing demand, all party members are obligated to implement this resolution.

The Plenum places the Province Committee Secretariat under the obligation of assessing the implementation of this resolution once every half-year, and the basic party echelons--under the obligation of regularly implementing it.

Olsztyn, 3 Mar 1983.

1386

CSO: 2600/586

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Kielce Reports-Programs Conference Resolution

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 1 Mar 83 p 4

[Text] The PZPR Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference in Kielce fully approves the activities to date of the Voivodship Committee elected at the Reports-Electoral Conference in June 1981, and also the directions of the activities presented in the report from the Voivodship Committee and the speech by the first secretary.

The conference feels that the basic aims of the 17 June 1981 resolution are still relevant.

The direction for leading the country out of the profound crisis has to remain the line of a national understanding and the line of fighting the enemies of socialism. This strategy makes the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR responsible for the discriminating monitoring of the work of the bodies and POP's [basic party organizations] and for making an evaluation of them. Progress in carrying out the line of an understanding should be expressed in:

- expansion of direct work by the bodies with the basic elements and members of the PZPR and with the work forces at plants;
- the development of Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] elements and full support for its program declaration;
- the development of trade unions;
- the activation of work by self-management units;
- an increase in social and production initiatives;
- an alleviation of social tensions; and
- an increase in the activity of youth and social organizations.

The line of understanding must be accompanied by an intensified, systematic, and direct struggle with the enemy; this should also be supported to the necessary extent by legal means.

The conference formulates the tasks of the voivodship party organization as follows:

#### I. Ideological-Political Work and the Organizational Strengthening of the Party

Implementation of the present tasks requires an increase in the activity of party members and of all forces responsible for building a national understanding and for the program of socialist renewal.

The party initiatives on the idea of an understanding, and also on implementing the reforms arising from the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, require bringing this program outside our own ranks, systematic cooperation with the ZSL [United Peasant Party] and SD [Democratic Party], and the gathering around it of all those wishing the country well.

The Voivodship Committee and the local party bodies will strive to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and close ties with all worker milieus, and especially with the working class, farmers, the intelligentsia, and youth. Increasing effective assistance by the ROPP aktiv to rural POP's is considered particularly essential.

The process of strengthening party ranks should be accompanied by the admission to the party of workers, working intelligentsia, and youth who are outstanding in their work and social activity, and at the same time by the elimination of people who do not adhere to the statutory principles, and especially those who treat their membership in the party in an opportunistic manner.

An essential task for all party bodies and elements is the further expansion of party aktiv groups, especially of outstanding workers and involved young people.

In the democratization of social life and in the strengthening of our party's law and order of our state, more attention should be paid to improving the activities of people's councils. The party bodies and organizations should make a constructive contribution to the work of representative organs, and in regularly assessing the activity of party council members, they are obligated to inspire their activities in the people's councils.

The Voivodship Committee and the local party bodies are to increase the effectiveness of party control over the functioning of administrations and institutions, and their reactions to suggestions, complaints, and grievances from the public. This problem should be the subject of periodical assessments made at a party forum, or assessments by people's councils or self-management units.

Party bodies and organizations are obligated to assign party tasks to comrades active in youth and social organizations. They should disseminate the party's ideology and program of activities in broad social circles.

All party elements in the voivodship are to undertake more effective measures, both control measures and measures ensuring implementation of the party resolutions. To an increasingly greater degree, these activities are to be assisted by the work of party control commissions, audit commissions, and problem-oriented commissions.

The strengthening of the party requires further progress in ideological and information-propaganda activities.

All elements of the voivodship party organization, its members, sociopolitical organizations, educational and cultural institutions, scientists, journalists, and cultural workers have the task of continual enrichment of the class, historical, patriotic, and internationalist content of the ideological education process. It is necessary to point out, to a greater degree and in a clear and well-reasoned manner, the conflict between the destructive activity of the enemies of socialism, and the stabilization of life in Poland and the possibilities for emerging from the crisis. It is necessary to take up more frequently the problem of the state's social and economic policy and the grounds for social justice. This should also be done in regard to the rules for emoluments.

The mass news media should point out the leading role and at the same time the serving role of the party with respect to the working class and other working people, and spread the news of examples of the party's support for all just initiatives serving the country well, and examples of cooperation between PZPR members and nonparty members, especially in the forum of PRON, self-managing enterprises, trade unions, etc.

In ideological education activity, party bodies are to concentrate more on circles with particular influence in creating opinions, the worker and youth aktiv, the technical intelligentsia, teachers and cultural workers, and workers in the state and economic administration, at the same time ensuring a high substantive level in this activity. The voivodship party body and all party elements are to undertake systematic ideological education work with PZPR members and candidates, increasing occupational discipline, and skillfully linking ideological goals to practice in everyday life. They will evaluate this activity at least twice a year.

## II. Socioeconomic Problems

The rebirth of the union movement requires that the party bodies and organizations create political conditions for the emergence and development of independent self-managing trade unions. The process of creating new trade unions requires that the party organizations and their members increase their activity and win over to this idea all social-professional organizations active in the given milieus. It is thus necessary:

--to renew the activity of self-managing workers as a further step in increasing the participation of workers in joint administration and thus in fulfilling social expectations of an improvement in the effectiveness of management and in working and living conditions;

--during the period of the emergence and initial operation of new worker self-management units, the party bodies and organizations will create conditions for them to become stronger as quickly as possible. They will establish forms of work with PZPR members forming part of worker self-management units, inspiring the work force to activities in favor of an increase in social labor discipline, the level and organization of production, and also to preserve the union between the plant's interests and general social goals. They will initiate constructive cooperation between worker self-management units and trade unions.

All party organizations are obligated to engage in continuing inspiration and control of the process of instituting the economic reform, and especially in preserving appropriate ratios between the increase in wages and the productivity of production and the level of costs and prices.

It is necessary to make the economy independent of deliveries of raw materials and technology from the countries of the dollar region, undertaking economically justified anti-import production. For this purpose, it is necessary to activate technical facilities and a movement for greater efficiency.

Party organizations should make more thorough assessments of activity in the area of liberating reserves, lowering the consumption of materials and energy, utilizing the means of production and production spaces, and improving the organization of work and productivity.

The Voivodship Party Conference has a critical view of the rate at which society's housing needs are being met. Acknowledging as relevant the decisions of the joint plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] and the Democratic Party Voivodship Committee [WK SD], which was devoted to the problems of housing construction, the conference considers the most important tasks to be developing the production of construction materials from local raw materials, ensuring the proper implementation of tasks in the communal and housing economy, and improving the effectiveness of management at construction sites and the quality of the buildings delivered, in accordance with the adopted plans.

In assisting local bodies, the Voivodship Committee should be more effective in influencing the development of local state industry and labor and handicrafts cooperatives.

In order to improve the market situation in the voivodship, trade units and the party organizations active in them should fully utilize the local possibilities of industry, cooperatives, and small-scale manufacturing, intensify control over the quality and prices of goods, and improve the organization of labor at trade institutions.

### III. In the Area of Agriculture and Food Industry

The highest priority has recently been given to the problems of feeding the people. Current tasks in this area were formulated in the resolution from

the joint plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee and the United Peasant Party Supreme Committee in January 1983. The successful completion of these tasks will depend on involving all sectors of the national economy in performing them. The tasks are therefore as follows:

--full completion of the tasks in the area of agriculture and the food industry through involvement, consistency, and persistence in action, and particularly through adherence to production and social discipline, both by agricultural producers, and also by the institutions serving villages and agriculture and the party organizations active in these milieus;

--the modernization of agriculture and improvement of the qualifications of professional farmers through the use of the agricultural training base, the institutions of the Voivodship Center for Agricultural Progress;

--in agriculture, the agricultural-food industry, and the timber industry, there should be more consistent adoption of the principles of the economic reform;

--in view of the specific characteristics of agriculture in our voivodship, it is necessary to call attention to the need to speed up regulation of water relations and rural water supply, to improve the structure of farms, and to make better use of the land and of reserves in processing and storage;

--the PZPR bodies and organizations cooperating with ZSL elements in their political organization work will confirm the principle of equal treatment for the state, cooperative, and peasant agricultural economy, and spread word of the need for efficient utilization of materials and the means of production;

--it is necessary to intensify ideological education work among PZPR members in the villages and in agricultural service units. In this regard, it is necessary to disseminate more widely the results of the outstanding agricultural producers, utilize the educational function of a personal example in influencing others, assign concrete tasks, and make a party assessment of their completion;

--local party organizations will act to develop circles, farmer organizations, and their associations;

--city-commune and commune PZPR committees, making extensive use of the opinions of rural self-managing organizations, should analyze the completion of the commune programs adopted for the development of agriculture, and the management cadres responsible for completion of the programs.

#### IV. Education, Culture, Health Care, Physical Culture

Striving for realization of the socialist model of education and upbringing, party bodies and organizations, social and youth organizations, and especially education organizations, should, with more consistency than in the past, develop the initiative, autonomy, and activity of individual teachers,

pedagogical councils, and self-managing school administrations, for active acceptance of the socialist and secular nature of our schools. It is essential to bring about a further modernization of the system for training and completing the education of teachers, and to improve the system of the management and administration of education. It is necessary to support social initiatives and to undertake essential action for improving the local base of schools and educational institutions.

--The conference advocates further comprehensive development of both of our schools and the Chair of Clinical Instruction at the Krakow AM [Medical Academy];

--in the programs for the planning and development of the economy of the voivodship, and meeting the cognitive, cultural, and educational needs of society, fuller use should be made of their intellectual and material potential. It is necessary to make more effective use than in the past of innovations from research and development centers, institutes, and scientific societies and associations;

--the voivodship and local party bodies and the state and economic administration should create the conditions for a revival and expansion of all forms of sponsorship of cultural activity, and to develop new forms and methods for cultural activity at plants, as the basic condition for participation in culture by the members of workforces and their families;

--it is essential to utilize the cultural base in the villages and to act on behalf of its further development in accordance with social needs;

--it is necessary to expand the role of youth organizations and the social cultural movement in planning and carrying out activities at institutions for the dissemination of culture;

--it is necessary to intensify ideological work with the professional cadres of cultural institutions and establishments, and with creative circles, making it possible to take into account the cultural needs of working people more extensively than in the past;

--for the sake of a further improvement in health care and social protection it is necessary to continue the activities carried out thus far to develop the hospital base and health centers in the cities and villages of the Kielce Voivodship. More attention should be paid to careful preparation for health service investments and to efficient implementation of them;

--it is necessary to improve the functioning of basic health care and to strengthen the industrial health service, especially where there is a large number of unhealthy and difficult jobs;

--the program of investments in the health service that has been carried out requires the development and adoption of a program for obtaining and training doctors and nurses;



--in order to improve the effectiveness of social assistance, it is necessary to improve coordination of the activities of the local administration, the health service, and social organizations, and to make better use of the funds allocated for this purpose.

The above tasks should be the subject of inspiration and control by all party bodies and organizations, and their implementation should be evaluated.

The party organizations in the health service are expected to conduct more effective ideological education work, both among party members and nonparty members. In addition to ideological-political work, they are also obligated to inspire and assume a leading role in evaluating and forming ethical-moral attitudes in medical circles.

--The PZPR bodies and organizations should support the development of mass physical culture, sport, and tourism, and should especially call attention to their educational and healthful functions and make rest bases accessible to workers and their families.

--The activities of the voivodship's tourist organizations and bureaus should assist in greater popularization of the tourist assets of the Swietokrzyski region, and in equipping them with tourist-rest installations.

#### V. In the Area of Harmony, Security, and Public Order

The conference expresses its appreciation to the People's Polish Army, the Citizens' Militia, the Security Service, and the ORMO [Volunteer Reserves of the Citizens' Militia], and to the judicial organs, for the activities they conducted during martial law. At the same time, it expresses its conviction that in the future they will be equally active in carrying out the tasks assigned to them.

--The problem of harmony, security, and public order, and social discipline, should constantly be at the center of attention of party bodies and organizations. A climate of social condemnation should be created for phenomena disturbing social life or the calm and effective work of a plant;

--it is necessary to intensify and improve the cooperation of the organs for prosecution, control, and the administration of justice with social organizations and plant workforces;

--the party bodies and organizations should make an evaluation of the state of security, public order, the safety of property, occurrences of bad management or speculation, and the results of internal control activity;

--it is necessary to wage a constant battle against activities aimed against the socialist state, and all occurrences of illegality and anarchy;

--the principle efforts of organs of the state administration and the police and judicial organs should be directed toward eliminating occurrences of criminality and social pathology;

--in order to meet society's need for more familiarity with the law, and especially with the new legal regulations for social life, the conference calls upon the Association of Polish Jurists, the Society of General Knowledge, and other social organizations to take these problems into account in their educational and propaganda activities.

The conference obligates the Voivodship Committee to examine all of the suggestions and demands voiced during today's session and adopted, and to report to those making the suggestions on means for implementing them.

The Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference of the PZPR in Kielce, 12 February 1983.

#### Opole Province Party Resolution

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 1 Mar 83 p 4

[Text] Resolution of the PZPR Voivodship Committee on the socioeconomic determining factors in the development of housing construction in 1983-1990.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee, after assessing the implementation of the tasks in housing construction, states that as a result of considerable difficulties and trends toward a decline in the productivity of construction enterprises, there has been a decrease in the number of residences turned over for use. In the last 3 years, housing repairs have also fallen further behind, along with the construction of new communal networks and installations. In 1982, the housing plan was not carried out, and the targets in completing trade and service installations were only met to a slight extent.

One should acknowledge as a positive phenomenon the considerable amount that has been done to make up the unfinished work in removing defects in residences and cooperative buildings, completing elevations, and economizing on housing development land.

The shortage of construction materials and the sharp increase in their prices have caused a decline in interest in single-family construction. As a result of said phenomena, there has been an extension of the average time spent waiting for a cooperative residence, and there has been an increase in the number of families competing for a residence from the people's council pools.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee approves the position contained in the Executive Board report concerning the key housing problems of our region and the construction program for 1983-1990. On the basis of opinions from party bodies at the primary level, and opinions from political and socioprofessional organizations, the PZPR Voivodship Committee is adopting the following main directions for housing policy:

--Overcoming the difficulties in obtaining and preparing land for single and multifamily construction. It is particularly important to guarantee a suitable pace in the development of the technical infrastructure and to ensure funds for its completion.

--Increasing the executor potential, especially in the area of engineering, finishing, and repair work, and also the development of handicrafts and small construction enterprises.

In this area, a suitable system should be developed for managing construction in the voivodship that will guarantee the development of enterprises in the preferred directions, and proper coordination of the activities of those participating in the investment process.

--Undertaking activities aimed at improving the supply of construction materials, reducing the consumption and waste of materials at construction sites, full utilization of the production capacity at existing factories for houses and for the manufacture of prefabricated components, and also the development of the production of construction materials from local raw materials and industrial scrap.

--Maximum use of social initiatives in housing construction. For this purpose, the state and economic administrations should create favorable conditions, and render concrete assistance to organized forms of the individual and multifamily construction implemented by the economic system and covered by youth sponsorship.

--Efficient utilization of and improvement in the technical state of existing housing materials. This requires an increase in repair capacity and in financial funds for repairs. It is also necessary to accelerate the administrative procedure for settling free or illegally occupied residences.

In accordance with the resolution of the 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, the basic task for the next few years is preventing a deterioration of the housing situation in the voivodship and creating the prerequisites for a gradual improvement in the population's housing conditions.

An increase in the scale of housing construction requires effective action by the state administration, the management of construction enterprises, and all economic units and institutions.

The problem of developing housing construction should be an object of continual interest on the part of party organizations and bodies, worker self-management units, youth organizations, and socioprofessional organizations.

