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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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10 October 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

ROMANIA MARKS BULGARIAN HOLIDAY--Colonel General Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania, sent a greetings cable to Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Bulgarian People's Army Day. On Thursday afternoon [20 September] a festive meeting dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the Bulgarian People's Army Day took place in the Central Army House with the participation of military cadres from the Bucharest garrison. The meeting was opened by Colonel General Marin Nicolescu, deputy minister of national defense. Colonel Nikola Krivlev, military, air and navy attache of the Bulgarian People's Republic in Bucharest spoke about the significance of the event which was being celebrated. In attendance were Todor Stoychev, ambassador of the Bulgarian People's Republic to the Socialist Republic of Romania, and members of the embassy. In conclusion, the participants saw a photo-exhibition "Aspects of the Life and Activities of the Soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army" and other films made available by the Embassy of the Bulgarian People's Republic. On the same occasion, the Bulgarian military attache met with soldiers from two military units of our army. [Text] [AU241812 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Sep 84 p 5 AU]

HUSAK MESSAGE TO CEAUSESCU--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania: Esteemed comrades, we want to express sincere thanks for the congratulations and cordial wishes extended on the 40th anniversary of the Slovak national insurrection. Marking this important victory of the struggle for our peoples' liberation, the Czechoslovak people recall with profound respect the struggle waged by the Romanian patriots within the framework of the Slovak national insurrection against our common enemy. The anniversary of the Slovak national insurrection is an expression of their firm determination to implement their revolutionary goals in our country's peaceful socialist construction and in strengthening cooperation with the Soviet Union and with the other fraternal countries in the struggle against imperialism and for preventing the danger of a war. Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR; Lubomir Strougal, chairman of the CSSR Government. [Text] [AU181049 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Sep 84 p 5]

CSO: 2700/1

AWP ORGAN ON EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE OF POPULATION

AU271634 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 19 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by Prof Vladimir Misja: "The Demographic Changes in the Educational Level and Structure of the Population"]

[Excerpts] The demographic changes in general and those pertaining to educational levels in particular constitute an important aspect of the all-round and rapid socioeconomic development of our country during the past years of socialist construction. Our country is characterized not only by the dynamic growth of the population, but also by the profound changes in raising the level and in improving the educational structure of the population. About 80 percent of those who complete 8-year education (which has been mandatory for a number of years) continue by attending secondary schools. The progressive changes in the structure of the educated population, according to the various levels of the educational system, can also be seen clearly from the following facts: The proportion of the population with elementary schooling in 1979, compared with 1950, has been reduced 2.5 times, whereas the proportion of the population with secondary and higher schooling has increased 5-fold.

The results attained in the field of the emancipation of women are also a direct result of the elevation of their educational standard. During the past 20 years, the indicator of the educational level of women has increased 55 percent, while that of the general average has been 35 percent. The participation of females in higher education has risen at a particularly rapid pace, their proportion having increased 3-fold, compared with 1960, being now 48 percent of the total number of students.

CSO: 2100/1

AWP ORGAN CRITICIZES SHORTCOMINGS IN MINING

AU271606 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Sep 84 p 1

["ZERI I POPULLIT" Press Brigade report: "There Is No Reason Why the Bulqize, Spac, and Some Other Mines Fail to Fulfill Tasks"]

[Excerpts] In the wake of revolutionary initiatives and movements that have erupted throughout the country in the framework of the 40th anniversary of the country's liberation, the planned tasks are being fulfilled and exceeded by a considerable number of mining collectives. About 2,000 tons of copper and 1,000 tons of copper concentrate have been extracted over the plan during the 8-month period. Iron extraction has also exceeded the planned target.

But is everyone working at this pace and with the same sense of responsibility in fulfilling plans? Facts deny this. The chrome branch failed to fulfill its production plan. The Bulqize mine accounts for most of the shortfall, fulfilling its plan by only 94.5 percent, thus creating a considerable deficit. The Spac mine produced about 11,000 tons of copper ore and 120 tons of copper concentrate less than planned.

Let us remain with the Bulqize mine.

Its chief engineer, Jani Pasko, attributed the shortcomings and deficits to shortcomings in the preparatory work. Geologist engineer Jorgo Kola adds that in this respect work has been carried out taking into consideration only momentary interests. "'The Law' of the relations between the preparatory work and the exploitation of the mine has been trampled upon with both feet..."

The reasons are, therefore, of a subjective nature. We mention only two facts: some 10,000 days have been lost during the first 8 months of the current year, mainly by wagon drivers, who have worked on average only 19 days per month. During this period a deficit of 2,340 meters in face working was created, reflecting a lack of appreciation and of thinking ahead both in preparatory and exploitation work.

CSO: 2100/1

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

ATA DELEGATION RETURNS--The ATA delegation headed by its director, Taqo Zoto, which paid a visit to the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and to the Republic of Tunisia, at the invitation of the Algerian and Tunisian news agencies, has returned home. During its stay in Tunisia the delegation was received by Minister of Information Adherra Zak Kefi and discussed cooperation between the two agencies in the field of the exchange of information. [Text] [AU271316 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Sep 84]

AUSTRIAN PRESS EDITOR VISITS--Otto Schonherr, chief editor of the AUSTRIAN PRESS AGENCY, APA, visited our country at the invitation of ATA. During his stay he was received by Jorgo Melica, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries. He also visited the "Enver Hoxha" Hydroelectric Power Plant at Koman, as well as Fier, Vlore, Korce, Kruje, and Durres districts. He left our country today. [Text] [AU292027 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 29 Sep 84]

CSO: 2100/1

REPORT ON U.S. 'INTERVENTION' IN BALKANS, CYPRUS

AU271504 [Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 26 September carries on pages 5 and 6 in its weekly rubric "International Wednesday" three articles on the theme of U.S. and NATO intervention in the Balkans, primarily in Greece.

The first 700-word article by correspondent Kostadin Batkov, entitled: "NATO Is Reaching for the Balkans," is devoted to the NATO "Autumn Forge" maneuvers and describes the "feverish" atmosphere in the small Belgian town where NATO headquarters are situated. Batkov further explains the importance of the "southern flank" for NATO, basing himself on secret NATO Document "MC(SF), 84 (3)" in which the role of the Balkans is described. Kostadin Batkov adds in this connection: "In the present autumn Forge-84 exercises, the Pentagon and NATO generals are attaching particular importance to the Balkans for the preparation of military actions against the socialist countries. According to the MC(SF) 83 (3) document, NATO will enact a scenario of nuclear strikes from the Mediterranean against Bulgaria and the southwestern centers of the Soviet Union, such as transcaucasia and the towns situated along the Don River, as well as southern Siberia, and the Urals." Batkov also cites from the third edition of a Soviet book entitled: "Where Does the Threat Against Peace Come From" which devotes space to NATO involvement in the "southern flank" and which gives detailed information of the strength of Greek and Turkish NATO troops as well as on the equipment of the U.S. 6th Fleet. Batkov closes his article with the following remark: "It is no coincidence if observers note that such accumulation of arms and combat equipment on the southern flank and in the vicinity of the socialist countries' borders is making this area explosive. Therefore, the reciprocal measures of the socialist countries are treated with understanding, measures which are aimed at strengthening their defense and at guaranteeing peace in Europe and the world."