In order to create the basic conditions for carrying out the housing construction program, the PZPR Voivodship Committee calls upon the central authorities to reexamine the size of the funds for investment in the local plan for the Opole Voivodship for the years 1983-1985, in accordance with the criteria adopted by the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee, proceeding on the basis of an assessment of the housing situation in the voivodship and an analysis of the needs in this area for the years 1983-1985, approves for implementation the following tasks for the state and economic administration, and for party organizations and bodies striving to create favorable conditions for carrying out housing construction:

I. In the area of guaranteeing land for socialized and single-family construction, and also equipping them with the necessary technical infrastructure:

1. Verifying the plans for land management in the voivodship from the standpoint of utilization of the land within the city and of minimizing the taking of agricultural land for housing construction.
2. In the years 1983-1985, continuing housing construction in areas possessing the most advantageous conditions from the point of view of preparing them for development, while simultaneously equipping the areas in accordance with the needs of individual cities and regions for the years 1986-1990.
3. Making a selection of the most urgent needs in the technical infrastructure, and establishing a list of communal sites that are especially important for the voivodship and which are a priority for housing construction.
4. Presenting a suggestion to the industrial enterprises in the voivodship that they participate and collaborate in equipping the areas and in building communal installations associated with the housing construction program.

II. In the area of developing the execution potential and the proper coordination of investment processes:

1. The administrative authorities of the voivodship are to undertake activities aimed at increasing the training of specialists in the sphere of construction and especially in the area of specialized work, and they are also to develop the possibilities for creating suitable priorities for enterprises completing the technical infrastructure.
2. Continuing to involve the potential of industrial construction in completing communal installations and the community-social structure of the local plan.
3. Creating favorable conditions for the development of construction cooperatives and handicrafts plants providing services for individual construction.

III. In the area of surmounting material barriers:

1. Making maximum use of the available possibilities for increasing the production of construction materials from local raw materials, and industrial scrap.
2. Developing uniform criteria and principles for the division of construction lots and materials, binding upon all offices and institutions in the voivodship.

3. Undertaking activities to initiate the production of cellular concrete on the basis of the suspended construction of the Kedzierzyn-Kozle house factory, and providing assistance in completing the construction of the ceramic plant in Paczkowa, and the expansion of the SZPW [Silesia Wool Plants] and the OXO factory at the Nitrogen Plants in Kedzierzyn-Kozle.

4. Expanding the forms of consultation for those building single-family houses. For this purpose, it is necessary to utilize a uniform system for information containing data on the availability of simple construction projects and inexpensive single-family houses, the conditions for preferences and financing, and data on the opportunities and place for purchasing construction materials and components.

IV. In the area of utilizing social initiatives in resolving housing problems:

1. Creating conditions favoring the appearance and realization of social initiatives in the area of the completion of single-family construction by individual persons, the organization of small housing cooperatives, and worker and youth housing construction groups.

2. The Voivodship Administration, together with the voivodship offices of youth organizations, is to work out principles for providing assistance to group forms of single and multifamily construction.

3. Periodically organizing meetings between youth and the voivodship authorities on the subject of housing problems and ways to resolve them.

V. In the area of efficient utilization of and improvement in the technical state of the existing housing inventories:

1. Utilizing the manufacturing power of the repair and construction enterprises in the communal economy, mainly for repairing residential buildings, resolutely improving the quality of the communal services rendered, and creating convenient conditions for residential repairs through the economic system by the beneficiaries.

2. Through the offices, housing cooperatives, and social organizations, organizing a search for free residences and unadministered locations. Urgent steps should be taken to ensure that all occurrences of this type are eliminated rapidly.

On the basis of the tasks mentioned in sections I-IV of this resolution of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, the Opole governor is to develop an implementation schedule.

VI. In the area of the activities of party organizations and bodies:

1. Bodies of the basic degree are to organize plenary meetings or economic consultations devoted to housing problems in their areas.

2. They are to assess the development of youth housing cooperatives and groups for the construction of single-family homes.
3. On the basis of the current plans for land management, the executive boards of the PZPR city and commune committees are to make assessments of the degree of utilization of the land available for housing construction, including single-family housing.
4. Organizing consultations of the plant party, economic, sociopolitical, youth, union, and self-management aktiv in order to work out tasks in resolving the housing problems of their workers.
5. The party organizations in construction are to ensure systematic control of the implementation of the plans for organizational improvements, and improving the material economy and social conditions at construction sites, and they will inspire the managements to continual improvement of incentive systems in order to obtain a close relationship between wages and the productivity and quality of the work performed.
6. Party organizations active in the sphere of housing construction should systematically assess and bring about an improvement in the repair and modernization activities of old housing inventories, full conservation of them, and an improvement in services to the residents.
7. Devoting particular care to and creating organizational conditions for the proper adjustment of young people at construction sites who are undertaking their first job in construction.
8. Party organizations at house factories and factories for prefabricated components are to make an assessment of the possibility of using reserves for the production of small components for the needs of private construction.
9. Party bodies and organizations should evaluate the extent of implementation of the tasks in housing construction after the expiration of the next few quarters.
10. Party organizations are to assess the correctness and effectiveness of the incentive systems used in construction and installation enterprises and in the construction materials industry.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee is to make an evaluation of the implementation of this resolution at the March 1984 meeting of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee.

Opole Voivodship Committee

Opole, 26 February 1983

Opole Province on Reports Campaign

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 3 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Jan Cofalka: "Concern About Rebuilding the Party"]

[Text] The atmosphere of the party campaign, which lasted for many weeks, was calm and substantive, without demagoguery and without the critical approach which reigned until recently. I stress that this does not mean criticism, since there was no lack of that, but rather the critical approach based on exaggerating every failure in action, undermining confidence in the party aktiv and authorities, which were after all democratically elected, and a tendency to insult honest people, sow unrest, and suspend any effective action.

In my opinion, a decisive influence on such a proper atmosphere for the reports campaign was exerted by the following factors:

--the considerable calming of the sociopolitical situation in the voivodship, even though there is still no shortage of extremely difficult matters, and--there is no point concealing it--a general decline in social activity, in some circles reaching the point of a really mythical expectation in the near future of an undetermined "zero hour" when all of us, as one man, will get down to work;

--the continuing presence of martial law in our awareness and an associated psychological discomfort and a conviction that "not everything is possible";

--the method of preparation for the conference, with broad participation by the members of the authorities and the delegates, which took into account the suggestions voiced in the course of previous conferences, without concealing the difficulties and weaknesses. The statement by the first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] contained in the final speech at the voivodship conference, that the delegates participating in it were "the same but not exactly the same," appears to be correct.

#### Delegates

There were three types of attitudes distinguished among the delegates. The first and most universal of these was characterized by the fact that many of the delegates from the last conference had undergone a real and profound transformation, from frustration, negation, and cheap demagoguery, to a fuller understanding of the problems and to viewing problems in the light of their determining factors. Previously, a considerable portion of the delegates had not yet participated in the business of the authorities, and thus everything could appear simple, easy, and feasible. These delegates, criticizing everything and everybody, were not aware of the complexity of the internal and external situation, or of their own responsibility. Nevertheless, they had good intentions, although as I have already said, they were not

grounded in previous experience or in a sense of realism. They acquired it in the course of the term, working in the problem-oriented commissions of their committees and encountering various more or less dramatic situations and moments with the party members and nonparty members from various circles.

The second type of attitude represented by some of the delegates is associated with the exhaustion of their activities. Previously their strength, thanks to which they acquired recognition and applause, was criticism, frequently pure demagoguery and a "no" program. Today, where there is a need for economic thinking, constructive action, daily activity and the creation of facts, they feel "out of their element." They often do not have enough courage and desire, as well as skill, knowledge, and experience, to become involved in the course of positive activities. They simply are not mature enough for active support of sensible activities that require deliberation and calm, or "they are afraid that they will be reminded of those days and words." They have not been removed, however, nor can they be, and they need assistance from more experienced comrades.

The third type of attitude, the least numerous, includes those who have fallen apart or given up, or whose mandate has been taken away, among other things, for their involvement in the extremist side. I also have in mind those who, without deserving the name of an opposition, are "lying in ambush," who will continue to be observed. Their arguments and views will still be formed outside the party. They consider everything that happened after 13 December, to put it delicately, as a "departure from the line of renewal."

#### Discussion

It was dominated by the crisis situation, the so-called fourth "s," i.e., the arbitrariness [samovola] of prices and the increasingly greater influence of prices on the standard of living. A proper linkage between wages and work was demanded, since, as someone stated, "where the same amount is given, a small amount is given, and if a small amount is given, then work loses its meaning." There was also a great deal about the continuing lack of evidence of the reform in workers' jobs, as well as the tendency toward warping it through bureaucratic restrictions and the lack of skill in earlier recognition of gaps in it. Many agricultural problems were discussed, along with the hopes paced in the last 10th Plenum, counting on consistent implementation of the decisions adopted. These and other problems could not help dominating the discussion if the party wants to be the leading force of the people and live the same life as everyone.

Although matters of everyday life were predominant (W. Machejek asserts that in our country, although not just in Poland, "existence outstripped awareness"), there was considerably broader interest than in the recent past in settling the problems of the party itself, at home, not just in other people's backyards. There was a vocal demand for raising the requirements for party members and organizations, especially in circles determining the formation of awareness and the upbringing of the younger generation. The cardinal, but unfortunately often forgotten truth about the task of a party member was recalled--that his obligation is to be in the forefront



in his milieu, in professional and social work. "A member of the party who is in the forefront in his milieu is a sort of advertisement for the party," and attracts others to him. In connection with this, it is a good idea to recall that a good worker rarely comes himself; he waits to be evaluated and contacted, in contrast to the various careerists who find a way into the party in every situation and who is difficult to get rid of after they later change their skins. If a worker is presented with the proposal by people with authority, valued people, members of a good party collective, he will join it. If this is done by a passive group of mediocre comrades, it will be difficult for it to get anyone.

A group concerned with rebuilding the party's fundamental norms and values spoke in the discussion with a different strong emphasis: demanding a revival of ideological life in the party, especially in the ideological education of youth. It is only by knowing marxism-leninism and the party's ideology and program, by understanding the world, that young people can know how to change it, how to find a place for themselves and for their entire generation. It will also understand that the task of the contemporary generation of Poles is to draw conclusions from all of the crises and turning points, not just in our postwar history and to make our country and people a society through well organized, effective, and creative work. Work has to be the highest measure for assessing a person. There has to be a change in the "Polish career model," based on a "vertical" climb up successive echelons of an official career, with the higher the echelon the less work and responsibility, but the greater the "master and feudal lord." Respect and social recognition has to be given to the model of the "horizontal" career: mastership in one's trade and professionalism. And it makes no difference whether this applies to a smelter, a turner, an office worker, or a doctor. Work, professionalism, and a civic attitude have to be taken into account.

#### Suggestions

During the previous campaign, there was an avalanche of them. No one dwelled on them at the time when they were put forward and recorded, everything seemed proper, and no consideration was given to whether the majority agreed with them or whether they were contradictory, mutually exclusive, or consisting of slogans. It was not considered whether these were fundamental and realistic suggestions, or what purpose they were to serve and what their implementation could bring to the party. It was thus a "concert of wishes," over which the party authorities had to rack their brains at a time when they were dealing with the implementation of suggestions. During the last campaign, in this extremely important sector of party activity, in which social initiative manifests itself, along with the link of the party members and organizations to the authorities, and vice versa, a certain order has begun to prevail. The suggestions were adopted by vote and were subjected to discussion before they were adopted. The justification for them was sought, the realism was considered, those affected were established, and the things and people that would be served by their implementation were also considered. In short, a party suggestion was really a social initiative that was a concrete formulation adopted in a vote, justified, and in accordance with the party's ideology, reflecting the feelings and aspirations

of working people, and assisting in improvement of the party's work and the party's management of political and socioeconomic life.

This economical concern about not understanding something that will be impossible to perform is also a characteristic of this campaign and a hope for rebuilding party life, its authenticity and credibility, and thus society's trust in it, especially since in the Opole area we know the value of one's word given to someone and of an obligation accepted for implementation.

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## WROCLAW PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

## Comments on Party Reports Campaign

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 6 Jan 83 pp 1,5

[Article by (hsm)]

[Text] A PZPR reports conference took place in Wroclaw's Fabryczna District yesterday. This party organization is one of the largest in the Wroclaw Voivodship. Despite the fact that 2,500 people left during the current term, namely since June 1981, it numbers 7,500 comrades. In the same period 59 comrades were accepted as PXPR candidates.

Unfortunately, although Fabryczna is the largest industrial district in Wroclaw, workers amount only to 30 percent of the party total. In the period after August 1980, in proportion to other social groups, the largest number of returned party cards was from workers. The participants in the debate emphasized that this exemplifies not so much a crisis of party ideas within the working class than a profound ideological diversion carried out mostly in large industrial enterprises by the antisocialist opposition. The party, of course, is not without blame either, both in regard to the distortions and errors of the past decade, as well as to the fact that at the time when "Solidarity" extremists undertook an all-out attack against the principles of the political system, disguising it with slogans of a battling for true democracy and social justice, the basic party organizations and the PZPR long-term activists lacked the courage to confront the workers and explain what the battle was really about.

Many people left the party after 13 December 1981; mainly those who carried out subversive activity. This was brought up by comrade Gora, as well as by the first secretary of the District Committee, Piotr Gabrys, in his paper. Such people should have been expelled from the PZPR a long time ago. However, members who, under pressure of demagogical propaganda, lost their ideological identity left as well. Many among them were workers. Party organizations must notice these people, carry out political activity among them and treat them as our allies.

"The party came out of the working class; grew out of its struggle for a socially just system," said comrade Wasacz from PAFAWAG. "The party,

objectively speaking, regardless of periodic errors, represents the interests of the working class. The party cannot accomplish its historical tasks by itself. It must therefore regain the trust of the working class, convince workers of its policy, win them over to its programs. How do you accomplish this? This is up to the basic organization itself because the program worked out at the top becomes concrete during its realization at the bottom, in particular milieux."

There are grounds for optimism, said the conference participants. Workers from large enterprises of the Fabryczna District, despite underground "Solidarity's" calls, did not undertake a strike last year. This signifies that party organizations' arguments find their way to the minds and consciousness of the workers. Not all the workers, of course. Distrust and expectation can be noted. The turning point, however, has taken place in party work as well; something which is evidenced by the increasing activity of the POP.

Critical voices were not absent at the conference. Consolidation of party ranks did not take place in every enterprise. The activity of the OOP [District Party Organization] and party groups in particular leave much to be desired.

This evaluation presents the aktiv with certain tasks. The aktiv needs help, particularly in terms of better organization of political training and improvement in information. An important task of the organizations and executive boards is to increase the number of social aktivs, particularly in industrial enterprises.

The conference participants also talked about housing construction, rationing, the social problems of enterprises and state administration.

Tadeusz Porebski, member of the Central Committee's Politburo and first secretary of the KW, took a stand on the problems discussed: housing construction, economic reform, production of consumer goods and church-state relations, among others. Part of our basic task, emphasized the speaker, is to create an atmosphere and conditions conducive to the development of workers self-management, Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth groups, and labor unions. These are tasks for every POP and every individual comrade. Party organizations must also devote more attention to the development of industrial production, particularly production designed for supply the consumer market.

As regards tasks for the near future, he said: "The Polish nation needs a strong socialist state: democratic, fulfilling society's aspirations; a state which has at its command a strong apparatus, capable of satisfying efficiently and consistently the national and social aspirations of the Poles. At the same time we need a strong party to guarantee the existence and development of the socialist state; a party setting out a program after consulting society, a party conscious of its historical role, armed with marxist teaching. A strong party is needed particularly in industrial enterprises, bound by all ties with the working class, and controlling the

administration. The awareness of these two social needs must be instilled in all party members, particularly the aktiv, as well as in the widest social circles."

The conference passed a resolution on the tasks of the district party organization for the second half of the term.

#### Party Reports-Programs Conference Deliberations

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 8 Feb 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Jerzy Czyz and Henryk Smolak: "Only the Party Will Solve the Problems of the Working People"]

[Text] The Reports-Programs Conference of the PZPR deliberated yesterday in Wroclaw. The 161 delegates elected in 1981 to the 21st Voivodship Reports-Election Conference, represented over 62,000 members and candidates of the PZPR Wroclaw organization. The participants in the deliberations evaluated the activity of the voivodship organization and of its organs: the KW, WKKR [Voivodship Party Control Commission] and WKR [Voivodship Audit Commission] and passed resolutions on the tasks for the second part of the term, on the 40th anniversary of Lower Silesia's return to the motherland, and on the Wroclaw City management structure.

Tadeusz Porebski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, opened the deliberations. He welcomed Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary; Marian Orzechowski, Central Committee secretary (delegate to the conference); Mieczyslaw Rakowski, deputy premier; Eugeniusz Duraczynski, director of the Central Committee's Educational Section; Ryszard Czerwinski, deputy director of the Central Committee's Organizational Section; Boleslaw Faron, minister of education; Andrzej Markowski, deputy minister of transportation; Jerzy Bajdor, first deputy chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television.

The participants in the deliberations included members of the highest party authorities: CC, CKKP [Central Party Control Commission] and CKR [Central Audit Commission] of our voivodship, representatives of the Polish Army, social, women's and youth organizations, party, social and economic activists.

Bernard Roskiewicz, chairman of the WK ZSL [Voivodship Committee of the United Peasants Party] and Franciszek Bielicki, director of the WK SD [Voivodship Committee of the Democratic Party] participated in the conference.

The delegates to the conference received the following materials: reports of the WKKP and WKR on the activity of the voivodship organization in the last 19 months, the state of the party, initiatives of the KW, realization of the resolution of the Twenty First Voivodship Reports-Election Conference, and the region's socio-economic situation. Another item was a list of several dozens of motions submitted earlier by delegates to the KW and addressed to the conference. The motions aimed at improving the population's

living conditions and dealt with the economic reform, agriculture and the food economy, and social and labor policy.

At the beginning, the conference confirmed the order of the debates, including the report of the Voivodship Committee's Executive Board, a discussion and vote on the resolutions, the rules and regulations of the debates, and the composition of the mandate and motion commissions.

Bernard Roskiewicz took the floor during the deliberations, passing on greetings and wishes for fruitful debates to the conference on behalf of the ZSL and SD voivodship organizations.

In the period after August 1980, according to the materials presented to the conference, considerable changes took place in the size of the Wroclaw voivodship organization. Over 30,000 people left the organization after August 1980, including nearly 19,000 whose names were removed from the party's rolls after 13 December 1981. Some 600 people were expelled. Beginning with the second half of 1982, a stabilization of the PZPR voivodship organization took place. The organization now totals 62,273 comrades. Last year 209 candidates joined the party.

The report of the KW Executive Board was presented by Tadeusz Porebski, first secretary of the Voivodship Committee. In his introduction he said: We are meeting at the halfway point of the party's term, as required by the statute, in order to sum up the activity of the Wroclaw party organization and equip it with work directives for the next few years. We have behind us extremely difficult experiences--when the foundations of the nation's existence and the socialist state were threatened--and before us, full layers of the country's basic problems are still unresolved. What is the situation in Wroclaw and the voivodship now, 19 months after August 1980? What is the state of the party, its ability to act, the realization of the program of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, progress toward solving the basic problems of the working people?

We have today--the speaker continued--a different political situation. We can devote more energy to the resolution of the most vexing complaints of the working people and also take care of long-term and system-type problems which will come to fruition in the future.

We know how many honest people, attached to socialism, are filled with mistrust and bear grudges against the party and authorities. They are oppressed by everyday difficulties. We know that in order to dispel this mistrust, time measured by a gradual overcoming of the crisis is needed. The basis of our activity is winning over the whole population, above all the workers, by understanding and tolerance, on behalf of a joint restoration of Poland, based on the principles of orderliness, good management, democracy and social justice. We also realize that our external and internal enemies, although weakened, will not pass up any opportunity to disturb the peace.

Our biggest problems are in the economy, said comrade Porebski. Production in 1982 amounted only to 95.9 percent of the previous year's value and was

lower than the best year, 1979, by 14.5 points. Productivity in industry increased only by 2.6 percent, while wages increased by 29.3 percent. In the construction industry the decline is even deeper: tasks executed in the past year amounted only to 89.1 percent in relation to 1981. To be fair, though, it should be noted that the construction industry in 1982, accomplished much outstanding work, particularly in building social and municipal installations. The situation in agriculture is not easy. The procurement of grains and fruit in the voivodship has gone well, we have produced more sugar, we are meeting basic needs for and its products. At the same time the potato harvest was smaller and the procurement of slaughter live-stock, eggs, and milk has declined. The most troubling sign is the trend toward a decline in farm animal husbandry. Some processing plants are also experiencing difficulties.

In order to moderate these difficulties, comprehensive actions must be taken by party organizations, the state and economic administration, as well as by producers themselves--the workers, the engineering and technical personnel, and the farmers.

The party presently is doing everything possible to overcome the difficulties. The effectiveness of its actions is higher than a year ago or even several months back. The reports and programmatic campaign in the voivodship, ending with this conference, has shown that the party is now stronger, more united organizationally, and ideologically cohesive. Firstly, as comrade Porebski emphasized, party organizations have come out of the state of torpor and stagnation. Most of them have embarked upon the road of carrying out the basic statutory tasks. Meetings are taking place with decent attendance. Work is being planned, resolutions and motions are being accounted for. Secondly, most organizations have come out of their particular environmental isolation, and many have moved on to exert active influence upon their environment.

Unfortunately, in comparison with the two above-mentioned aspects of party work, ideological activity clearly lags behind. In many organizations this activity is somewhat underrated and often shunted aside by current, more immediate problems.

Against the background of the situation in the voivodship and the Wroclaw party organization, comrade Porebski outlined future tasks. He emphasized that the building of strong PZPR links in all milieux is one of the most important tasks. There is also a need for perfecting the style of work of PZPR organs, which recently have gained many new comrades dedicated to the party and socialism but lacking satisfactory knowledge of sociopolitical processes and experience in action. Further work on behalf of proper cooperation between party links and the economic and state administration is necessary. Perfecting cadre policy is one of the most urgent tasks. "We cannot resign from it," emphasized comrade Porebski, "if we did that, we would be the only party in the world doing it." He also discussed tasks in the realm of shaping the socialist consciousness of society and in the building of a broad platform for uniting society around solving the problems of the socialist state.

From this outline of the most important problems, the KW first secretary said in conclusion, it can be seen how serious tasks await us, how much remains to be done. Life, on the other hand, continuously brings new problems. Executing these tasks constitutes a difficult test for the voivodship party organization and for the party which sincerely desires reforms and renewal.

Twenty comrades participated in the discussion: Tadeusz Partyka, KD [District Committee] PZPR secretary of the Wroclaw Kryzki district, Bernard Roskiewicz, WK ZSL chairman in Wroclaw, Zdzislaw Biernaczyk, MO voivodship commander, Jan Dalgiewicz, director of the Jelcz Automobile Plant, Andrzej Golonski, KW member, employee of the Wroclaw Press Publishing House, Mieczyslaw Gawel, director of the Fruit and Vegetable Processing Plant, Ryszard Bielakowski, KGiM [City and Parish Committee] first secretary in Trzebnica, Edmund Piasecki, farmer, KGiM member in Trzebnica, Franciszek Szymczak, retiree, activist of the KD in Krzyki, Wladyslaw Wierzochowski, educational inspector in Trzebnica, Jan Ratajczak, KM [City Committee] secretary in Olawa, Jan Domagala, physician, Ryszard Milczarek, deputy commander of the Silesian OW [Military District], Ryszard Galka, DOKP [expansion unknow] in Wroclaw, Jan Chaladaj, chairman of the Voivodship Board of the ZSMP, Ludwik Dziwak, of the FAT [Automated Lathe Factory] in Wroclaw, Jan Kazior of WROZAMET in Wroclaw, Lucjan Szoltys, the KU first secretary in the Economics Academy, Jozef Kumaszk, the KZ ZNTK [expansion unknow] in Wroclaw, Stanislaw Zubinski, first secretary of the KMiG in Wiazow.

As can be seen from this list, nearly all the problems of the Wroclaw Voivodship working world were dealt with during the discussion. Among the topics, several fundamental trends can be mentioned. Those dealt, above all, with the issues of intraparty life, questions connected with the implementation of the economic reform, the situation in industry, agriculture, education and health services. Statements were also made dealing with the material situation of the working class in the context of price increases, market supplies and battling speculation.

The delegates summed up the 1 1/2 year period which passed since the last conference. Probably because of that, many speakers harkened in their pronouncements back to that period in order to outline the processes that took place as well as present the current situation and suggest appropriate conclusions. This concerned above all problems in party life. The speakers emphasized that the pressure of hostile forces caused considerable quantitative losses since not all party members endured the defamation campaign. Yet, things brings one to reflect whether these are truly regrettable losses. For those who left were mostly wavering, flighty people, who joined the party for career purposes and so on. No need to lament such people. The fact that the party organizations have fewer members now does not mean they are ideologically and politically weaker. In some situations, however, the losses suffered by the party have been quite severe, particularly in regard to small organizations, and most often rural ones. Now there is need to develop activity, gain the trust and the authority in this milieu.



Connected integrally with this are possibilities for party organizations' influence on the situation in industrial enterprises. Questions resulting from party organization--self-management--labor union--administration configurations were tackled. There is a danger that the party organization, in defending the social interest, will come in conflict with other organs in a factory guarding their particular interest, namely the plant's crew. This concerns above all the prices set by the factory on its products. The market must take these products, it has no choice, and the enterprises sometimes make high profits. These profits do not result from technological progress or material savings, nor from lowering the costs or increased productivity; these profits result only and exclusively from hiking up prices. At the same time there is a shortage of manpower, a decline in the number of people employed in production while the size of the administrative personnel remains the same, and so on. As far as agriculture is concerned, depopulation of the countryside looms. Few young people take up farming, and large areas of land are improperly managed.

Most of the critical remarks however concerned housing construction. The speakers pointed out the disproportions and abnormalities, wondered about ways to solve the situation, and submitted various motions.

These motions concerned not only housing construction. There was hardly a pronouncement in the whole very broad and rich discussion, which did not end with the submission of a motion and proposals.

As it was already said, 20 comrades took part in the discussion. Many more, however, applied. Some 13 additional comrades put down their names and will append their pronouncements to the protocol.

Kazimierz Barcikowski, the Politburo member and CC secretary emphasized in his pronouncement that positive changes in the Wroclaw Voivodship organization are already visible. In party activity attention is being paid to basic problems which determine the efficacy of work: contacts with people, utilization of their suggestions, and methodical action by the PZPR links. The voivodship party organization has gone through a difficult test and its experiences have been harsher than those in other regions of the country. It has managed, however, to come off well from them. The PZPR Voivodship Committee, aiming toward the consolidation of the party ranks, and their organizational and ideological unity, has at the same time been able to solve not only the region's residents' current problems but also has been working on plans reaching far into the future. It has been undertaking tasks important for the working people.

"We in the party leadership are convinced," comrade Barcikowski, "that the party can effectively solve these problems, help people, and at the same time overcome obstacles created by the enemies of our political system. We must of course remember that there is still a long road ahead of us, nothing comes by itself. The party program, coming forward to meet the needs and aspirations of the working people, must find broad social support so that it can become reality. We must therefore overcome the inertia and passivity of many social circles. We must explain to people, convince them

that through waiting and passivity they will not achieve anything, will not live to see an improvement in living conditions, the end of the crisis, and development of the motherland.

"The political struggle continues. It is on the one hand a struggle with the enemy of the socialist system, and on the other, a struggle for increasing the party's influence in society. Therefore it is necessary to broaden party initiatives in the development of self-management, labor unions, and cells of the Patriotic Movement of National Understanding. The vacuum in social areas, wherever it occurs, must be filled in. It is important that this task be done by the party and that the party create conditions for human development and involvement. In the action toward the renewal of our socialist motherland all must be involved--except for the enemies of the system.

"The main point of concern now is the economy. All efforts must be focused on economic activity, on production development, and the improvement of economic relations--in a word, implementation of the principles of the economic reform. Unfortunately, in many sectors of the economy the reform is being distorted. We must decisively fight against this. A properly implemented economic reform is a chance to lift up the country and improve the population's living conditions. So far, the workforces are insufficiently involved in the implementation of the economic reform assumptions. In many enterprises the management is not interested in it. Party organizations must take action in this area. The workforce must have influence on the enterprise, its production, its employment structure, on the relations between the size of the profit and prices, between the group and the societal interest.

"In Poland," comrade Barcikowski emphasized, "it is easy to discuss, make postulates, suggest systemic solutions. We do not however have enough stubbornness to implement concrete motions. This we must learn if we want to overcome the difficulties piling up in front of us."

Kazimierz Barcikowski said that in present conditions, when there is a lack of means while at the same time a huge economic potential is left unexploited, it is incorrect to make investment proposals. This applies to all the areas of the economy except housing construction and the basic social investments.

In conclusion he emphasized that the conference chose the right directions for action by the voivodship party organization and expressed the conviction that they will be successful.

In turn, the chairman of the commission on resolutions and motions, the KW secretary Jan Klamut, presented the resolutions. Two resolutions, concerning the most immediate tasks of the voivodship party organization, and the celebrations of the 40-year anniversary of Lower Silesia's return to the mother country, were accepted unanimously; the third resolution, concerning the proposals for introducing new structures to govern Wroclaw, passed by a majority. This last resolution proposes that the CC should consider the possibility of introducing in the project of the Sejm statute on city

councils a point about appointing in large cities such as Wroclaw a three-grade structure of power and state administration, that is, creating a City Council and an Office of the City Mayor subordinate to the voivod, while retaining the district councils and offices.

The participants ended the conference by singing "The Internationale."

#### Conference Resolution

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 8 Feb 82 pp 1,2

[Text] In May 1985, 40 years will have passed from the moment of the complete defeat of Hitler's armies in the western and northern territories of Poland and the return of these territories to their mother country. The last stage of this historical event took place here in Wroclaw, liberated after heavy fighting by the troops of the Red Army on 6 May 1945.

The PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference in Wroclaw believes that these years need an honest summing up and our rights to these lands need to be again strongly emphasized. This is needed because new generations of Poles have entered upon the stage of history, and also because the Federal Republic of Germany, openly revisionist trends have again become stronger. Despite our different opinions on the various issues dividing us today, we ought to be united and watchful in regard to the question of the western territories, an important and inseparable part of our motherland.

The PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference in Wroclaw recommends the assembly of PZPR city councilmen bring up the issue of the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the reclamation of Lower Silesia during the deliberations of the Municipal Council of the City of Wroclaw and Voivodship so that it would, after the acceptance of the idea, convene a representative preparations committee and resolve the framework of the celebrations' program. In the course of the two years separating us from this anniversary, even under current unfavorable economic conditions, many useful things can be done, provided that wide circles of residents, science and cultural representatives, various social organizations and associations, work enterprises, churches, schools and youth, can be drawn into the preparations. We should consider together what can and ought to be done in that period for the general good.

For its part the conference proposes to undertake the following actions:

1. In May 1985 a monument should be unveiled in Wroclaw:

"Monument to the Pioneer and Settler." This idea has been germinating for a long time. On 8 May 1966, Adam Rapacki set the cornerstone for the monument's construction on the Peace Bridge and unveiled a commemorative plaque with the following inscription: "In the millenium of the Polish State, on the 21st anniversary of the victory over fascism, by the resolution of the All-Polish Committee of the National Unity Front, it was decided for the eternal memory of future generations to erect at the Odra in Wroclaw a monument to the return of the western and northern territories of the mother

country." A worthy occasion has arisen to carry out this intent. It should be a monumental work, of outstanding subject matter and artistic values, worthy of the matter it is to commemorate.

2. We ought to intensify considerably research, propagation, and the publication of works pertaining to the problems of Lower Silesia. This requires discussion in circles of specialists in determined scientific and creative disciplines, elaborating a concrete program of such works and guaranteeing funds for their realization. Popularizing actions should also be expanded regarding the knowledge of Lower Silesia in schools and the mass media: educating and teaching affection for the region of the motherland.