The second, 1,000-word article by Boris Korolev, from Athens, "specially dispatched for the daily OTECHESTVEN FRONT through the NOVOSTI News Agency" is entitled: "The Roots and Fruits of Crisis" and is devoted to the state of Greek-American relations, starting with the overthrowing of the military dictatorship in 1974 and the role played by the United States in these events. The author points out that although the junta was "a puppet" of the United States, the Americans "did not move a finger to save the black colonels." According to Korolev, the "truth is" that in 1974 the United States had reached "its greatest goal in the area, namely, the division of Cyprus and the creation

of the Cyprus problem" and that therefore it no longer needed the dictatorial regime in Greece. Referring to the present situation, Korolev notes that the "right-wing forces in Greece are trying to exert pressure upon the Papandreou government from the inside" in order to promote U.S. interests in Greece. He cites the Greek daily RISOSPASTIS according to which "the United States is trying to make the foreign policy of Greece fully coincide with its plans. The list of claims of our powerful 'ally' is large. It includes the deployment of Euromissiles, as well as the order to march in step and in the same uniform with the ranks of NATO and the request that we should renounce any independent decisions in our foreign policy."

Korolev concludes his article as follows: "It is, however, difficult to make a government, whose policy is supported by the people, lose its strength and force of resistance. In Athens today we can see the reflection of the Greek-American crisis in the prolonged strike of the Greek personnel paralyzing the U.S. military bases in Greece."

The third, 800-word article by Vyacheslav Tunev is entitled: "Basis for Electronic Espionage" and is devoted to U.S. interference in Cyprus. Tunev states at the beginning of the article: "Observers who are closely following the development of the Cyprus question are aware of the fact that the problem does not consist so much of the controversies between Cypriot Greeks and Turks. This problem is contained in the attitude of the United States and its chief NATO partners who are trying to prevent the settlement of the Cyprus problem for which the people of this island are striving." Tunev points out that an "independent and nonaligned" Cyprus would imply the withdrawal of all foreign troops and bases, and this does not suit the taste of the United States and NATO which would like to transform the island into "unsinkable aircraft carrier of the NATO bloc." Vyacheslav Tunev continues: "Recently the fact has become widely known that the United States is building a new military base near the village of Levkoniko [spelling as published] (20 kilometers from Famagusta), which will be used for electronic espionage." The author cites the London SUNDAY TIMES on this subject, adding: "A number of Nicosia dailies point out that the Levkoniko base is aimed at the reconnaissance of large areas which stretch to Bulgaria and Greece, as well as to the southern borders of the Soviet Union. The airport built at the base will be one of the largest in the Middle East."

Tunev also mentions the present talks of Greek and Turkish Cypriot representatives at the UN headquarters in New York with UN General Secretary Perez de Cuellar, citing the Turkish daily GUNAYDIN according to which "American officials are promising to support the position of the side which would agree with the establishment of U.S. military bases in Cyprus." Tunev closes his article as follows:

"All these facts show that Washington does not intend to change its aggressive plans toward Cyprus. Such plans undoubtedly will continue to prevent a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem and will continue to undermine the efforts of Cyprus to remain an independent, sovereign, integral state, free of any kind of military presence, a state conducting a policy of nonalignment."

ZHIVKOV VISITS PLOVDIV FAIR PAVILLIONS

Soviet, Georgian Exhibits

AU261617 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Sep 84 p 2

[Excerpt] Our first party and state leader, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and the officials accompanying him, visited the Soviet pavillion at the Plovdiv International Autumn Technology Fair. They were cordially and fraternally greeted by Leonid Grekov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria; Georgiy Kolmogorov, leader of the Soviet delegation to the fair and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Standards; and Soliko Khabeishvili, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, director of the Georgian pavillion.

Oleg Androsov, director of the Soviet exposition, briefed the guests on the exhibits at the Soviet pavillion--the largest and most representative of the foreign expositions at the fair--which provides a visual impression of the great successes of the Soviet economy, science, and technology.

Afterwards, Comrade Todor Zhivkov wrote in the guest book: "The USSR was and is the largest foreign exhibitor at the Plovdiv International Autumn Technology Fair, something which brightly reflects the scope of the economic relations and integrational processes of our fraternal countries. The Soviet exhibition leaves one with a lasting impression of your fraternal country's successes in the economy, science, and technology, and more specifically in the areas of electronic equipment, the operation of calculation systems, welding equipment, medical equipment, and surgical equipment. I am pleased that 'Uralmash,' one of the major heavy machine-building plants, is participating for the first time in the fair. The successes of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia, which is participating in the fair, are remarkable. The respect of this republic's working people toward our immortal leader, Georgi Dimitrov, which is shown so well at the pavillion, is remarkable."

Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the officials accompanying him also reviewed the expositions of other countries participating in the Fair.

Yugoslav Exhibition

AU261037 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1316 GMT 26 Sep 84

[Text] Plovdiv, 24 Sep (TANJUG)--An international technology fair opened in the Bulgarian town of Plovdiv today. The fair is dominated by products from the Soviet Union and other members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA).

The fair has brought together exhibitors from 30 countries, of whom 19 come from the Western world. Australians are exhibiting here for the first time. But there are few exhibitors from developing countries.

Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov this morning visited the Yugoslav stand which exhibits products of 47 Yugoslav enterprises and foreign trade firms.

Zhivkov showed interest in the programme of the Crvena Zastava Automobile Plant of Kragujevac and in Yugoslav construction machinery.

CSO: 2200/2

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV GREETINGS MESSAGE TO MOZAMBICAN PRESIDENT

AU261700 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Sep 84 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has sent the following telegram to Samora Moises Machel, president of the FRELIMO party and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique:

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, of the Bulgarian people and on my own behalf, I am glad to convey to you most cordial greetings on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the beginning of the Mozambique people's armed struggle for freedom and independence.

In a heroic struggle against the Portuguese colonizers, the people of Mozambique under the leadership of their militant vanguard, FRELIMO, achieved their victory at the expense of many cherished sacrifices. This victory has confirmed the strength of international solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

During the years of their independent development, the people of Mozambique, under the leadership of the FRELIMO party, after overcoming serious difficulties and ordeals, are confidently marching along the path toward the achievement of profound revolutionary reforms in all spheres of life. The international prestige of the People's Republic of Mozambique is also increasing.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish you further great successes in the struggle to defend the revolutionary achievements, to implement the decisions of the fourth FRELIMO party congress and to build the foundations of a socialist society in your splendid country.