3. In preparation for the celebrations the participation of the young generation ought to make its mark. We do not wish to propose anything, the initiatives and ideas ought to come from the youth itself. It could be a collective and permanent act of the young generation of Wroclaw.

4. We are addressing the representatives of culture in all its manifestations: art, literature, theater, music and film, to tie their creative plans to the postwar fate of Poles in the Recovered Territories. Competitions and other forms of promotion should serve this purpose.

5. We are of the opinion that Wroclaw should commemorate the anniversary of its liberation by a grand and permanent deed. We are thinking here of a large investment or perhaps a whole investment complex. It can be the erection of a modern complex of buildings for the Medical Academy, which now functions in outdated and worn buildings. The construction of the first clinic should begin before May 1985

This construction would require a lot of time, care and efforts, and emotionally binding it with a date of such great historical significance should have an undoubted influence upon its initiation, course and success.

6. The last few years have reflected themselves negatively on the appearance and neatness of the cities and villages of our voivodship. Despite the difficulties which we have come to experience, we cannot accept this state nor get used to it. Our surroundings are part of our daily culture, hygiene and self-consciousness. Avoiding shoddiness and cheap effects, as well as expensive unnecessary works, we should start tidying up Wroclaw and the whole voivodship, with wide participation of its residents, of course.

Standing on the position that the celebrations of the 40-year anniversary of recovering the western and northern territories ought to have an all-national status, we are petitioning the central authorities to give them an appropriate character and we are proposing cooperation to the remaining Lower Silesia voivodships.

## Views of Conference Delegate

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Brygilewicz, delegate to the PZPR voivodship conference by (pro)]

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 8 Feb 83 p 2

[Text] Mieczyslaw Brygilewicz joined the party in 1967. He is 39 years old and works as a metal-fitter in the FLORETA Silk Weaving Plant in Kamienna Gora.

[Question] What will you say about the situation of the party in your work place?

[Answer] Our organization has now 156 members for 700 employees.

[Question] How active are the comrades?

[Answer] It varies. Those who were the least committed to our ideas have left. And among those who have remained there are still many passive members, waiting probably for an improvement in the economic situation and better fulfillment of social needs. They usually subject their attitude to the market supplies, the possibilities of buying available goods.

[Question] Is this being discussed at party meetings?

[Answer] Most of the critical remarks indeed concern broadly perceived commerce. FLORETA workers are particularly against barter exchanges between enterprises (for example: "We give you shoes and you give us radio sets.") and prices in stores run by private agents [sklepy agencyjne]. They are asking: "Why don't the authorities do something against the price-gouging?" Such things irritate the working people the most.

[Question] What, in your opinion, has undergone the biggest changes in the party since the last reports-election conference a year and a half ago?

[Answer] I think the comrades' attitude toward the so called accountability trend. In that period many hasty "verdicts" were pronounced against people, with rumors serving as proofs. Now these matters are dealt with according to the existing law. The impatient ones say that in relation to some people the procedure is taking place too sluggishly...

[Question] Two months ago you were elected to the Executive Board of the KW PZPR in Jelenia Gora. You have already participated in 3 sessions. What are your impressions?

[Answer] Basically just one: in discussions on whatever topic, the authorities consider the workers' interest and opinions above all.

[Question] What do you expect from the approaching voivodship reports conference of the PZPR?

[Answer] A productive discussion on improving the discipline in our ranks, from better attendance at meetings and plenary sessions to a more consistent implementation of the resolutions of the higher organs, among other things. Otherwise it will be difficult to act effectively and efficiently.

First Secretary Tadeusz Porebski's Report

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 10 Feb 83 pp 3,4

[Article by Jerzy Czyz and Henryk Smolak: "The Party's Present Strategy Constitutes a Good Basis for Strengthening Its Unity"]

[Text] Comrade Ladies and Gentlemen!

We have gathered halfway through the term, as required by the PZPR statute, in order to sum up the activity of the Wroclaw party organization and equip it with work directives for the next few years. It is not an easy task. We have behind us extremely hard experiences--the foundations of national existence and the socialist state were threatened--and ahead of us--whole layers of still unsolved basic problems. It is above all the problem of leading Poland out of the economic crisis and onto a road of healthy, socialist development. It is the problem of winning over the broadest segments of society, most of all the working class, to active cogoverning of the country and efficient and productive work for its good. It finally is the problem of shaping the party and state in such a way so as to protect us from new economic collapse and social conflicts, creating a democratic order, free both from arbitrary rule and anarchy.

During these nineteen months which have passed since the last Voivodship Reports-Election Conference we have had to pit ourselves against a sequel of dramatic events which we had never experienced before. Do you remember comrades in what moods we were leaving the conference to go home, particularly the hope of, and faith in, the possibility of breaking the impasse with which we welcomed the deliberations and resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress? They were good resolutions, oriented to the course of the country's socialist renewal, to the August agreements and to the slogan of that time: "Socialism--yes, distortions--no!" It seemed to us that we had embarked upon a road of understanding regarding the most important national goals. We began shifting onto the rails of normal organic party work; the Voivodship Committee confirmed the program of long-range solutions to our most pressing social and economic problems.

The political adversary, however, who managed to gain significant influence over the masses, did not care what direction of action we have chosen, but about seizing power through the disintegration of the economy, dismantling the party and socialist state. In Wroclaw, as in the whole country, a relentless propaganda campaign was begun, calculated to discredit the party program adopted at the Ninth Congress. To all the authorities' constructive proposals the answer was: "No!."

This campaign intensified after the conclusion of the national "Solidarity" congress. The escalation was evident. The city was covered with leaflets,

propaganda disseminating automobiles were cruising the streets. Polish-Soviet relations were being slandered with increasing frequency. The question of the economic reform was played out demagoguically, countering the government project with a so-called network project, unlimited in liberties, and countering the state with a vision of a so-called self-governing republic. Finally the party was being eliminated from work enterprises. The slogans for total democracy in the country were accompanied by the accumulation of power in increasingly wider leadership circles of "Solidarity" and the pushing out of realistic and moderate activists.

The economy, which for a long time had already been out of gear, was brought to the brink of total collapse in the fall of 1981. Store shelves were becoming empty at a frightening speed, the prospects for surviving the winter were grim. The opposition was getting ready for an all-out clash, a general strike in December 1981. In Wroclaw regional headquarters at Mazowiecka Street it was decided that the time had come to consider a decisive step.

In this situation our party's leadership decided to impose martial law on 13 December 1981. It was the only solution for saving the state and nation from a historic catastrophe. There was no other way. Thanks to the determined and at the same time restrained attitude of the army and the organs of security and public order, we managed to dam the swelling flood by using our own, Polish forces. It need not be emphasized that it had and has a fundamental significance for the development of the situation in the country.

The imposition of martial law was a shock not only for a considerable part of society, but also for many party members. Not all sustained this blow and managed to free themselves from the illusions that they had been fed for many years, to understand the hard rules of political struggle.

We want therefore to emphasize most strongly that despite the above, in the moment of the difficult test, the majority of our comrades, particularly the party aktiv, measured up to the task. We were not equally active everywhere at once, but we did not allow ourselves to be put to rout, disarmed morally, or be drawn into brawls. Very many activists put themselves immediately at the disposition of the Voivodship Committee, district committees and other organs. We were rather efficient in counteracting raging disinformation and hostile propaganda.

There is no doubt that the attitude of party members as well as the calm of the majority of society, were influenced by the line proclaimed by the party leadership--the line of struggle and agreement--as well as by the application of martial law. As time went by, increasingly more people were becoming convinced that martial law meant not only precluding a return to the situation prior to December 1981, but also the situation before August 1980. After all, since martial law, farsighted reform activity by the party and government continued, various deputy collectives were working and citizens' discussions were carried on. We in the Voivodship Committee, despite the pressure of immediate needs and disturbances complicating our work, tried

not to lose perspective. In that time collectives composed of specialists and activists elaborated a dozen or more diagnoses and programs concerning important aspects of the city and voivodship's life. Three of them regarding agriculture, health protection and housing construction, became the subject of the KW plenary debates. We also did not aim ideological and educational work only toward explaining current questions, but we initiated discussions about "what we are aiming at," about the ideology and theory of the party, about the causes of our failures and ways to avoid them.

It is an undeniable fact that we are plagued by numerous annoyances and various municipal installations are reaching their limit or do not keep up with the city's development. We have an enormous shortage of housing in relation to our needs. The city's organism is developing unevenly, and some communities are deprived of schools, stores and basic services.

It must be said that the Wroclaw intelligentsia in particular suffers a certain complex causing it to underrate our city. This complex is additionally influenced by the conviction that Wroclaw's significance on the cultural and scientific map of Poland has visible declined. This conviction is exaggerated, to say the least, and results also from an inability to publicize our achievements. Nevertheless we cannot deny that the good times for certain Wroclaw scientific disciplines and artistic areas are over and we cannot, for the sake of our mental comfort, attribute the reasons for the situation only to the shortage of investments and installations, or an unsympathetic attitude by the former authorities toward science and culture.

Comrade Ladies and Gentlemen!

Today the political situation is different than it was a few mere months ago. The time of tranquility has finally arrived and we can devote more energy to solving the most vexing complaints of the working people, taking care of long range and systemic issues which ought to yield results in the future.

We know many people who are honest and basically faithful to socialism still harbor within themselves distrust and bear grudges against the party and authorities. People are bugged by problems of daily living. We are trying soberly to evaluate the reality. We do not expect therefore that these grudges will end immediately after the suspension of martial law. For this we need time measured by a gradual progress in overcoming the crisis. Our goal is to win over patiently and with understanding all people, workers first of all, to the cause of the joint restoration of Poland on the principles of orderliness, good management, democracy, and social justice. We realize that social peace does not quite mean good feelings, or even less, general support for the party's policy although it is the necessary preliminary condition for improving the atmosphere in the country and overcoming consecutive obstacles on the road to overcoming difficulties. External and internal enemies, though weakened, will do everything, will use every opportunity to disturb this peace.



Our biggest problems are accumulated in the economy; we can say metaphorically that today the economy is our enemy. Our success and failures in this area weigh most on the people's moods. The party cannot therefore avoid the issues of the economy by taking up some imaginary "pure" party work. Lenin's statement that economics is concentrated politics acquires a particular meaning in today's situation.

What is the situation in industry? Well it must be said that in 1982 industry began to rise from the bottom to which it had sunk in the previous year. But this happened only in the second half of last year. As a result we achieved only 95.9 percent of the production value of 1981, and 14.5 points of production value separate us from the best year, 1979.

The course of the economy was, in short, the following: the value of industrial production was lower than the 1981 level by 4.1 points, and in physical units at least two times lower, productivity rose by 2.6 percent, while wages without compensations rose by 29.3 percent and the profits of the enterprises still higher. This is the simple mystery of empty store shelves and the trend of increasing prices.

In the construction industry the regression was still deeper, for accomplished tasks amounted to only 89.1 percent of the value obtained in 1981. Suffice it to say that in the years 1978-80, the builders turned over 7,000 apartments to users yearly, this year they turned over only 3,138 apartments, that is less than half. We are counting on this year being the one to overcome the impasse.

At the same time it needs to be said in all fairness that the construction industry in the past two years caught up in building social installations, particularly schools, nursery schools and day care centers. It also turned over for use investments particularly important for living conditions in Wroclaw. Let me recall here the ZWIEBACK bakery which solved the quantitative problem of baking needs, the MOKRY DWOR water works, and the CZECHNICA heat and power generating plant which balances the energy needs in the city.

As you know, throughout this whole time we have been preparing and implementing the economic reform. The Voivodship Committee already at the beginning of November 1981, accepted at its plenary session the program for implementing the method, and the Committee's specialized commission has been systematically evaluating its course.

The reform in its present stage has already brought an undoubted increase in good management and independence of enterprises. It has turned out however that not all of its mechanisms were adapted to the reality of the economic crisis in which we must act. Most of all, the dependence of the enterprises' income and wages on real production growth and the lowering of its costs was not made precise enough. The motivational system lagged behind the other solutions in the reforms.

The problem of finding an effective linkage between the goals of the central plan, representing broadly understood social interests, and the goals and

independence of particular production units, is on the agenda. The task for the moment, which we must undertake at all levels of management, is to curb excessive inflation causing havoc in the market and economy.

Because of the Wroclaw region's soil quality and agrarian structure, we feel particularly responsible here for the results of Polish agriculture. In April 1982, at the joint session of the voivodship organs of the PZPR and ZSL, we defined in detail our tasks in this sphere. We elaborated in particular the programs which gradually solve several problems most important for our agriculture such as: land improvement, water supply, seed-potato production, securing increased production of farming tools and spare parts from industry. We will systematically supervise the realization of these programs. We should also place emphasis on the development of farmers self-management and on increasing ties between social and trade organizations of farmers with the links of the state and economic administration.

The situation in agriculture is not well defined. We had good harvests of grains and sugar beets. The procurement of grains and fruit went well, we have produced more sugar than last year, we are meeting the basic demands for milk and dairy products. At the same time however, the potato harvest was lower, the procurement of slaughter livestock, eggs and milk declined and what is the most disturbing, declining trends can be seen in the husbandry of farm animals. Some processing plants are also experiencing difficulties, particularly in the fodder and poultry breeding industries, which are caused by interruptions in supplies of corn and other fodder components from capitalist countries.

In order to ease the difficulties, our party organizations, the administration and farmers themselves must undertake comprehensive actions. The point is to better utilize the remaining reserves and all the instruments that could serve the growth of agricultural production.

Comrade Ladies and Gentlemen!

Today's conference has been preceded by a 5-month reports campaign throughout the whole voivodship party organization. It consisted not only of reports and programmatic meetings but also of individual conversations with party members, assigning of party tasks, numerous meetings of milieux, sessions of the party organization, assessment of how resolutions have been realized, making order in personnel files and so on. In turn, on the voivodship level we have assigned ourselves as the main task the improvement in the efficiency of aid, training and control in relation to the organizations of the first level and those with the largest membership.

I think we have already achieved a certain order in work planning as well as in the bilateral circulation of information. Our output includes permanent seminars and advisory material devoted to the methods and style of party work. We have begun training all the POP secretaries in the voivodship party school, and so on. We are pleased to notice a visible increase in the level of organizational skills and substantive knowledge in party members invested with elective functions.

We have done great work which deserves all the more to be noticed and emphasized. In general we have managed to avoid sterility, empty talk, window dressing and superficial actions--namely all the ill growths on the methods of our work. The reports campaign turned out to be an important instrument for activating the party, but at the same time it was a rather sharp test of its vitality.

What then is the Wroclaw party organization like today?

First of all, our party organizations have visibly become more active. The majority of them have already embarked upon the road of carrying out basic statutory duties: meetings are taking place rather regularly and with a satisfactory attendance, work is being planned, resolutions and motions are being accounted for, for better or worse. One can say that the whole structure of the voivodship party organization has been put into motion with the exception of, unfortunately, those party groups which in the majority of enterprises we have to build anew. The gradual expansion of the aktiv is a positive sign.

This general picture does not yet apply to many rural POPs, often heavily decimated in the previous period, and also some not very numerous party organizations in Wroclaw.

Secondly, the majority of our organizations have already emerged from a certain isolation and moved on to actively influencing their milieu. The secretaries of the organizations maintain direct contact with the particular cells of enterprises, meeting not only with management, but also with workers groups. A certain number of party members energetically participate in explaining and discussing at their work places the questions which appear in the order of the day. Party members with increasing ability are acting upon all the "social strings" of the enterprise: workers self-management, the labor union, youth organization, and so on.

Work place committees with increased efficiency also act upon the administration's attitude, particularly in economic, social and personnel matters; they study the mysteries of the economic reform, they voice criticism in cases of mismanagement and bad economic relations. In short, they are finding for themselves, not without lapses and doubts as to their own role and competence, their proper place in the enterprise's organism.

Our observations show, on the other hand, that party organizations leave out of their sphere of interest and control the work of their members in representative, self-management and collective bodies, acting on behalf of the milieu, namely in social organizations and associations, links of the OKON and PRON, in petty-crime councils, community committees, and so on.

Thirdly, despite our efforts and ever-expanding training of instructors, it is difficult to speak thus far about a wide and proper functioning of the basic network of ideological instruction. Meetings devoted to instruction often take place irregularly, with poor attendance, and it sometimes happens that they do not meet at all.

We must clearly say that ideological education as a certain "investment in the party" is not yet sufficiently appreciated in our organization, often being pushed out by current, pressing problems. This means that we have not yet drawn our conclusions from the recent past when, as we ourselves emphasize, a certain de-ideologizing of the party weakened its resistance to foreign influences and demagogical slogans, contributing to its softening.

As a result of the reports campaign we have received a wide array of views, opinions and motions which we can rightly say are representative of the whole Wroclaw organization.

Objectivity and search for ways to improve the situation in one's work place and milieu dominated [party] meetings. Comrades saw reserves in party work mostly in increased activity of the POP members, in expelling stragglers, and in continuously broader display by party organizations of initiatives useful socially and economically. The need for greater help for the economic and regional administration, as well as more effective control by the party in implementing its policy and resolutions were discussed. The role of party committees and organizations in creating and livening the activity of self-management and labor unions, and less frequently, youth organizations, were discussed nearly everywhere. The need to have PZPR members actively participating in the work of these organs was emphasized, but at the same time warnings against steering and limiting their independence were voiced. It was concluded that these organs ought to serve as a broad field of activity for nonparty citizens.

In many POPs internal economic and social issues emerged as primary. This was the case particularly in the countryside, where criticism of unproductive farmers, deficient utilization of land and bad equipment management could be heard.

Complaints and postulates addressed to the party's higher levels were usually an echo of the discontent and doubts which society at large was feeling. Thus it was a full set of problems connected with market supplies, anxiety over the growth of prices and progressing inflation, criticism of the phenomena of excessive enrichment and speculation, complaints about difficult living conditions in housing projects and so on. The implementation of the economic reform brought up many doubts as well.

The character of the discussion was however completely different than a year and a half ago; it was free of the faltering and disorientation that were eating the party then. The principles of such basic issues as the program of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, the reason for, and the application of martial law, the struggle and agreement line, were not questioned. It can be said that the party's present strategy, defined by the Central Committee and its first secretary, Wojciech Jaruzelski, constitutes a good foundation for strengthening the party's unity.

Comrade Ladies and Gentlemen!

We have outlined the picture of the sociopolitical, economic and interparty situation in our voivodship. Despite its specific problems, the Wroclaw

Voivodship is not an enclave on Poland's political and economic map. The time has therefore come to ponder the tasks of our voivodship party organization in the nearest future. We shall discuss only some of them, but ones we consider the most important.

1. Building strong party links in all milieux remains our most important task.

A strong resilient party is characterized by high political awareness among all its members, knowledge of the party's short- and long-term goals, and the process of ideological armament as a permanent subject of care and work.

--the basic party links have at their disposal a long-range program of transforming their milieux in sociopolitical as well as material matters;

--we have mastered the ability to carry out a dialogue with society, to listen closely and attentively to its views and opinions; we are also making an active effort to shape and transform society in conformity with our party's marxist ideology;

--achievement of high organizational efficiency in our interparty life and acquiring the ability to secure effectively the realization of tasks are important as well.

The personal example of party members, both in professional and social attitudes is of considerable importance in influencing the environment. The need for materialization of exemplary attitudes must be expressed in observing party discipline, scrupulous execution of party tasks, observing the principles of democratic centralism.

Allow me, comrade ladies and gentlemen, to bring to your attention some other problems of our party.

Putting our party house in order will require also focusing on some problems which up till now have been quietly tolerated or not mentioned at all. These include above all the indispensable need for continuous strengthening of the materialistic outlook of all party members: workers, farmers and intelligentsia.

There is also need to reinforce the education of society at large. This task ought to be carried out not only by the party, but by many links in our people's state. The education in question concerns trade, economic, legal, historical and political fields. Set against this background, education within the party itself takes on particular significance. This problem will not be effectively solved if the conviction that education is an unnecessary waste of time persists in the minds of some of our party members.

The acquisition of skills to forge general slogans into a concrete language of undertakings and action is also an important task in the activity of basic party cells. This difficult art of working out the realization of operative plans to implement party resolutions will have to be learned with great stubbornness, because this continues to be an essential weakness of our cells.

Our action aimed at expanding party ranks will be of considerable importance as well.

2. The further perfecting of the party organization's style of work is an important endeavor.

We know that in the course of the reports-election campaign, many comrades dedicated to our cause, but lacking full knowledge of the sociopolitical processes and experience in the organization of party work, entered the ranks of our organization. It should however be stressed with appreciation that in the period we have behind us, the members passed their life test learning the art of party work in the difficult political struggle. Continuous improvement in the work of the organization can be seen.

The generally good activity of regional centers of party work, the KW PZPR links projecting into the region, also deserves to be emphasized.

Besides the tasks realized so far, new ones present themselves before the organization: assistance to smaller party cells, expanding lecturers groups, implementing the idea of party-problem conferences, work with reserve cadres, and finally, implementing improved methods of educating the aktiv and the apparatus.

3. There is need for further action aimed at effective cooperation between party cells and the economic and state administration.

Taking into consideration the difficult political and economic conditions of the past period, it is our duty to give appreciation to the leadership personnel acting both in the state and the economic fields, for its work up to now. Rare exceptions cannot impair this general evaluation. Our role in cooperating with the cadres is precisely defined. The party's task is to build up the authority of the leadership cadres, but at the same time acting toward the principal control of their work. Let us not dwell however on numerous cases of successful cooperation of party cells with the administration, and focus our attention on the occurring negative phenomena. The view that the economic administration is responsible exclusively for production and organizational matters, and the party for political matters of a given enterprise or institution is absurd. A broadly understood leadership aktiv of an enterprise must actively participate in the formation of the political atmosphere, in fruitful support of the party's efforts. The occurrences of questioning the party's role in including in its sphere of interest all the issues concerning the working people, urgently need explanatory talks. No director of an institution can exempt the party from this task, and he must not do that. There exist not the slightest reasons for contradictions between the one-person management and the activities of the party, self-management, labor unions and other organizations in the work place. Life itself will suggest which of these links ought to find its place and area to be the domain of its action. But there is not and cannot be a doubt that the party together with the administration is and will be one of two major actors of the operations and development of an enterprise. The necessary cooperation requires a wise policy and respect for the partner.

Today in industrial enterprises apart from constant concern for the working and living conditions of the work crew, the basic issue is and will be for a long time the implementation of the economic reform. But in addition to implementing the idea of the three "S's," which will decide the effectiveness of the implementation, one more factor, perhaps the most important one, must be considered: the realization of a continuous increase of production and improvement of its quality in all enterprises where such possibilities exist. Basic cells and other party links must exert strong pressure on the management of enterprises in order to achieve this goal there where it is needed. The road to it leads through increasing productivity, lowering production costs and changing the employment structure.

#### 4. Improving the cadre policy--an essential task.

Until recently, a debate within the party concerning the ways of realizing cadre policy was taking place. Many valuable observations and suggestions for solutions were put forward. One thing is certain today: the party bears the chief and primary responsibility for the functioning of the management cadre selection policy. Otherwise we would be the only leading or ruling party in the world which gave up this instrument of influence. The Central Committee directives specify this issue unequivocally. It is the party's duty to recommend people for positions and evaluate their activity, while adapting the forms of the implementation of cadre policy to concrete situations in particular organizations and institutions.

A cadre reserve must be created. In this reserve room must be made for the nonparty, the youth and good specialists.

#### 5. Our tasks in the realm of shaping society's socialist outlook.

We brought this problem up already when talking about political education in our party. The building of society's socialist awareness is not and cannot be exclusively the domain of mass media. If we want to achieve results that count, we must develop broad and complex ways of influencing society's awareness through the word, art, and culture. This influence must take place in all milieux and must take into consideration the milieu's specific characteristics, and its particular sensitivity to various forms of such influence. This task falls on the shoulders of not only the party organization, but also the administrative and economic leadership, as well as on many other social groups. We shall list here only some of the spheres in which our activity ought to be more intense. This regards the formation of our nation's historical awareness, bringing socialism's humanistic values closer to society, an honest evaluation of our achievements in the country in the years 1945-1982, familiarizing society with the basic economic laws of socialism, enlightening it about the chief goals of imperialism and its interests, promoting internationalism, explaining the essence of our alliances, particularly our ties with the Soviet Union, and publicizing the achievements of fraternal socialist countries, among other things.

6. Regarding some sociopolitical problems of our voivodship.

The past decade's trend of rich investments did not bypass our voivodship. We also felt the impact in recent years of labor shortages, as a result of which the majority of enterprises today has no second shift and a serious decline in production. Wroclaw enterprises, like those in the rest of the country, produce today 75-80 percent of the total of goods and products produced in 1979. No significant changes are foreseen for 1983, if production plans can be trusted. Given this situation, we have to say that there is no need in our voivodship for building new large industrial plants.

The process of investments and modernization ought to be directed at better equipping existing enterprises, implementing modern technology, improving work safety, and the working and living conditions of the population. Our attention ought to be focused on these issues in the nearest future. This opinion was reflected in the efforts to shape the topics of the KW plenary meetings. In regard to housing construction we have found that the most important problem will be to achieve the construction of nearly 60,000 apartments before the year 1990. Salvaging old housing will be a very important problem too. The plenum also considered of primary significance the need to expand the infrastructure of schools, daycare centers, nurseries and hospitals. The problems of agriculture and health service were also given consideration, and it appears that sensible programs were elaborated for these areas.

Among the particularly grave issues remain the problem of transportation, both in the city of Wroclaw and in the whole voivodship, the problems of environmental protection, the problem of water in the voivodship and sewage in Wroclaw, and the problem of a proper commerce structure. All these issues will be included in this year's agenda of plenary sessions, according to the work plan of the voivodship party organization.

Aid to our region's residents in solving their subsistence problems in these particularly difficult conditions is our constant concern.

7. The party's tasks in building a broad platform of uniting society around the issues of a socialist state.

We now are witnessing the formation of social movements and organizations which can play an enormous role in our social and political life. To these belong the PRON, workers self-management, labor unions, and farmers unions. Each of these organizations must be treated as creating for nonparty and party members a common political platform for expressing themselves and solving the questions of our socialist country. The party must do everything in order for these organizations to have good conditions for the realization of their goals. We are receiving signals that in some work enterprises and institutions the management does not show a proper attitude toward workers self-management and labor unions, fearing difficulties in running the enterprise. This is a short-sighted policy. It must be said clearly that these are institutional solutions, aimed at the democratization of our social life. Their proper functioning is and must be a safety valve signalling



social discontent and the necessity for corrections in social and economic policy. Who does not understand this does not understand much in the renewal processes patronized by our party and the state.

Comrade ladies and gentlemen!

We have been able to present our attitude to some tasks only partially, and barely hint at others. All the decisions of today's conference, including the ones presented to the discussion of the KW Executive Board, if accepted by our conference must be translated into the language of everyday actions. Much remains for us to do and life will continue to bring new problems. The execution of these tasks presents a difficult test for our voivodship organization and for the party, which sincerely desires reforms and renewal.

#### Delegates Comment at Conference

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 10 Feb 83 p 4

[Unsigned article: "At What Point Are We Now?"]

[Text] The above question could sum up many of the reflections which arose during the discussion at Monday's conference of the voivodship PZPR in Wroclaw. These reflections concern intraparty life above all. Many comrades voiced their opinions on this subject and, what is important, there was no euphoria in their statements. Seriousness prevailed because although many things are beginning to be settled, we are still far from the end. Here is what comrade Tadeusz Partyka, first secretary of the PZPR district committee in Krzyki said: "The membership has declined by one third and this process is not over yet, except that formerly it was a spontaneous process, taking place without the will and knowledge of the district committee, sometimes even without the basic cell's knowledge. It is estimated that only 10 percent of party members participated in the political struggle which was taking place. Nevertheless, the communication between the district organization and work place cells was broken and the latter were left to themselves in the most difficult period." Comrade Ryszard Galka, the delegate for Wroclaw railroad employees said likewise: "We lost about 30 percent of our members, but those who remained began to take control of the situation. People who left were mostly incidental people and the reports campaign strengthened the situation. The process of rebuilding the party continues. We must still put our ranks in order so that we can begin the battle for regaining credibility and authority." "Members who stayed in the party were the true ones," said comrade Ryszard Bielakowski, first secretary of the City and Parish Committee in Trzebnica, in his statement "thus party organizations [now], although smaller, are stronger. A new style of work is forming in party organizations: besides activity organic in character, long-term goals are being set. A constant and systematic control of the implementation of undertaken resolutions and delineated programs of action is, however, necessary. As it is now we have lots of programs--created by party organizations--as if a program were a goal in itself; later the program is forgotten."

The question about the place of the party organization is in many cases a serious problem, as it appeared in the discussion over and over. Perhaps it was put forward most decisively by comrade Jan Dalgiewicz from the Jelcz Automobile Plant. He said that in the Constitution there is only a general mention about the party's leading role. And how is it to be implemented in practice? It used to be simpler before, when profitability and self-financing as well as self-management were not the dominating criteria of an enterprise's existence. Where is the party's place in the "power polygon" at the factory? asks comrade Dalgiewicz, while the aforementioned comrade Partyka wonders about the role of party organization in regard to self-government, labor unions and administration.

Such questions probably derive from practices which develop in the activities of the enterprises. An "on the spot" sample of such practices was presented by comrade Jan Kazior from WROZAMET. In compliance with the principle of the three "S's," each factory pursues profit. This can lead to a conflict between the enterprise and the interests of society and the employees. The party in the factory, on the other hand, bearing the social interest in mind, ought to oppose such a pursuit of profit. The result of this is that the party acts against the interests of the factory and the "workers party tightens the screws on the workers." Thus the party, by consistently implementing the principles of the economic reform, has exposed itself to pressures contrary to the social interest. Yet, we cannot give in to unscrupulous profit-chasing.

The pronouncement of comrade Franciszek Szymczak, retiree and activist from the Krzyki district organization, undoubtedly belongs to the most interesting of the whole rich, substantive discussion. He tackled two aspects of inter-party life: cadre policy and the activity of the regional party organizations. This latter subject evoked particularly lively interest. The regional party organizations are, as the speaker defined them, treated as marginal to political life. We have 82 such organizations which include 3500 members, that is about 6 percent of total party membership. They have 5 to 100 members each and one has 300 members. In all these organizations there are, above all, retirees, pensioners, and veterans of the workers movement. Despite appearances, these organizations are very vital. They also are the first to bear the brunt of society's bitterness and criticism since they act in the open, unprotected by gates or walls. They often play a role similar to that of the fire department--people turn to them with their complaints and laments. The speaker appealed to the organs of power to give serious treatment to regional party organizations because "they are not intruders but social activists." The milieu of retired party members has its experiences, is deeply involved in the problems of its community, and...has more courage. A retiree can allow himself--and often does--to criticize relations within and without the party. The evaluation of the present situation, according to the speaker, does not encourage optimism. He assigns first priority to the necessity of solving economic problems. He suggested the creation of the institution of an "honorary" PZPR member. This dignity would be bestowed upon comrades who had already lost their vitality, are unable to participate actively in the workings of the party organization and thus are in violation of the PZPR statute. What do we do with them? Expel them for passivity as required by the statute? That would be immoral.

We purposely reverse the sequence of the subjects brought up by comrade Szymczak because the activity of the regional party organizations is something of a marginal, seldom mentioned, almost embarrassing issue. Is it because this is indeed a difficult milieu because of its nonconformity? On the other hand, it is rich in experiences and therefore exceptionally valuable.

In discussing the principles of cadre policy, comrade Szymczak pointed out that the cases of abuse committed by party cadres in the past period, although sporadic, dealt a violent blow to the party, causing great harm. He called for openness in the principles of cadre selection. The opinion of the home POP ought to come first, because that is where the person is known best. But at the same time opinions from one's work place ought to be gathered, because often the same person is different in the factory and completely different at home. It is difficult to decide when one is truly oneself and what character features will dominate after assuming, upon the party's recommendation, a leadership position. And failed recommendations cause the party much harm which later must be laboriously undone.