I take the opportunity to express confidence that the relations and cooperation between our party, countries and peoples will continue to expand and develop on the basis of the friendship and cooperation treaty for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of our common struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism and racism as well as for peace and social progress in the world.

CSO: 2200/2

BRIEFS

NEW ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR--Geremu Debele [as published], the newly appointed ambassador of Socialist Ethiopia to Bulgaria, arrived in Sofia yesterday. [Text] [AU261714 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Sep 84 p 6 AU]

FILIPOV RECEIVES POLISH MINISTER--On 24 September Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in Plovdiv, Tadeusz Nestorowicz, Poland's minister of foreign trade, who is visiting Bulgaria in connection with the Plovdiv International Autumn Technology Fair. During the talk, a broad range of issues was discussed, related to further developing the two countries' relations in the areas of chemistry and machine building, and the construction of small and medium-size plants. The meeting was attended by Khristo Khristov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign trade, and by Wladyslaw Napieraj, Polish Ambassador to Bulgaria. [Text] [AU261412 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Sep 84 p 2]

MIKHAYLOV RECEIVES SOVIET ACADEMICIAN--Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov received Simeon Nikolyevskiy, corresponding member and director of the Institute for History and Technology at the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Issues pertaining to further cooperation between the two countries in the field of science and sociology were discussed. [Text] [AU261609 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 26 Sep 84 AU]

ATANASOV RECEIVES SOCIALIST EDITORS--Comrade Georgi Atanasov received the participants in the 18th session of the editors in chief of the education newspapers of the socialist countries. [words indistinct] The party work for achieving a reform in the educational system in Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 26 Sep 84 AU]

TODOROV AT CUBAN EMBASSY--Eustaqio Remedios de los Cuetos, ambassador of Cuba to Bulgaria, gave a reception at the embassy last night on the occasion of the visit of a Cuban parliamentary delegation to our country, headed by Flavio Bravo, chairman of the National Assembly of the people's government. Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly, as well as Maria Zakhariyeva, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and numerous deputy chairmen of the National Assembly, economic, cultural, and public figures attended the reception, which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. [Text] [AU241854 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Sep 84 p 8 AU]

BALEV AT ETHIOPIAN MEETING--Milko Balev, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, as well as Yaroslav Radev, deputy chairman of the State Council, and other Bulgarian officials attended a celebration on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the victory of national-democratic revolution in Ethiopia. Yaroslav Radev delivered a speech on the importance of the Ethiopian revolution and on the friendly relations between Ethiopia and Bulgaria "characterized by the mutual visits of Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Haile Mariam." Radev described the relations as "relations between two equal socialist states, which are pursuing a common policy in defense of the peoples struggling for freedom and independence, for the prosperity of the working man, and for the defense of peace." [Summary] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Sep 84 p 8 AU]

BULGARIAN-SOVIET CONFERENCE--The second round of talks between Bulgarian-Soviet scientific, party and economic specialists on the subject "economic mechanism and scientific-technical progress" began in Sofia today. The organizers of these talks are the Institute for Social Management at the BCP Central Committee and the All-Union Institute for Systems and Researchers in Moscow. Emil Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and Al'girdas Brazauskas, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee of Lithuania, attended this traditional round of talks and emphasized its importance and usefulness for Bulgarian and Soviet specialists in the sphere of party political work, scientific research and practical work for improving the economy of the two fraternal countries. [Text] [AU252040 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1200 GMT 25 Sep 84 AU]

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL EDITORS SESSION--The 18th session of the editors in chief of the socialist countries teachers' newspapers has begun in Sofia. The session will discuss problems linked with educational reform and with the role of the educational publishing houses in the realization of this reform. The participants in this session will visit uniform secondary polytechnic schools and will acquaint themselves with the urgent need to fulfill this reform in the Bulgarian educational system. They will also visit ukrug complexes of the Banner of Peace and will learn about the activity of this mass youth movement, which is guiding the creative achievements of children. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1200 GMT 25 Sep 84 AU]

BOZHINOV IN RUSE--Comrade Todor Bozhinov attended a session of the okrug party committee bureau in Ruse where Petur Petrov, first secretary of the okrug party committee, read a report. "Comrade Todor Bozhinov appraised the work of the okrug party organization, of the party and state bodies and leadership, and of the worker's collectives, calling on them to more fully utilize the intensive factors for further increasing the quality of production." [Summary] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 25 Sep 84 AU]

BALKAN COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS' CONFERENCE--The first conference of leaders and delegations of cooperative organizations from the Balkan countries was opened at the Vitosha Hotel in Sofia. Those attending the conference discussed issues of further intensifying Balkan economic and scientific-technical cooperation among the cooperative movements. Ivan Prumov, chairman of the Central Cooperative Union, expressed confidence that the conference would contribute to the efforts to establish good neighborliness among the Balkan countries, to strengthen international cooperative solidarity, and to preserve peace. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 25 Sep 84 AU]

TOURIST COOPERATION WITH SYRIA--Sofia, 20 Sep (BTA)--Today Mr Luchezar Avramov, chairman of the Bulgarian Association for Tourism and Recreation, and Dr Nawras al-Daqr, minister of tourism of Syria, signed a protocol on the 3d session of the Joint Bulgaro-Syrian Commission on Tourism, held from 16 through 21 September 1984. The document notes both sides' satisfaction with the cooperation in the period after the 2d session. It points out that future efforts will focus on an increased tourist exchange and attracting tourists from third countries. The programs and tours for Syrian tourists in Bulgaria are due to be diversified. For the purpose special programs will be organized to meet the professional interests of the tourists, tours for motorists, combined tours including stopovers in Bulgaria and in other countries. Emphasis was laid on the training of Syrian specialists for the needs of tourism in Bulgaria as a promising form of cooperation. Bulgarian specialists will take part in the designing, construction and exploitation of tourist facilities in Syria. The Syrian minister was received today by Mr Chudomir Aleksandrov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. [Excerpt] [AU210916 Sofia BTA in English 1852 GMT 20 Sep 84 AU]

CSO: 2200/2

BRIEFS

NEW RECTOR APPOINTED--Czech Minister of Education Milan Vondruska has appointed Professor Engineer Frantisek Planicka, Candidate of Sciences, to the office of rector of the College of Mechanical and Electronic Engineering in PLZEN. [Summary] AU251828 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Sep 84 p 2]

DAYS OF MEDICAL CARE--The Days of CSSR-GDR Medical Care 1984, which were devoted to the protection of the environment in cities and industrial population centers, ended in Teplice on 21 September. At the end of the meeting the Czech and the GDR deputy ministers of health, Vaclav Marek and Rudolf Mueller, signed a protocol setting new common tasks in preventive health care and in science and research. [Summary] [AU251828 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Sep 84 p 2]

DZUR SPEECH TO GRADUATES--Army General Martin Dzur, CSSR minister of national defense, met with the best graduates of military academies in Prague on 21 September. In his speech, Dzur noted that the decisive element of combat capability was the preparedness of military cadres. He also praised the graduates' ideopolitical knowledge and tactical and operational preparedness. [Summary] [AU251828 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Sep 84 p 2]

COOPERATION WITH RABOTNICHESKO DELO--An agreement expanding and intensifying cooperation between the CPCZ Central Committee daily RUDE PRAVO and the BCP Central Committee daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO was signed in Prague on 19 September by RUDE PRAVO chief editor Zdenek Horeni and RABOTNICHESKO DELO first deputy chief editor Radoslav Radev. [Summary] [AU251828 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Sep 84 p 2]

MINING VENTURE WITH HUNGARY--The construction of the first stage of the joint CSSR-Hungarian "Haldex Ostrava" mining enterprise started in the Zarubek central waste dump [odval] in Ostrava on 20 September. The project is to be completed in 1985, and will "process waste rock." [Summary] [AU251828 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Sep 84 p 2]

DAMAGE TO FORESTS--In the Czech lands, industrial air pollutants have thus far affected 26 percent of forests. In most cases the damage is "still slight." A total of 2.4 percent of forests "show a medium degree of damage," 0.6 percent of forests are "seriously damaged," and there are "dying trees on 0.5 percent of the forest area. [Summary] [AU251828 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 38 of 19 Sep 84 p 14]

CITIZENS' COMPLAINTS DEALT WITH--The Committee for Agriculture and Nutrition of the two chambers of the CSSR Federal Assembly continued discussing in Prague on 21 September the findings acquired from dealing with complaints, denunciations [oznameni], and suggestions lodged by citizens with state and economic agencies in 1983. Almost 130,000 citizens made use of their right to draw the attention to abuses, shortcomings, violation of regulations, and so forth. The greatest number of these complaints and suggestions again concerned the services of the trade sector. About 44 percent of them were justified. [Summary] [AU251828 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Sep 84 p 2]

NEW CANADIAN ENVOY--Terence Charles Bacon, new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Canada to the CSSR, arrived in Prague yesterday. He was greeted at the airport by Jan Fidler, head of diplomatic protocol at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [AU261748 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Sep 84 p 2]

EHRENBERGER BACK FROM SYRIA--A Czechoslovak delegation led by Vlastimil Ehrenberger, federal minister of power and fuels, returned from a visit to the Syrian Arab Republic yesterday. Aside from his participation in the official opening of the 31st International Trade Fair in Damascus, Minister Ehrenberger conducted a number of bilateral talks with Syrian ministers, in which he concretized conclusions from CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal's visit to the Syrian Arab Republic in June. He discussed, above all, problems concerning our participation in the construction of 230 and 400 kilowatt long-distance transmission lines to the Turkish and Iraqi borders. At the close of its visit, the delegation, which was accompanied by Dusan Ulcak, CSSR ambassador to the Syrian Arab Republic, was received by 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Kasm, prime minister of the Syrian Arab Republic, who expressed the extraordinary interest of the Syrian side in the implementation of the Czechoslovak-Syrian intergovernmental agreement and in the further development of relations with the CSSR in all spheres. [Excerpts] [AU261748 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Sep 84 p 2]

HAVLIN IN NORTH BOHEMIA--The North Bohemian Regional Committee of the CPCZ discussed at Usti and Labem today implementation of the improved Czechoslovak educational system and further tasks of basic and secondary education in North Bohemia. The Presidium's report pointed at the shortage of teachers in the secondary technical schools, particularly those specializing in mathematics, physics, and chemistry, and described it as a pressing task to supply schools with technical equipment with the help of enterprises. Josef Havlin, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, stressed at the session that an important part of communist education is the ideological-political education of our young people, to which we must pay maximum attention now in the time of irreconcilable struggle of two worlds and their ideology. [Text] [LD280734 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 27 Sep 84]

CSO: 2400/2

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

HONECKER SPEECH TO PEACE COUNCIL DELEGATION

LD031338 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1051 GMT 3 Sep 84

[Text] Berlin, 3 Sep (ADN)--On the occasion of the presentation of a peace declaration by a GDR Peace Council delegation, Erich Honecker said:

It is a great pleasure for me to welcome you, as representatives of the GDR peace movement. Your meeting on the eve of this year's World Peace Day impressively symbolizes our country's strong and active peace movement. It shows how much all classes and strata of our people are imbued by the staunch desire for the preservation of peace. This desire unites people with very different ideological and religious viewpoints in joint action in the interests of a peaceful life for all.

I accept the declaration unanimously adopted by the GDR Peace Council with pleasure and deep emotion. The struggle for peace now more than ever corresponds with the demands of an age that harbors such great dangers to world peace. Your declaration reaffirms the determination of the GDR peace movement to actively support the constructive peace policy of our socialist state and to undertake everything to prevent a nuclear conflagration. In fulfilling this task we will spare no effort and will work together with all people of good will. The peace forces in our country regard it as an honorable duty to continue to prove themselves as an indivisible part of the world peace movement.

Your appeal at the same time underlines the readiness of the working people of our republic in towns and countryside to strengthen the socialist fatherland through daily good performance in the workplace so that it can continue to honorably fulfill its obligation as a peace state in the heart of Europe. For this I thank you, the representatives of the GDR Peace Council, with all my heart.

The 35th anniversary of the founding of our German Democratic Republic stands before us. On 7 October 1949 a German state came into being that has taken up the cause not of war but peace, not hatred but friendship among the peoples.

The way to the establishment of such a German peace state, which introduced a totally new chapter in the history of the German people and a change in Europe, was opened by the victorious struggle of the peoples against fascism, above all the heroic act of liberation by the Soviet Army almost 40 years ago. The Soviet Union made a decisive contribution to the victory over the Hitler regime, and brought the greatest sacrifices in the liberation of the European peoples from fascist barbarism.

The legacy of the over 20 million Soviet citizens who gave their lives in this struggle will always remain sacred to us. It is being fulfilled every day in the GDR. Friendship and fraternal cooperation with the peoples of the Soviet Union are a matter close to the hearts of our people.

We can state with pride that we have consistently utilized the historical chance given to us by the liberation from fascism. In our country the causes of war and genocide, the socioeconomic foundations for the arms craze and war policy were radically and irrevocably eliminated.

From the first day onward peace policy became state policy in the GDR. It is established forever in the constitution of the socialist German Democratic Republic. War propaganda and chauvinism, racial discrimination and demagoguery are prohibited by law in our country and are punishable. There is no statute of limitations on war crimes in our country. No one has the possibility here of disregarding the vital interests of the people. No one can profit from arms production, or gain advantage through fueling tensions or fanning war hysteria.

The right to peace and the right to life are the most important of all human rights for our socialist state. The highest goal of our conduct and actions lies in daily fulfilling these rights.

The GDR peace movement thus has the advantage of being able to act in a state that has identical ideas and aims. Not only is it respected by this state, but its activities are supported and promoted. At the same time the peace movement and the numerous social forces united in it consciously support the constructive and consistent peace policy of the state and help to carry it out. This is made possible by the fact that under socialist conditions the peace will of the people and the peace doctrine of the state represent not a contradiction but a unity.