It is characteristic that in nearly all the pronouncements discussing intraparty problems a strong demand for party education was voiced, comrade Bielakowski spoke about the errors made in educational methods applied up to now, which assumed the student's passivity without trying to involve him through appropriately selected and convincing teaching aids. Financial savings on teaching aids backfire by low training effectiveness Comrade Ludwik Dziwak postulated formation of a professional group of lecturers and instructors associated with the KW PZPR, which would be able to start cooperation with the POP and would be at their disposal.

#### Economic Reform

Probably not less than intraparty issues, the delegates' minds were occupied with various aspects of the implementation of the economic reform and particularly with its influence on our daily lives. Wide social interest in the reform resulted probably above all from certain economic deficiencies. Lucjan Szoltys, first secretary of the PZPR university committee at the Economics Academy, defined it as a disharmony between the reform's goals and its results. Social expectations have been raised but their fulfillment is far away. One could briefly sum it up as "Krakow was not built in a day," but comrade Szoltys sounds a new discord in the system of the socioeconomic policy. The reform itself is, in his opinion, a correct solution, although perhaps two more statutes are needed: bankruptcy of enterprises and anti-trust. The practice however is the following: the inflationary overhang... and so on. The situation becomes insolvable. That is why radical decisions are needed. For if enterprises continue to hike prices, their extraordinary profits will not induce them to increase production. Why should they? And we will not move ahead. Besides, what is this overhang, or rather where is it and what is its structure? There are no appropriate studies being done and we do not know anything about its nature.

The overhang, prices, etc., were also discussed by comrade Jan Kazior from WROZAMET. In his opinion, factories shy away from price stability to be able to force prices up and gain profits, which frees them from worrying about technological progress, better material economy, lowering costs, increasing productivity and so on. Price increases can be a substitute for all of that. The speaker proposed to grant preferences for better management so that it would be more profitable than hiking prices. He said the reform was besieged by numerous regulations, financial and other, limiting rather than aiding its operative powers.

Prospects for material supplies are worse than last year. Comrade Kazior wondered why and whether the steel industry was declining still further (particularly steel and aluminum sheets). He asked who could explain it better. He also was at a loss to understand why housing construction declined so greatly. After all, cement and gravel are domestic, and they constitute the major construction materials.

It probably is a gross simplification; after all, an apartment is not only four walls and a ceiling. It is a pity that no representative of the building industry tried to satisfy the curiosity of the delegates. The issue was not limited to the builders. Jozek Kumaszkza, secretary of the KZ ZNTK [expansion unknown], member of the KW workers committee gave an example: the Wroclaw Building Combine [WKB] built 19,000 square meters of housing space in 1982, that is 310-315 apartments. The WKB employs 1300 people, which means that 4 workers built one apartment per year. Yet these workers have at their disposal considerable technical support. Furthermore, the WKB made 15 million zlotys profit on these three hundred and some dozen apartments. On the other hand, in 1979, the WKB operated without a profit, but employing 300 more workers, built 50,000 square meters of housing space.

Comrade Kumaszkza devoted a considerable part of his remarks to a discussion of the situation of the working class during the crisis. He estimated that an average 4 member worker's family in which both parents are working can spend about 3500 zlotys per month per person. This means that their daily living expenses average out to 120 zlotys. Comrade Kumaszkza simplified this by reducing the figure to 100 zlotys in order to facilitate calculations. Thus, a worker must work 2 to 3 hours to earn 100 zlotys; a kiosk franchisee [ajent] need only open 5-6 bottles of beer to earn this sum; a craft seller will not even open his mouth for such a sum; a valuta dealer sells one dollar for it; a speculator does not even bother with such a sum because he does not even count such low figures. That is why, comrade Kumaszkza said, a worker gets mad when lectured about social justice and demands that the costs of the crisis be equally distributed among all social groups. Comrade Kumaszkza said that there is still a discrepancy between words, various declarations, and actions. This may have a sorry consequence.

#### Food Economy

Comrade Mieczyslaw Gawel, director of the Food and Vegetable Processing Plant and vice president of the Agricultural Commission in the KW, also spoke about the discrepancies between words and actions. The food economy

department is a particularly delicate point. The failure to realize accepted resolutions is particularly harmful there. Yet there are still comrades who think that agriculture can still manage without the means of production. The committee for the material economy was blamed for not including the needs of agriculture in its propositions for the first quarter. Fortunately, the speaker said, the committee's session has not yet taken place, the materials have not yet been divided up, and it is still possible to come to the defense of agriculture. He said that after the latest joint plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee, the concretization of the ways of implementing the resolutions of the plenum is necessary. In this voivodship, in any case, the problems of the food economy are not new and such joint plena of the Voivodship Committees have taken place in the past. The speaker devoted much attention to the issue of the protection of farming lands; these are particularly valuable being some of the best in the country. And yet, the speaker resumed his earlier thoughts, the truth about agriculture is being spread with great difficulty. The value of agricultural production at this point amounts to about 30 percent of the voivodship's total production value, while its technical equipment is three times lower. Agriculture is not interested in financial outlays, said the speaker, but in the amount of goods and articles it actually receives. The speaker strongly protested the thesis, which is being forwarded more and more, that agriculture will manage or will have to manage by itself. He also called for improvements in the methods of steering agriculture, pointing to the faulty system of contracts between farmers and the government for the supply of agricultural products and the lack of cohesion between the farmer's services and his profits.

Comrade Edmund Piasecki, a farmer from Trzebnica Parish called for an end to empty declarations too; he asked for a conformity of words and actions. He said this in reference to the joint Central Committee and Supreme Committee plenum, whose concreteness and matter-of-factness fills one with optimism. One of the inexpensive sources for promoting agricultural production is professional advice; which must bridge knowledge and application. This bridge, however, is still full of potholes and, in practice, impassable. He also negatively evaluated the creation of peasants' social-trade organizations: the statute is on paper but the peasant remains alone. The WZKiOR [the Voivodship Union of Farmers Circles' and Organizations] in his opinion, does not provide the necessary help and reports and election meetings of farmers circles are just now taking place. Reactivation of many proven forms of cultural work is necessary in the countryside; he postulated, for example, the restoration of farmers' clubs, the travelling cinema, and so on.

Comrade Stanislaw Zubinski, first secretary of the town and parish committee in Wiazowo, spoke about similar problems. Farmers in his parish have been harvesting high yields for many years, therefore the production of agricultural goods including slaughter livestock is high. And, the question of livestock....The procurement plan was fulfilled by nearly 124 percent, but at the cost of breeding material. Cows and sows were sold for slaughter. Such an increase in procurement does not gladden the heart. It was possible to halt this process through propagandizing but this will not suffice in the long run. The structure of private farms in the parish is very unsatisfactory.

The mean size of a farm is less than 6 hectares because very many farms, namely 57 percent of the total, are small--up to 2 hectares. Such farms produce only for their own needs. The structure of farms must be improved. On the other hand, of the total of 1170 private farms in the parish, 147 owners are over 70 years old and 223 owners are in the 50-70 age group. The unfortunate thing is that these people have no successors. We must now think what will happen to their land and buildings. There is also a large group of farmers who enjoy all the conditions for developing production but show no results. This group needs counselling. The counsellors are an army, yet they cannot be found in the village. The Voivodship Center for Agricultural Progress employs about a thousand people. Where are they? Agricultural service in parishes has been drastically cut and now limits its work to shuffling papers. We suffer considerable losses during harvest: it's "normal" when, for example, a combine leaks and a few weeks after the harvest, the stubble begins to turn green as if winter wheat has been sown. The preservation of agricultural products is also wasteful. We cannot have stagnation in agriculture as this is the branch of the economy which is decisive in overcoming the crisis.

The discussion lasted several hours, 20 comrades participated and it is not possible, even in a long article, to describe all the problems discussed. The GAZETA has selected those problems which absorbed the delegates most and on which they spent most of their time. This does not mean we have not recorded others. We shall return to others in our publications. Above all, they have been recorded in the conference protocol and will be the subject of the work of the Wroclaw Voivodship party organization.

#### Reports Conference Resolution

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 10 Feb 83 p 4

[Text] The resolution of the 21st Wroclaw Voivodship Reports and Election Conference states: "The basic goal is to renew the party as a cohesive organism, unified in action, open and diversified in discussion of conceptions, while fully subordinated to the principles of marxism-leninism; a party which assumed the historical responsibility for Poland's affairs and will not relinquish this responsibility on the basis of the conviction that Poland's hope lies in socialism and a strong independent Poland serves the good of socialism."

The period which has passed since the Reports and Election Conference has been one of the most difficult ones for the party and for Poland. The myth of a society devoid of conflicts, the myth that not only the question of socialism but the question of Poland are the supreme directives for all, have been shattered. The relentlessness of our adversaries who gradually revealed their real anti-Polish face, brought the political struggle to the limits at which the people's state had to show its strength, acting with full regard for the constitutional legal order. In this difficult period the party proved that it could fight while respecting the law and at the same time work out a program for the future of the whole nation. The Voivodship Reports Conference states that this program, the program of the Ninth

Congress, made more precise and broadened by the plenary resolution of the Central Committee, has been accepted by the Wroclaw Party Organization as a basic document around which the party's life and its external activity has focused.

The Voivodship Reports Conference, having examined the reports of the Voivodship Committee, Voivodship Party Control Commission, Voivodship Audit Commission, and the document, "Information About Implementing the Resolution of the Reports and Election Conference," confirms the correctness of the voivodship party organization's actions. The effects of actions aimed at changing the style of party work, expressed by the inclusion in the decisionmaking process the wide party aktiv, and to a large extent the POP's, both in questions of cadre policy as well as in the work of programming and developing diverse forms of contact of the functioning aktiv with the workers of enterprises, farms, schools, and the youth, among other things, are considered particularly important. At the same time works aimed at strengthening the basic party links, the party's ideological cohesion, and operativeness in action, are being positively evaluated. These processes need to be intensified. The Voivodship Reports Conference confirms that the party's inspirational activity in the realm of economic work also has been correct and in the difficult times of the crisis has contributed to the easing of the difficulties of daily life. These issues have been helped by actions concerning the improvement of the efficiency of the rationing system and controlled sales.

Affirming that the directions and actions of the voivodship organization have been correct, the conference recommends their continuation, recognizing as basic the intensification of further actions: promoting the effectiveness and cohesion of the party's actions, its ideological unity, and above all, further strengthening and raising the role of the POPs; increasing party influence over the whole of society, particularly the working class and the youth, with the objective of increasing the number of people actively accepting by their work and action the program of the Ninth Party Congress and the resolutions of the Central Committee plena; promoting the building of the front of national agreement uniting all those for whom the good of Poland is the highest value and for understanding the role and significance of renewing the trade union movement and the social and professional role of the farmer.

At the same time it is recommended that the Voivodship Party Organization pay particular attention to: the proper course of implementing the economic reform in the Wroclaw Voivodship and to the actions aimed at easing the difficulties resulting from the economic crisis, by increasing the production of market articles, among other things; proper implementation of cadre policy, securing the inclusion of nonparty people and the youth in the programming and management processes to a greater degree than heretofore; the activity of the state administration regarding its efficiency and carrying out its service role toward the citizens by all its members. The strengthening of control and programming activities of aldermen and self management activists must be considered as essential; making up arrears in the field of social infrastructure in the voivodship and the city of Wroclaw, with

priority being given to the questions of education and health, and simultaneously increasing efforts to pull housing construction out of the crisis situation; works aimed at improving the productivity of agriculture, and above all aimed at regulating the water situation in the Wroclaw voivodship; actions aimed at improving transportation in the voivodship and the city of Wroclaw.

The conference recommends that the Voivodship Committee carefully deliberate and incorporate in its plan of action tasks resulting from the paper of the PZPR KW Executive Board and the motions presented during the discussion.

The tasks facing the party now are not easy, but we are convinced that we can undertake and realize them, and that we can convince many nonparty people that they can be realized. Let us not forget that the political struggle continues, the struggle for the convictions of those who are not yet with us but who we want to convince by our action on behalf of the working class and of the whole of society. The Voivodship Party Organization will always be ready for a discussion of what to do and how to do it better in our socialist motherland.

All party members are to be acquainted with the materials and resolutions of the conference.

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ZAMOSC PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Assessment of Executive Boards Recommendations

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 24 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by bom: "In Zamosc: Evaluation of Realization of Suggestions by the Provincial Committee Executive Board and Secretariat"]

[Text] (Own information) On the 21st of this month, the Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee convened in Zamosc. The board session evaluated the realization of the Provincial Committee Executive Board and secretariat's proposals by particular departments during the period of 1 September to 21 December 1982.

In all, 141 proposals in the fourth quarter of this year have been taken up for realization. The strong majority of them concern problems such as: political and organizational strengthening of party ranks, ideological and educational activity, activating women's organizations, improving the health service, development of agriculture food production, industry and construction, and also transportation, business and services.

In the Zamosc Province, 37 proposals are being directing mainly at agricultural problems, construction, education, transportation, physical culture and local needs of several institutions. Conclusions were also directed at institutions working for agriculture.

In the evaluation of the Provincial Committee Executive Board, many conclusions and recommendations have been positively realized. Realization of the remainder requires a longer period and is running its course according to plan.

The conclusions conveyed to the central authorities particularly concerned problems such as: increasing the ration of building materials to the management of the sulfur and metallurgical line, assuring the realization in this year of decision no. 28 made by the economic committee of the Council of Ministers on 18 May 1982, which concerns the material and technical supply for poultry production, introduction of a new system of contracting, periodical suspension of free market grain sales and increasing the ration of coal to farmers in return for the sale of grain. Unfortunately, no answer has been obtained yet to these recommendations.

## Assessment of Experiences, Recommendations

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 15 Feb 83 pp 1,2

[Article by kuz: "Assessment of Experiences and Recommendations for the Future"]

[Text] (Own information) In the provincial palace of culture in Zamosc at 9:00 a.m. tomorrow, the provincial reports conference of the PZPR will hold sessions. The conference will end the reports-programs campaign in PZPR basic organizations and departments in our region which was begun in October of last year.

274 delegates, representing the 23,986 members and candidates of the Zamosc Province party organization, will summarize and assess the party's experiences in the difficult period of the past 20 months and also work out a program for the next part of the term.

The starting point for discussion will be the program report of the PZPR Provincial Committee executive board, which will be read by first secretary of the Provincial Committee, comrade Wladyslaw Kowal. Recommendations from the delegates' consultative meetings, which were in 5 regions of the province prior to the conference, will also aid in the formulation of tasks for the remainder of the term. The subject of these meetings was assessment of the social and political situation in the province and of materials delivered to the delegates for the conferences (PZPR Provincial Committee reports as well as those of the Provincial Party Control committee and the Provincial Agricultural Committee as well as a project for supplementing the program of action worked out in 1981).

The successful realization of the resolutions of the PZPR Ninth Congress was acknowledged as being the most important problem during lively discussions at these meetings.

The road to achievement of the goal should be introduction into practice of the recommendations confirming the validity of the directions, as well as forms and methods, of action which were adopted at the provincial reports-elections conference in 1981 as well as those notices and postulates indicating weaknesses of party work. During consultations, an especially large amount of attention was given to the problems of rural areas and agriculture because the Zamosc Province is one of the largest food supplying regions of the country.

In this context, the necessity was stressed above all for careful realization of decrees on agricultural developing and food production that were passed by the PZPR Central Committee and the Supreme Committee of the ZSL. Particular recommendations for a program of action in the second half of the term will be worked out by the delegates during tomorrow's conference.

During discussions, it was emphasized that the recommendations are a matter of the program gaining the acceptance of all members of the provincial party organization and being accepted as proper by the majority of the Zamosc region's population.