Everyone can clearly recognize where the danger to world peace emanates. The stationing of new U.S. first-strike nuclear weapons in Western Europe has started and is being continued in accordance with the plans of the most aggressive forces of the United States and NATO. The imperialist policy of arms escalation and confrontation is running at full speed. There is continual news from the Pentagon about new weapons systems or new strategic concepts. The United States is fanning conflicts in all regions of the world and is either openly or clandestinely opposing everything that does not conform with Washington's wishes.

The imperialist arms program dictated by the plans for world domination have long required billions. Thus huge resources and human ingenuity are senselessly wasted. At the same time imperialist propaganda attempts to sow distrust and discord among the peoples. All this poses an acute danger to world peace.

We are defending ourselves together with all peace-loving forces in the world against this disastrous course of events. We take as our point of departure the fact that the dangers of peace and the life of the people have increased enormously. However, the possibility exists that this negative development can be turned around, and the socialist states have a clear program for this, it

was reaffirmed at the CEMA summit meeting in June in Moscow. The proposals contained in it are of the greatest significance in averting the dangers posed to peace. At the same time they are eminently suited to introducing a process of arms limitation and disarmament, both in the nuclear and in the conventional sphere and of course on the basis of equality and equal security.

In our continuous effort to seek a way out of the exacerbated international situation, we regard the continuation and expansion of the political dialogue among all those for whom the preservation of peace is clear as an important concern. In order to prevent a nuclear catastrophe we go along with all those who are guided by the recognition that there is no sensible alternative to peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. Those who are in all honesty and with good will seeking viable ways to safeguard peace will always find a reliable constructive partner in the GDR, irrespective of their ideological or political camp.

The worldwide peace movement has great responsibility precisely in the present aggravated international situation. It is called upon to intensify its joint efforts for the safeguarding of peace, arms limitation and disarmament according to the principle of equality and equal security. It must and can put a spanner in the works and halt the forces of war and destruction. I am certain that the peace movement of our country will make its contribution to this.

The weight of our efforts for peace and progress depends, as we know from long years of experience, to a considerable degree on further strengthening our socialist peace state in firm alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist fraternal states. The working people of our country grasp this correlation very well and act accordingly. Thousands of youth brigades, work collectives, working people in towns and countryside have achieved impressive performances in their work during the past few weeks under the slogan "Best performances for World Peace Day." Their outstanding results strengthen our socialist fatherland. I would like to thank everyone for this very warmly. You have in this way pledged yourselves convincingly to the peace policy of socialism and have given a decisive rebuff to the nuclear war fanatics.

I wish you and all the forces represented in the GDR Peace Council much stamina and success in the solution of your great tasks, in your active work for our people's welfare.

CSO: 2300/666

MODIFICATIONS IN BORDER SECURITY SYSTEM REPORTED

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German No 8, Aug 84 pp 430-431

[Article by "r": "BGS Activity Report 1983; GDR Automatic Firing Devices Replaced by Modified Fences"]

[Text] The recently published "BGS Activity Report 1983" provides an impressive insight into the doings of the Federal Border Police [Bundesgrenzschutz, BGS]. The principal activity of BGS units continued to be the surveillance of GDR and CSSR borders by patrols and sentries. Specific activity statistics for 1983 were as follows:

- 53,646 combined foot and motor vehicle patrols (847,800 manhours);
- 2,280 border surveillance flights with helicopters (4,293 flying hours);
- 237 boat patrols on bodies of water in the vicinity of borders;
- 854 ship patrols in the Baltic (49,479 nautical miles).

In addition, BGS units were used in Bonn and Karlsruhe (Federal Constitutional Court) for the protection of constitutional agencies of the federal republic and its ministries, where numerous reinforcements were required during various demonstrations. BGS units were used on several occasions also to reinforce Laender police forces during major demonstrations and other actions by "freedom movements," opponents of nuclear power and people opposed to the expansion of the Frankfurt/Main airport. During the reporting year, the first positive results seen in the new environmental protection mission, using BGS patrol boats and helicopters in the North Sea: in 72 sea patrol flights totaling 205 flying hours and 380 sea patrols totaling 25,443 nautical miles, 52 acts of water pollution were identified and criminal complaints issued against their perpetrators. Rescue helicopters of the disaster relief service, flown by BGS pilots and maintained by BGS technicians, were used about 15,300 times in 1983 to care for more than 13,300 patients, search for missing persons and transport medicines, blood for transfusions and organ transplants.

GBS members deployed on individual cases had a variety of tasks to fulfill: their activities included such missions as preventing illegal immigration of foreigners, anti-terrorist and anti-drug traffic measures and the search for illegally employed foreigners on FRG territory. BGS members were successful in capturing a large group of criminals who were not only engaged in smuggling drugs into the country but who also illegally imported Thai prostitutes by air via Westerland/Sylt.

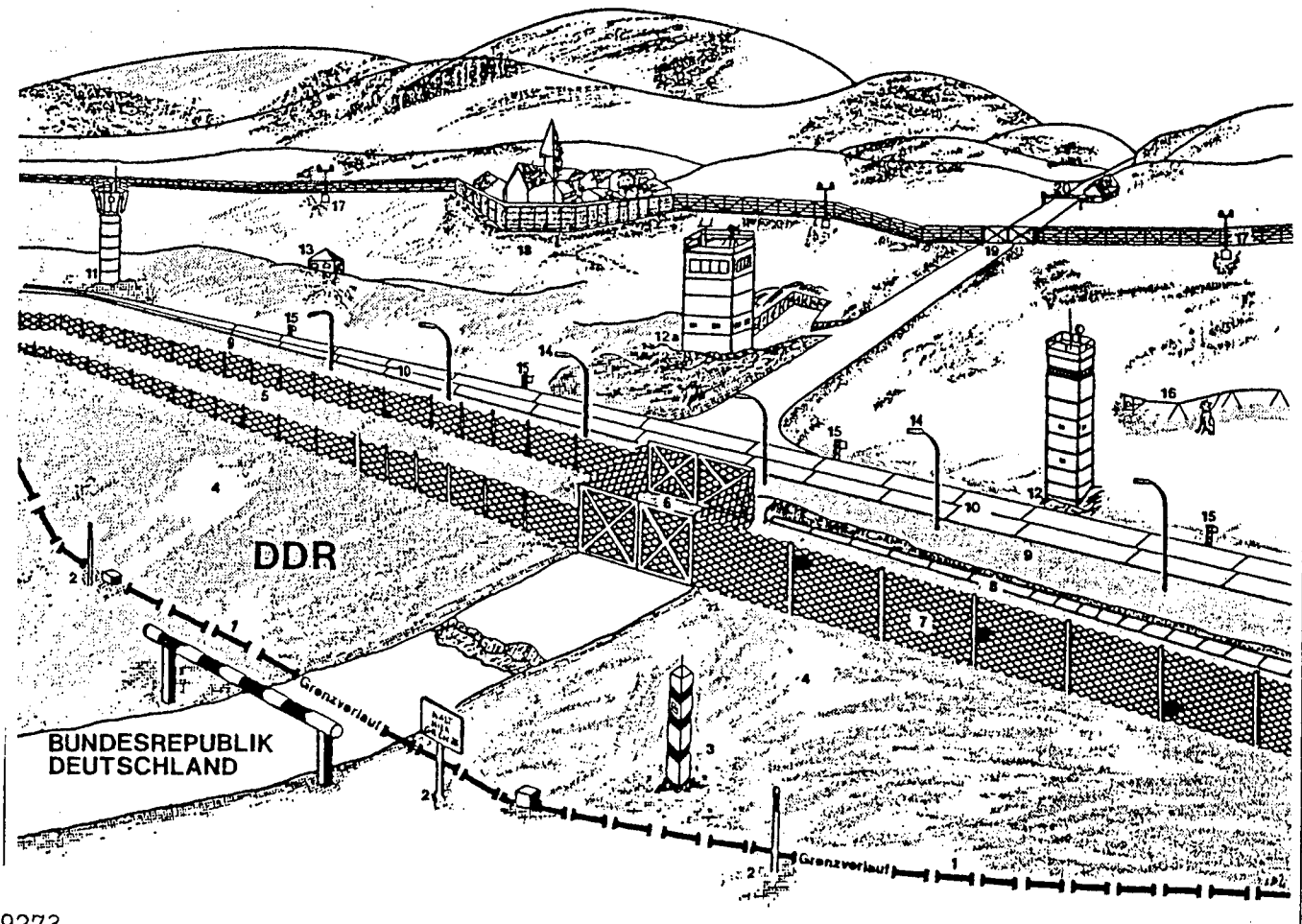
The report devotes a separate chapter to the conditions prevailing at the GDR and CSSR borders. "Reportable events" on the German-German border include 15 airspace violations by Warsaw Pact aircraft (penetrations of up to 75 km) and 15 border crossings by so-called border reconnaissance personnel of the GDR border troops. The report makes clear that the removal of SM-70 automatic firing devices, started in September 1983, took place predominantly in areas frequented by visitors on the FRG side, i.e., in which many FRG citizens and foreigners gained an insight into the GDR's border blocking facilities. Of the automatic firing devices installed between the end of 1970 and August 1983 along the metal fences at a length of 439.5 km, the SM-70s were removed by the end of 1983 along a 47 km stretch. But even before the SM-70 removal started, work started on modifying the cleared zone metal fence [Schutzstreifenzaun, SSZ] which runs parallel to the outer fence installation and which borders on the approximately 500 meter wide "protective strip" in front of GDR territory and which thus constitutes the first barrier to would-be defectors. While the old fence was only about 2 meters in height and carried only in its bottom half a partially buried metal grid with 13 signal wires attached thereto, the new SSZ is about 3 meters high, carries metal grids to its entire height and has about 25 signal wires. Concrete blocks buried in the soil prevent crawling underneath; T- or V-shaped angle irons, carrying another 8 signal wires, prevent climbing over. Additionally, a parallel simple metal fence this side of the modified fence was erected in some areas. Guard dogs run free inside the space between the fences.

The BGS activity report concludes that in the overall picture the removal of the SM-70 killer devices has in no way made the GDR border barrier system easier to penetrate by fugitives. Thus the number of "barrier breakers," refugees who risked life and limb to penetrate the border barrier facilities, was minuscule for that reason: 51 (72 in 1982). Nine of them were members of the uniformed services who were familiar with the dangerous system. Three of the refugees were seriously hurt in crossing the border. In about 30 cases the attempt at evasion failed specifically in the area of the barrier facilities. The attached sketch, included in the BGS activity report, shows the modified constitution of the GDR border barrier facilities.

Figure 1: GDR Border Barrier Facilities

- Key:
1. Border with border markers
 2. Border warning sign (or pole) immediately adjacent to border
 3. GDR border pole (about 1.8 meters high, black-red-gold with GDR emblem)
 4. Deforested and cleared strip of terrain
 5. Two rows of metal grid fence (about 2.4 meters); intermediate space partially mined
 6. Gate in metal grid fence
 7. Single row metal grid fence (about 3.2 meters), with automatic firing devices
 8. Motor vehicle barrier ditch (lined with concrete blocks)
 9. Control strip, about 6 meters wide (to secure tracks)
 10. Driveway lined with perforated concrete wheel track plates
 11. Concrete watch tower (BT 11)
 12. Concrete watch tower (2x2 meters)
 - 12a. Concrete watch tower (4x4 meters, with command post)
 13. Observation shelter
 14. Barrier illumination
 15. Junction box for the buried-cable border signal network
 16. Dog run
 17. Protective strip fence with electric and acoustic signaling devices
 18. Concrete barrier wall/visual obstruction
 19. Gate in the protective strip fence
 20. Entry control post

DDR-Grenzperranlagen



SELECTIVITY IN PRESENTING HISTORICAL FACTS, EVENTS CRITICIZED

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER GESCHICHTSWISSENSCHAFT in German No 8, Aug 84
pp 667-680

[Article by H. Hoernig: "Socialism and Ideological Struggle. About the Obligations of Historical Science"]

[Text] As everywhere else in our socialist society, the top educational institutions also are engaged in many considerations and initiatives for further improving training, study and research.

Never has it been more evident than it is now: For realizing the 10th SED Congress resolutions and enforcing the orientation from Central Committee sessions toward further development, we need top achievements and the most efficient use of all available potentials. That demand fully relates to the task in training and study.

Scientific method conferences have proven a good method in recent years for exchanging experiences and conceptualizations. They are high points in the public life of any given discipline at our universities and colleges. That will also emphatically be brought home by the present conference; of that I am sure. What makes these events so important to the largest extent lies in their being prepared so broadly and democratically. The theses at hand and probably many of the discussion contributions in the working circles are the outcome of collective opinion formation by college teachers and students. The general question is how the criteria issued by SED Central Committee sessions find entry to the educational and training process of today.

Questions about the contemporary and future instruction and training our conference is dealing with are of a basic strategic importance. They will greatly decide whether we can not only maintain the existing level of historical science but raise it even higher in accordance with the requirements for the 1990's and beyond. That is why I explicitly speak of an ideological demand made on each college teacher and student. If someone takes instruction and training too indifferently today, we shall have to pay the negative consequences of it tomorrow and the day after, and they are hard to repair. That applies especially to history, about which Friedrich Schiller has said that it just "talks to man and has something important to say" to each.¹

The SED Central Committee's social science conference in December last year set the substantive objectives on which research and--be it emphasized--training have to concentrate.