#### Mainstream of Life in Zamosc

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 16 Feb 83 p 3

[Articles by: Zbigniew Miazga, bom, W. Szymanski, sna]

[Text] This was when the slogan for activization of small towns and villages was in force. Industry was located in the spaces of the just-liquidated egg-and-poultry plants. On the front wall hung a sign: Swidnik Transportation Equipment Manufacturing, Tomaszow Regional Plant No. 1. About 200 people were employed.

#### Fourteen Years Have Passed

The plant has been expanded. There are already 720 employees (together with the filials in Belzec--190 employees, and Komarow--40). They average 26-30 years of age. As before, parts for assembled motorcycles are made here in Swidnik as well as so-called routine parts for airplanes. That is only half of the production, though. The other half of production consists of clutches for Leyland-licensed engines used in "Jelcz" trucks, "Autosan" buses, grain combines, and construction equipment. The Tomaszow plant has a national monopoly on these clutches.

However, let's pick up the trail of peoples' activity, hope and restlessness during the last few years. Let's ask at last about the political condition on a February day in 1983. Our route will be the production hall, cafeteria and the day room under construction.

The plant's party organization today counts 132 members. There are no candidates. In the last three years, 55 persons have been expelled. Why did they leave? Here are the thoughts of first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee, Wiktor Bys:

"People here felt and reacted the same as in the whole country. Why were they leaving? Some of them, and these were good PZPR members of many years' standing, said that they were disappointed with the party and its leadership. We tried to talk with them and had varying degrees of success. Those that left are a great loss. We were, however, relieved that some of the others left. The ones I am referring to are those that use party membership for some gain or privilege.

"We were on the defensive in 1980 and 1981. Party meetings were avoided. 'Solidarity' enjoyed great popularity. Nearly 500 persons from our work force joined it. The leadership of that union turned out to be very radical. Sometimes, dialogue was impossible. They championed catchy slogans and presented unreal demands. The daily contact that we maintain with the parent plant in Swidnik had an influence on just that atmosphere and attitudes.

"The introduction of martial law was a shock for us as for the whole nation. The people did come to their senses, though. Has everyone? No, certainly not..."

Plant director, Magister (Eng) Eugeniusz Raczkiewicz: "The atmosphere is not bad. This means that they can attack and be bitter but they have good intentions. Unfortunately, I cannot say this about the toolmakers' group."

The toolmaking division's hall: there are mostly young people at the machines. The leader, Zygmunt Jarosz, speaks:

"I joined the party on my own conviction. For the same reason, I didn't give up my party card, although that was hard and still is. For everything bad that took place, for today's crisis, those of us here at the bottom have to listen to bitter words and maliciousness. People want to work and be justly appreciated and well-rewarded, but they are impatient. A small improvement does not satisfy them, such as, for example, the lifting of soap and wash-powder rationing.

"What I observe around me is due to the fact that the party has not completely regained authority. I don't really have faith in the authorities. Arguments and words broadcast by 'Radio Free Europe' and 'Voice of America' fall like rain, but what our press and television say don't get across to the people.

"What can be done? We have to listen to what one person or another says. If he is wrong, we have to explain that to him, but if he makes a vital suggestion, we must respect that..."

In the neighboring hall, the clutch division, the grinder Marian Majdaniuk speaks:

"I work in accord and I earn rather well. If I could only buy the things with my money that are necessary to me and my family..."

"As for our party, its ideas were and are reasonable. It's not quite so good with the people who are supposed to implement them. There's too much talk and not enough work. The program, resolutions and conclusions are adopted and on with the next meeting. That's how it has been with that warm water, for one. How many times has it been promised that we're about to get it? And where is it? I'm about to finish work and go home dirty..."

Recommendations, postulates...they made up as much of the plant reports conference (December of last year) as they did in the February meetings of the basic party organization (75-85 percent). They concerned: patronage construction, bringing in water from the city reservoir (this was done a few days ago), improving supplies, and building a recreational center at Majdan Sopocki (the designers have arrived). A cafeteria now providing 400 meals daily was opened a few months ago. An enormous day room and doctors' offices are under construction. The Employees' Committee of the trade union also had a hand in these activities. The young associates of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Youth of Poland] and members of the League of Polish Women can also

be praised for their work. They all still have so much to do, though. For that reason, it is still a season for active people at the Tomaszow plant.

A real nuisance of education in Zamosc is crowding and overloading of school buildings to the limits of their endurance. Due to this, children from even the youngest classes attend school in 2-3 shifts. The local system of pre-school facilities is also insufficient.

The needs of education in Zamosc are enormous. By 1990, 15 urban primary schools, 65 rural primary schools with filials, 5 consolidated community schools, 122 preschools, 2 childrens' homes, several boarding schools and 800 teacher dwellings should have been built. According to current prices, this requires almost 19 billion zlotys!

The Zamosc Province's plan for 1983-85 includes ordering a concentration of activity on improving local preschool and primary education. In the next three years, 10 preschools will open. This will make it possible in 1985 to give preschool education to 14,000 children, i.e. 53.2 percent.

The school system will be enlarged by 8 new facilities, thanks to which a decided improvement in learning conditions will occur, especially in the cities.

On the other hand, this year the construction of an 8-room school in Kunki, Susiece community, will still be finished. Investment for the school has been helped by the citizens through public activity. Moreover, 8 new rooms will be opened at the primary school in Wola Rozanecka as well as 5 at the Bondyrz school.

Many schools have been built in the Zamosc region through public acts. Their value in the past year exceeded 43 million zlotys. Interest in taking part in the building of schools would be greater if there were no general difficulties in obtaining construction materials. Schoolmasters may not calmly curtail the materials designated for farmers, after all.

The investment intentions of education in the Zamosc region in the next 3 years is not too impressive in relation to needs, but they come out of a businesslike balancing of possibilities. The eventual chance for increasing these plans must be created by well-organized public help, above all.

One tenth of the province's agricultural products comes from the Hrubieszow region. Wheat grows well in the black earth there and so do industrial crops, especially sugar beets, which make up 19 percent of the crops grown. Farmers are also raising cucumbers, kanar and fennel as seed crops. The Hrubieszow community is obtaining the best results in the whole province in the purchase of grain.

In visiting this same community, we wondered whether all possibilities of production are indeed being used.

Edward Dobrowolski, a farmer from Dziekanow, gave the following affirmative answer:

"I am impressed by the joint plenary sessions of the PZPR Central Committee and the Supreme Committee of the United Peasants' Party. Really knowing rural life, I have come to the conclusion that the Polish countryside is indeed in a position to produce more. There are still a lot of reserves. However, we have to do more to activate them in order to rouse people to being industrious, such as by setting prices in their proper relationships.

"There are few young farmers in the countryside that have a goal before them. That is because the rural areas have gone down in regard to conditions of work and living, and a young person would like to live in a modern way and have machines, a tractor, and a car. This time, thatch roofs have begun to be the fashion with us again. At one time, this community was receiving 100,000 square meters of ethernit, but now it gets only 10,000 square meters out of which 1000 sheets are damaged during transport. This is enough for 20 buildings annually.

"The countryside needs to have its own, organic intelligentsia which is bound to the community. At this time, the majority of doctors, teachers, etc. come from the city. There is no sign of an agricultural service, especially since the farmers' advisory council was transferred to the WOPR [Voivodship Center for Agricultural Progress]. To a certain extent, the intelligentsia is contributing the existing regulations to the deprivation of the countryside. In the country, only the farm owner may build. On the other hand, the teacher, veterinary, etc. may not receive a construction lot in the community, as much as he might want to reside in the country. These types of formal hindrances are hurting the rural areas, because the intelligentsia has always been the start and engine of transformation.

"I think that agriculture is the greatest chance for the nation and it will be the main field of the economy in our province for long years to come. Therefore, we must also do everything that is necessary for its proper development. This goal should be served by the activities of departments and organizations of the PZPR and the United Peasants' Party, government organs and also the whole of rural society."

As of 31 December 1982, the Zamosc Province party organization counted 23,986 members and candidates (that is 4,535 less than in June of 1981). Recently, 106 candidates to the party have been accepted.

The social and professional composition of the provincial organization consists of the following: workers--5,699 (23 percent), peasants--6,757 (28 percent), intellectual workers--8,757 (36 percent), remainder--2,767 (11.5 percent).

There presently exist 1,327 basic party organizations, 76 district party organizations and 129 party groups. The structure of the provincial party organization presents: 4 town committees, 1 town-community committee, and 49 community committees, and out of the last, three committees, in Biszcz, Obsz and Tarnawatka, were created on 12 October 1982 in the reactivation of the communities.

After the introduction of martial law, the secretariat of the Provincial Committee made 6 changes in the posts of first secretary of the town committee and community committee. This was done using the authority defined by the instructions of the Politburo of the Central Committee for directing the party in times of national danger. In 1982, altogether 136 changes were made in the rosters of the executive boards of primary level party departments. Thirty-one of these changes involved assignments to the position of first secretary as well as 4 changes of secretaries of the PZPR factory committees. From assessments and analyses of the situation in the basic party organizations, it was acknowledged that it is necessary to make 96 changes in position of party organization first secretaries.

From July 1981 to December 1982, 158 changes in leading positions covered by the Provincial Committee's recommendations were made.

For the purpose of streamlining direction of first-level party committees, integration of the aktiv working in the field, quick flow of information and recommendations and improving control functions, 5 regional centers for party work were established.

The past period was characterized by the provincial party organization's great interest in work with the problems of youth. Realizing the recommendations adopted, a series of problems disturbing youth has been solved or is being solved in areas such as creating conditions for learning, development of culture, sport, and relaxation.

Along with youth organizations, activity has been taken with the intention of solving housing problems and creating the conditions for increasing the representation of youth in autonomous and social organizations.

Presently, youth organizations contain within their ranks about 59,000 children and youth (ZHP [Union of Polish Scouts]--38,000, ZSMP--16,700, ZMW [Union of Rural Youth]--about 4,000).

Toward the end of January of this year, the provincial court had registered 27 trade unions (the first of which was at the Zamosc Furniture Factories) with over 2,000 members between them. Active in the factories and institutions of the Zamosc Province are 59 staff committees and 261 initiative groups. Together, about 15,000 persons announced their entry to the trade union.

In 1982, 1,365.2 million zlotys were appropriated for agricultural investment in the Zamosc Province. Within these expenditures, 1,439 hectares of agricultural land has been improved and 40.6 kilometers of irrigation channels were developed. However, little more than 50 percent of the agricultural land requiring suggested improvements remained untreated. Over 180 villages suffer from definite shortages of water. Without a solution to the problem of improvement, there is no possibility of intensifying plant production.

In industry, the achieved magnitude of products sold in 1982 was higher (in compared prices) by 6.5 percent in comparison to 1981, although 1981 ended with less profitable results with reference to previous years. The present

direction of activity in this sphere of the economy is: adaptation to work under the new conditions, and finding and eliminating organizational and technological shortcomings.

The local basis for open clinics has been enlarged thanks to conducted repairs and modernization. The supply of equipment and medical apparatus has undergone improvement.

On the other hand, the Zamosc medical service is still suffering from a shortage of beds. The number of hospital beds per 10,000 of population continues to come out at 40.7, as compared to 56.4 nationally. This problem will be solved when the provincial hospital, now under construction, opens.

Report on the Activity of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Zamosc in 1981-1982

Materials representing whole of activity by the PZPR Provincial Committee in Zamosc in 1981-1982 are ample and earnestly developed. They came into being as a result of broad discussion, exchanging of points of view and consultation. The group working out these documents took pains to include points important to the whole province, particular environments and professional groups as well as proposals that were presented in the previous reports campaign and consultative meetings in regional centers of party work and PZPR departments and organizations.

In the framework of preparations for the provincial reports conference, consultative meetings with delegates to the conference took place in the second half of January of this year at all 5 of the Zamosc regional party work centers. Two documents were subject to discussion: the "Report on the Activity of the PZPR Provincial Committee in 1981-1982" and "Projects for an Action Program."

These materials were, after consideration of suggestions and new proposals, examined by the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee and during the plenary session of the provincial party organization.

At this same plenum, an 11-member team was set up, which was authorized and required to edit the final version of materials for the conference.

What sort of motions to the report materials did the party members present during the consultative meetings and gatherings?

Above all, attention was paid to the necessity of taking up every sort of activity serving the consolidation and strengthening of party ranks and gaining broad public support and acceptance of the party policy.

For various reasons, many peasants and workers have left the ranks of the party in the Zamosc Province. This has brought about unfavorable changes in the social and professional composition of the provincial party organization. This new problem must likewise be seriously contemplated.



Participants of the consultative meetings have also pointed out the small amount of activity by some of the delegates to the conference. The work of council groups of party members was also criticized.

Interest was taken in the outcome of motions presented during the reports-elections campaign before the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. Many observations and proposals were presented to the state administration and units serving the countryside.

The need for restoring economic bonds between the city and the countryside were strongly emphasized and slackness in housing construction in the PGR [state farm], poor management in the SKR [Public Agricultural Committee], GS [Community Coop], etc. was criticized.

These and other problems that were presented during consultation will most certainly be reflected in discussion at the conference.

#### Reports Conference Deliberation

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 17 Feb 83, pp 1,2

[Text] (Own information). How has the Zamosc party organization been active in the previous 20-month period of the current term? Do the results of its activity meet the expectations of party members and nonmembers? What part is the organization taking in the realization of resolutions made by the Ninth PZPR Congress? In which direction should the closest and prospective go?

These are the problems in which yesterday's provincial reports conference of the PZPR in Zamosc dedicated itself. The sessions were led by first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, Wladyslaw Kowal.

Among others participating in the conference were: deputy member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Jan Glowczyk; member of the Council of State, chairman of the ZG TPPR [main administration, Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship] and deputy for the Zamosc region, Stanislaw Wronski; minister, director of the Office for Matters of Profession, Adam Lopatka; vice-chairman of the Planning Commission for the Council of Ministers, Jerzy Gwiazdzinski; and plenipotentiary for the National Defense Committee, Col Jan Kacprzak. Also invited to participate in the conference were: chairman of the WK ZSL [Provincial Committee, United Peasants' Party], Marian Ozimek; chairman of the WK SD [Provincial Committee, Democratic Party], Mieczyslaw Lesniak; chairman of the WRN [Provincial National Council], Mieczyslaw Janislowski; and chairman of the Temporary Provincial Council of PRON, Marian Szubtarski. Also present were veterans of the workers' movement and the party and economic aktiv of the region and province.

The 24,000-strong Zamosc party organization was represented by 250 delegates.

First secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, Wladyslaw Kowal, opened the sessions. In the name of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee, he also presented a report. Speaking next were Julian Gac, chairman of the Provincial Revisional Committee and Ryszard Polski, chairman of the Provincial Party Control Commission. Their presentation were devoted to evaluation of activities taken up by the provincial party organization with the intentions of strengthening its ranks and concentrating party members around the missions adopted by the Ninth Congress and the provincial conference inaugurating the present term.

The next speaker was the governor of Zamosc, Stanislaw Peterwas. He presented the most important economic and social problems of the Zamosc region. Here are some of his statements:

The fall in industrial production has been stopped. In many areas of this branch of the economy, decided progress is presently being observed. Production in January of this year was 17 percent higher than it was at the same time last year. Construction is struggling with the greatest problems. This problem is all the more urgent as more than 8,000 families are waiting for housing. At the present rate of construction, people are having to wait about ten years for a place to live.

Positive signs have also been observed in agriculture. Interest in land purchasing has grown and production and purchase of fruit, cattle and dairy products is higher. However, these tendencies must be maintained by wise agricultural investment.

4.4 billion zlotys will be appropriated in the next few years for investment in health care, education, culture and communal services. This will make it possible to solve or alleviate the most bothersome problems in those areas of life.

The facts presented above and also materials previously provided the delegates became the basis for many hours of discussion.

In the utterances of the discussion participants, much space was given to reinforcing the strength and unity of the party. On the way to rebuilding its position in society, the party must lead to subsequent realization the recommendations and postulates rising from its primary elements. It must also draw conclusions from the events in the past. To strengthen the party means emphasis on integrating the members and rebuilding its authority.