History departments at universities and colleges command a rich science potential. They are firmly integrated in our historical science system and have a great share in the successful development and efficacy of historical science and propaganda in our country. They principally form the cadre needed by our schools and the historical science institutions in the GDR: history teachers, graduate historians, prehistorians, ethnographers and archivists.

We can look back with pride to a successful development of historical science. Especially at its third party congress in 1950 and at the fourth Central Committee session in January 1951, the SED had insisted on fundamental and extensive changes in university and college work² and proposed crucial measures. While the 1951/52 college reform was undertaken, the first 10-month school-year began in September 1951. Not only did it introduce systematic basic Marxist-Leninist studies, it also provided studies with firm schedules and mandatory training programs. They contained the themes and range of lectures, seminars, exercises and practice sessions. To prepare study plans for history, a study planning commission had first been set up, headed by Leo Stern, that prepared the materials on orders from the newly formed state secretariat for college affairs. It is interesting to note that these study planning commissions, including the one for history, in August 1952 gave rise to the science advisory councils which as important advisory organs for the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs continue to have a large share in the steady quality improvements of training and education.

Today there are 4,565 young people studying history at the six universities and four pedagogical colleges, most of them combining it with some other field. Between 1975 and 1983 our general education schools got circa 1,100 history teachers annually from those institutions. This also is among the results of GDR history, to what all the members of the history departments have done has contributed greatly. We prize them as a great capacity on which we can and will also rely in the future.

In a congratulatory address to the attendants of the Seventh Congress for Historians in December 1982, which was signed by Erich Honecker, the achievements by the scientists, teachers, students and the associates of archives and museums had received explicit tribute, and the party executive's expectations of their future activities had been formulated. It said: "We are sure the historians, history teachers and propagandists of the GDR will conform, through a persuasive and interesting instruction in the results of historical science, to the growing interest in history by our country's working people, especially the young people, and will take part in solving the tasks ahead."³ In the letter by which they responded to the SED Central Committee general secretary, the congress participants expressed their firm allegiance to party policy and the willingness to confront the great demands in the struggle for securing peace and strengthening socialism. The pledge given in that letter, to provide still greater evidence for the vitality in the interpretation of history in terms of dialectical materialism, on the occasion of the Karl Marx Year, to explore and disseminate more

fully the wealth of the doctrines by Marx, Engels and Lenin, and to use them aggressively in taking issue with the distortions of history and of the present by imperialist politicians and ideologues has also been honored in a special way and in various forms by the members of the history departments. Let me but mention the FDJ student conferences in the departments that were devoted exclusively to the subject of "Karl Marx and History." Nor is it hard to imagine that when invitations were issued for propaganda events at the universities and colleges and in the territory the historians were not exactly the last ones to be invited. That also should indicate how rapidly the interest in history has grown.

The chief publishing department at the Ministry for Culture has, among other things, compiled the following data: Between 1980 and 1982, 569 titles in the history field were published at a total of 6.9 million copies (if memoirs are included the number of titles goes up by 89 and the number of copies goes to 8.4 million). Of the 569 titles, 363 were first editions and 206 were reprints. Still much more important is the fact that 69.5 percent of the 6.9 million copies were sold and more than 60 percent of the popular science titles went through several editions. According to the publishing houses, the breadth and variety of GDR historiography deserve praise. Especially in demand were the history series (of Dietz), the illustrated history pamphlets and the pocketbook series in history (Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften and Akademie-Verlag). Interesting is in this context that in the field of regional history in the same period the bezirks came out with 767 titles at 3.1 million copies.⁴

It is found that by studying history the working people, especially the youths, come to realize more and more that history relates to the present, leads to it. Realizing this connection is of course also a consequence of the high educational and training level attained by the working people in our country and of their political dedication to our cause. In turn it becomes apparent that political party-mindedness and dedication become highly effective when they are motivated and explained by historical knowledge.

Acquiring a knowledge of history thus is not only a deeply humanistic concern but an objective requirement as well. In his speech at the SED Central Committee social science conference, Kurt Hager asserted: "In the intellectual life of our republic and in the ideological confrontation with our enemies the role of a socialist consciousness of history is heightened. Knowing where our course comes from and where it leads is an indispensable source of strength for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and the peace struggle."⁵ That formulates a high demand on those who are in the best position to convey the knowledge of history. What Karl Marx demanded generally of the scientists also applies to our historians, teachers and students: "Science must not be an egoistical indulgence: those fortunate enough to be able to devote themselves to scientific purposes also should be the first to place their knowledge at the service of humanity."⁶

We have never made a secret of our consistently following those words by Karl Marx and always having emphasized and implemented the function of the Marxist-Leninist social sciences as the theoretical and political-ideological instrument of the workers class and its revolutionary party. Our shared responsibility has

been written into the SED Program adopted at the ninth party congress. There it is stated: "It is the task of social science research, teaching and propaganda effectively to nurture the deepening of the working people's socialist consciousness and to conform to the requirements of the ideological class struggle. That calls for basing it on Marxism-Leninism in the unity of all its parts, connecting theory with social practice, and providing an ever closer cooperation with the social science institutions in the USSR and the other socialist countries."⁷

In the 35th anniversary year of the GDR, the interest in history is going to become more pronounced. What will grow in particular is the desire to find out more about the course we have pursued after 1945. A vivid and total instruction about that course is particularly important because the number of those is growing who can no longer reconstruct the image of the past from their own experience. More than half of the GDR population was born after 1949,⁸ and more than 60 percent of the teachers at our general education polytechnical secondary schools are younger than our socialist state. To all of those the year of 1949 already is remote history. They do hear and read about the tough beginning, bread stamps and food cards, power cutoffs and the black market, sabotage and persistent frenetic imperialist diversion. Yet they were not around to see the bread being handed out by Soviet soldiers, the wrecked women, the construction of the East Metallurgical Combine, or the doing away with the bourgeois ideology at our universities. Still they should and must understand how the working class, under SED leadership, always was able to determine the proper tasks at all times and confer on them and implement them jointly with the working people.

The 1930's and 1940's amount to concrete experience only to a dwindling segment of our college teachers. They know what capitalism means and have themselves experienced capitalist exploitation, the barring of the working people from higher education, World War II and the tough beginning in 1945. But those who now listen to them and learn from them and will eventually replace them are going to hand this history on as it was conveyed to them through instructions and books.

Teaching history, forming the Marxist-Leninist image of history--which is to be understood as an essential ideological task--means forming revolutionary attitudes, activating the conscious creativity of our country's citizens, and bringing that awareness to bear on the further shaping of the developed socialist society. History becomes effective and an immediate productive force when it becomes an impulse for the conduct of people, gives them courage and confidence, and leads them to the realization that our way is the correct one and that it pays off to carry it on with all one's strength.