There was a time when there was only talk about mistakes and warped judgment and the effects of the crisis which had come into being were held only against the members of the PZPR. Because of this, many persons went through some dramatic experiences, a few thousand in this province left the party and many organizations were disbanded.

For rebuilding the internal strength of the basic party organization, it is necessary to intensify ideological and educational work. In the present conditions, that is indispensable but difficult. The party's cooperation with

all progressive social and political forces strengthens its position in society. Therefore, the development and support of the initiatives by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth becomes an important principle.

In everyday practice, it is necessary in the party to see to quick and factual information. In this way, the conditions for the start of political gossip can be eliminated. This is well served by direct and frequent contact of party department members with the rank and file.

The cooperation of party elements with state administrative organs was positively assessed in numerous statements.

One of the discussions mainstreams concerned the problems of agriculture and rural areas. Recognition was expressed for the decrees of the joint plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the NK ZSL. The decrees were acknowledged as being of historical importance. They can be recognized as the attempt to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, so indispensable to the nation's self-fulfillment and in recent times, so impaired. There is a chance that there will now be a significantly faster rate water melioration and supply in the countryside.

In the Zamosc region, every fourth farmer has passed 65 years of age. It was brought up in the discussion that we can't make the old ones young again and we also can't make those who left the country for the city come back. We have to respect those farmers that remained, however. An important role in the countryside is filled by autonomy. The party can and should act through its members on the work of the national councils and other organizations. The best civic leaders should go into these groups. It has been pointed out that with more effective economic motivation, more food products from the farmers would reach the market.

There was also much talk concerning administration of the province, especially health care, new investment needs, support of social activity, etc.

Several speakers referred to the present international situation, pointing out the irresponsible voices of some FRG politicians. "We have the right to tell the revisionists from FRG," said one of the comrades, "that the events of 1919 will not be repeated because we are strong and have the strength of our allies behind us as well."

Taking the floor during the discussion were: Boleslaw Galek, deputy to the Sejm and farmer from the village of Gorka, Mircze community; Czeslaw Kopec, farmer from Zdanow; Marian Ozimek, chairman of the Provincial Committee of the ZSL; Jozef Has, chairman of PRON in Tarnograd; Eugeniusz Bielak, chairman of the Union of Professional Workers of the PGR combine at Przewodow; Mieczyslaw Lesniak, chairman of the Provincial Committee of the SD; Gabriela Gorzant, agent of the GZKiOR in Jozefow; Henryk Szelag, worker at the Power Equipment Plant in Zamosc; Wladyslaw Luchowski, manager of the city of Tomaszow; Jan Galan, secretary of the town committee of the PZPR in Bilgoraj; Stanislaw Popielecki, farmer from Rudnik; Zdzislaw Konopski, agent for the workers' movement from Zamosc; Stanislaw Becal, farmer from Krasny; Tadeusz Pietrzela, police functionary; Grzegorz Rychel, agent for the worker's

movement from Zamosc; Gabriel Kasperski, teacher from Hrubieszow; and Henryk Andruszewski, farmer from Stryjow, Izbica community. Furthermore, 14 comrades voted on the protocol.

Appearance by Comrade Jan Glowczyk

Jan Glowczyk, deputy member of the Politburo and secretary of the provincial committee of the PZPR also took the floor during discussions at the conference. He concentrated mainly on the problems of the party and our economic situation and its consequences.

Discussing the present missions and directions of party activity, he recalled in his introduction how before 13 December of last year the PZPR was deeply on the defensive as a result of its weakness and internal dissension as well. For several months, the party was occupied in quarreling with itself, as the speaker defined it, and would only later deal with its internal and external enemies.

After the announcement of martial law, the party took the initiative, acting in an organized manner, gradually gaining the political initiative likewise in its struggle with the enemy, setting the place, time and field of battle.

The secretary of the Central Committee stressed the immutability and stability of the resolutions and program of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the party in spite of the series of corrections brought into it by actual practice. In spite of the stormy reports-elections conferences before the Extraordinary Congress and the heated atmosphere of its sessions and also the situation in the country, the party worked out a program which proved itself before, is now proving itself under the severe crisis conditions and which meets the seriousness of the moment. The PZPR also committed blunders in its actions but it can be said, stated the speaker "that it [the party] did not make the worst ones, which is attested to by the fact that it is standing on its feet with effort and has started to play the role which is in character with its tradition, history, and the needs of society."

Jan Glowczyk stated that, in connection with these and other activities, we are regaining our place in the greater socialist community which gives us a feeling of security and creates the conditions for more peace to solve the present-day internal problems of our country.

The secretary of the Central Committee said that we are fewer in number now, but there are enough of us to do quite a lot. In spite of the crises and the mistakes that have been made, no one is in a position to write off the attainments and achievements of the party in the postwar development of the nation. The thesis presented by the party's political adversary that the party's postwar history, except for the string of crises, is just a blank is unacceptable since it is denied by the concrete, tangible facts apparent in every city, province, and region.

In the conclusion of his presentation, the Central Committee secretary presented some of the economic problems in the country. He declared that our

economic situation is still very difficult and complicated. Although our raw materials needs are no longer so pressing, we are still facing shortages of finished products. Referring to inflation, he stated that it is not the cause of all that is happening in our country. It is only one effect of the state of our economy. We are in a deep crisis and are all living in worse circumstances. No one today is promising that we will soon be living better. In their prediction and declarations, the government and party designated checking the tendency for a fall in production as the main task for the past year. They succeeded in this because in the fourth quarter of last year, production had already begun to increase. In January of the present year, for example, production sold was already 18 percent higher in comparison with the same period last year. Something is already happening and is not taking place by itself.

The secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR also predicted that an anti-inflation program will soon be presented. This program will cover economical activities.

At the end of the sessions, the delegates passed a resolution. The resolution included approval for previous enterprises taken up by the provincial departments and for the program for the remaining part of the term which originated in the report made by the provincial committee Executive Board and in materials presented by the provincial party control committee and the provincial agricultural committee.

Progress in strengthening the provincial party organization was stated further along in the document. New tasks were also pointed out in the areas of internal, ideological and educational affairs as well as in the sphere of solving vital social and economic problems. Included in the resolution was the conviction that the people of the Zamosc region, enriched by the experiences of the past months, will pool their efforts at overcoming the crisis and developing the province. By the force of this document, the departments and organizations of the party were obliged to acquaint by 31 March of this year all party members with the resolution and the resultant program of action.

In closing the sessions, first secretary of the Provincial Committee, Wladyslaw Kowal, made note of full generalization of the conference's achievement, because, as the slogan illuminating the debate says, the bond with working people is the foundation of party action.

The conference was concluded with the singing of the "Internationale".

#### Executive Board Report at Conference

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[Text] More than a year and a half has passed since the provincial reports-elections conference. Let us recall that for a year martial law was in force in our country. From the first hour of its introduction, the society of the Zamosc region behaved with full understanding toward the decision of the State Council and WRON. The activities of narrow groups active in the area

of antistate and antisocialist propaganda should be regarded as completely marginal. This was a year of rebuilding party strengths both in the province and in the nation. This was a time for making general order out of economic and state problems. This was a year of the embodiment in life of the Ninth Congress's resolutions.

In reestablishing the normal rhythm of social and economic life, removing much of the irregularity in the work of the cadre and of staff teams, the troops of the Polish Peoples' Army provided aid that cannot be lightly overestimated. Functionaries of the Civil Militia, the Security Service and the ORMO [Civil Militia Volunteer Reserve] worked unceasingly and with deep commitment to maintain public law and order. From the tribune of the conference, we convey our sincere gratitude to all of them for their civil-minded and patriotic attitude. In the face of the increasing danger to the state and party in the period before 13 December and in the first days of martial law, the most devoted aktiv rallied around all of the party departments. Words of deep respect and gratitude befit these comrades.

More than a month ago, martial law was suspended. Social peace, normalization of the political and economic situation are a reliable witness that in the broad ranks of society, a sober assessment of reality dominates and that a will to overcome the crisis with our own hands is becoming widespread. The will for a national understanding has been strongly expressed. Such an assessment has come out the content of the reports campaign in the basic party organization and basic departments. The recent results in the sphere of production finally prove it.

The majority of provincial party organization members and the basic elements of our party are awakening from deep lethargy and internal quarreling. The state administration is working more effectively. Slowly, but in an ever-broadening range, the elements of PRON, the trade unions and elements of worker and cooperative autonomy are developing. Youth organizations, women's organizations and numerous other social and professional organizations are rebuilding their structures and taking up activity in their environments. These are determinants that attest to the correctness of the party's strategy, a strategy determined by the principles of understanding and struggle.

These positive facts and successes may not and do not veil from us the still numerous shortcomings and irregularities in the functioning and activity in state and economic institutions and in the party itself, for we have not avoided mistakes in party work. We are deeply aware of the fact that in many environments, an atmosphere of distrust and even lack of belief in the slogans of the party still dominate. We must document the agreement of our words with our actions by daily activity in our environment and we must assist those members of our party who are in error or even blundering but are showing good will. On the other hand we must eliminate those who are hurting restoration of the party's authority by their professional or moral attitude. In spite of the fact that more than 8,000 persons have left the ranks in the past two years, the provincial party organization is real and capable of effective activity with its political and organizational strength.

There are about 24,000 of us. We appreciate that to a decided majority, these are those comrades that have remained with the party for better or worse. These are those working people of the Zamosc region who, after rich and frequently dramatic experiences, and with full consequence and determination take up work for the creation of favorable conditions for development of our fatherland and province with the ZSL and SD aktiv and nonparty groups of good will.

The rich achievement of the last reports-election campaign has been widely reflected in the program of action of the provincial party organization for 1981-83 and in other documents. The political events of the second half of 1981 and last year as well as the progressing decay of the economy, and deep disintegration and weakening of the whole party demanded formulation of qualitatively new assignments. In the report placed before our comrade delegates, we are presenting a rich interpretation of the provincial committee's activities in this area. Today we see the necessity of concentrating our attention on the following problems:

--One of the first tasks is improvement of activity effectiveness and strengthening of the provincial party organization's ideological and organizational unity. In this area, next to indispensable training and instruction and concern for decisive improvement of party discipline, the main stress must be placed, on the one hand, on the correct programming and organizing of work by the basic party organization and each party member, and on the other hand, on the effective adoption and realization of the recommendations and resolutions worked out by the basic party organization.

--As a result of the implementation in our nation of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, deep reforms have been brought into effect, whose main goal is improvement, expanding and deepening the system of socialist democracy. We are unanimous in the belief that the development and deepening of democracy is needed, however we encounter numerous examples of a lack of skillful application of forms of party control of social and economic processes to this qualitatively new situation. We must, therefore, with all of the strength of the party work out new principles of work and, strictly speaking, base our statutory demands on practical activity. In the lawful independence of the union movement, cooperative movement, worker autonomies, and social and professional organizations, particular responsibility is born by party members that are active in the organs and ties of these organizations. From there, the basic party organizations must individually allocate work assignments in autonomous social and professional organizations and demand active work.

--The unalterable principles of understanding and struggle remain the strategic direction for party departments and organizations in the period of leading the nation out of the crisis. Progress in the implementation of this strategy will express itself by such activities as development of trade unions and PRON ties, activization of work by worker autonomies, and the development of social and production initiative.

The attention of Polish society and world opinion has been concentrated around the trade unions during the past two years. Our party obligation is to guard the independence of the union movement and to be careful that they be unions, that a union movement never again divide the working class. The party departments and organizations must become the ally of the new union movement in solving the social and economic problems of the work force and in enforcing the proper laws of the state and economic administration. The task of party members active in the new trade unions is action for the sake of the organized strengthening of this movement and actively struggling to solve the problems of the work force, however vast and complicated they are, as well as production problems. The duty of the party leading cadre at plants is to create convenient conditions for union work and to earnestly solve the problems born by the union activists and ranks. Those directors and managers that are not able to agree to cooperation with the trade unions, that display ignorance or try to make light of the union movement will not be able to count on the support of the party.

The union movement has been restored in rural areas within the framework of the Union of Farmers and Agricultural Circles and Organizations. So far, we have noticed little interest in the movement among the farmers themselves. For that reason, the task of community departments, rural party organizations and party members active in this organization is to assure the correct functioning of this union and active operation in the representation of farmers' interests with regard to agricultural service agencies and the territorial state administration.

The workers' autonomy has broad legal authorization in the sphere of organization and range of production and creation of proper working conditions. Reactivation of self-government in Zamosc region plants should be acknowledged as satisfactory. The short amount of time in which self-government has been operating does not make any evaluation possible. All the same, facts already stand out now, which the party organizations and party members active within self-governing units should heed. Members of workers' councils must master indispensable knowledge of economic law. There are signals showing poor comprehension of plant interests and lack of appreciation of social needs. This shows itself by attempts to maximize gains or to avoid limiting expenses the work force's social and vital goals, on goals of widely understood culture. Here we see the large role of party members and party organizations in removing the source of conflicts and in presenting the public needs.

A separate problem is the too slow reactivation of self-rule in a still considerable number of plants. There are various causes of this, but we also encounter signals that the managements are a block to this reactivation. The mission of the basic party organization is to condemn conservative attitudes. In such actions, each basic party organization is to condemn conservative attitudes. In such actions, each basic party organization has the support of the provincial department.

The development of a front for national agreement is not to be underestimated. In as much as development of the organizational network of PRON may presently be positively assessed, the low activity of its ranks is disturbing. The



bureaucratic attitude of institutions and offices is conspicuous with regard to initiatives and recommendations presented by the activists of PRON and OKON [Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth]. Party departments and organizations must mobilize party members active in OKON to more active work. The essential influence on stabilization of the situation in the nation and province will be the overcoming of the economic crisis. We have noticed favorable tendencies in the province's economy. The construction situation arouses the most alarm. Great disparities still prevail between pay and goods that are available. After the Central Committee Tenth Plenum, we made deep analyses and assessments of the problems above. A provincial project for a 3-year plan was worked out. This project is presently undergoing consultation with the public. In agreement with overall national priorities, our economic proposals are concentrated on three fundamental goals:

- assurance of an improvement of conditions for developing agricultural production;
- development of housing construction;
- developing a basis for education and health care.

The range of proposed solutions does not satisfy us. In our opinion, the tempo of agricultural investment is too low. Central preferences are necessary in this regard. The proposed extent of construction is also unsatisfactory to us; the proposals are too cautious and they don't take in the existing reserves and possibilities.

A health care investment plan demands distinct and particular consideration. Proposals in this regard must be made concrete. We particularly discussed the above problems at the PZPR Provincial Committee's plenum in December 1982. We formulated concrete assignments for party departments and organizations. Now, we must concentrate our efforts on their full realization.

The social, political, and economic situation in the Zamosc region continues to be difficult and complicated. However, the last year has proved that we are in a position to surmount the worst problems. Up to now, we have been able to solve many problems and concerns already. Emotions are dying down and sobriety and concern for the future are returning. These are positive signs which betoken a good future.

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## BRIEFS

WRITERS UNION ATTACKS RFE--Recently the radio station which calls itself "Free Europe" has intensified its campaign against our country, denigrating the constructive efforts of our people, their aspirations and their important achievements in the work of consolidating the new society and affirming revolutionary humanism. Especially virulent are the attacks against Romanian culture and literature, the rejection, belittling or distortion of important works, both contemporary works and classics, the inexact and hostile commentaries on literary life. In this context, cases and problems which were discussed at the appropriate time in democratic bodies of the writers' community are being brought up again. Discussing these shameful, unspeakable practices, the Bureau of the Writers Union decisively rejects any interference in problems which are under the jurisdiction of the Writers Union and of other authorized bodies in our culture as well as any attempts to poison the creative and responsible atmosphere in our world of letters. The Bureau of the Writers Union also considers as condemnable the transmittal to the aforementioned radio station, through different channels, for broadcasting, of texts which slander the realities of our society. [Responsibility for the Values of Our Culture--by the Bureau of the Writers Union] [Text] [Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian 2 Apr 83 p 10]

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