At no time should we think we have a total picture of one period or another and need no longer concern ourselves with it. For one thing, you yourselves keep adding more and more mosaic inlays to that picture--and many more, it seems to me, should still be added from cultural and intellectual history, economic and military history--and then again, a new generation is growing up again and again that wants to know and approaches history from its own outlook and, probably, with many new questions as well. What Erich Honecker remarked about it in an

interview is to the point: "Consciousness of history develops as a live current of understanding that never must or should stand still."⁹ In that sense, and in getting set for our anniversary, we also should work with the appeal from the SED Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, and the National Council of the National Front for the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

There are two aspects I should like to single out:

First, the SED Program maintains that "socialist patriotism is strengthened by the pride in the revolutionary traditions and the people's awareness that it performed big and trailblazing deeds in the construction of the socialist GDR."¹⁰ The point is that we must develop and deepen the kind of consciousness of history that leaves room to the individual to incorporate in it his present and anticipatory future acts as a historic achievement. The youth brigade chief in deep mining who at the Seventh Congress for Historians spoke of how his brigade relates to history raised the question whether he too would enter history with his work, whether it rates as a historic distinction.

What about rating one's own historic role under ordinary conditions? Are we, by teaching historic laws and facts, providing an assurance that it amounts to a historic action if in the process of the party elections the fighting strength of the party collectives and their ability to lead and sweep other along have grown, if under working class party leadership the members of the friendly parties and the unaffiliated share, initiative-rich, in fulfilling our resolutions in the great community of the National Front, or if the members of universities and colleges demonstrate their readiness to support under any conditions the SED policy on securing peace and on an all-round strengthening of socialism and tap for it the performance reserves through a maximum use of the intellectual and material potentials?

Such historic action, as all other action, has its own problems, of course; there always is a pro and con and, above all, problems in men's attitudes and postures have to be clarified, their questions about foreign and domestic policy have to be answered and, not last, it has to be determined how we will further pursue our road.

Under the immediate impact of the deployment of missiles that started in Western Europe, not everyone has yet realized or turned his realization into the maxim of his actions that that threat must mainly be met by honest and conscientious work. As Kurt Hager said at the SED Central Committee conference: "Good work weighs more heavily than ever on the scales of the international power ratio, crucial for maintaining peace. Being aware of the value of peace is shown in the readiness of an individual to make his contribution so that the peace power of socialism increases in strength and remains inassailable."¹¹

A second aspect, relevant also to the 35th GDR anniversary, concerns the historic roots of the GDR, its traditions and its legacy. In perfecting our image of history and in taking issue with the litanies from west of the Elbe, to the effect that we had capriciously incorporated our history, it has repeatedly been proven that the GDR needs not appropriate German history but stems from it, stands within it, and carries it on. That is our basic position on history.

In propaganda activity, our historians and teachers ought to pay attention to the aspects that Kurt Hager emphasized when the German history exhibition opened in July 1981 in the German History Museum: "Today the GDR itself already embodies a great wealth of new traditions connected with the construction and shaping of socialism, which have come out of the efforts and struggles of several generations of working people under our party's leadership. Yet the task to keep everything that was humanistic, progressive and revolutionary in the German past alive and have it flow into today's struggle for strengthening the positions of socialism and peace is unchanged in its relevance. And more than that: The further ripening of socialism in the GDR and the concomitant rapid growth of intellectual demands by our state's citizens, but also the sharpening of the ideological class struggle, call for new and continuing efforts in disclosing and disseminating our traditions."¹²

On behalf of deepening our consciousness of history and fulfilling our tasks, a few major processes of historic development ought to be more extensively elaborated and more persuasively taught and propagated.

We have in mind, e.g., that there is an answer to the question why capitalism is replaced and the triumph of socialism is inevitable around the world. This amounts to realizing that history does not proceed, as it were, as a fortuitous sequence of events, but as an inevitable development from the lower to the higher, a sequence of forms of societies, as a history of class struggles that are bound to lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat. When the inevitability of the triumph of socialism is addressed, we should follow Marx' and Engels' argument, as they proposed it in many of their works and most vividly and scientifically compelling, it seems to me, in the Communist Manifesto. First they rated the historically progressive effect of the bourgeoisie, and this in terms of what it historically was in fact, not in terms of a moral code. This is what they said: "The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part. . . . It has been the first to show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put to shame all former Exoduses of nations and crusades. . . . The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarcely one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of Nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers . . . -- what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labor?"¹³

Our classic authors there by no means intended to glorify the bourgeoisie. They, after all, were the very ones to prove thoroughly with how many tears, human suffering and blood that process was linked and how many lives the bourgeoisie sacrificed to get its profits. Yet that objectively progressive bourgeois period is part of the objective course of history. The events and the actions by personalities at that time and later must be as correctly integrated and rated as the fact that the historically obsolete imperialism commands strong economic potentials still today. The proof by Marx and Engels that at a given point the bourgeoisie can no longer control the productive forces but, on the

contrary, increasingly impedes and destroys them culminates in these sentences: "The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself. But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons--the modern working class--the proletarians."¹⁴

This materialistic approach combined with the historic example, which has proven itself a thousand times and is proving itself today, is proportionate to our optimism that is scientifically founded and not derived from just any sort of belief or any illusory hope. This approach gives us a clear understanding of the character of our era and provides us with trust in our victory, also as far as the definitive securing of peace is concerned.

It is understood that the development from the lower to the higher is made to prevail through the progressive actions of men, as the inevitabilities in human society themselves are the actions of men altogether. We must pay more attention to exploring and accounting for the creative activity of the people's masses. The exploiters in history left no stone unturned to keep the people in ignorance about the course of events: the priests in ancient Egypt, the Roman papacy in the Middle Ages or the black channels today. Lies, slander and violence always went along with it.

After all, the ignorance about the "secrets" in the course of history precisely is the reason why in the exploiter societies the acts of men often did not lead to the effects men had intended. We as GDR citizens, looking at our republic as the inevitable continuation and culmination of many hundred years of history, review with justified pride all that which "the German people has created in material and intellectual values throughout history."¹⁵ Yet we also know: the people remained excluded for centuries from making a productive use of those values and from deciding its own destiny, exploited, suppressed and time and time again abused against its own interests and the interests of other peoples--by the princes and the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie and, ultimately, by German imperialism, militarism and fascism.

Not until the historic mission of the workers class was established and its scientific world-outlook had been worked out were the premises in place for lending a new quality to human action through its conscious character. The workers class and its party fought and are fighting for interests identical with the hopes and yearnings of other working classes and strata. That turns the complete elucidation of the truth, of the inevitabilities and interconnections behind our development within and in the world, into the supreme precept for our party because comprehensive knowledge alone can lead to conscious and purposeful action.

It might be well to point out in this connection that to us history and action are not only the heroic epochs, the fight on the barricades, revolutions or just wars. Historic action mainly means ordinary life, the working people's life in awareness; through that man finds, in particular, his rapport with history. History to us means a good lesson, a success achieved in studies, an outstanding lecture, a task resolved, a minor or major success, which only most rarely will come automatically, all by itself, but as the outcome of conscious and industrious efforts.

Relative to human action we have to deepen the understanding that in any given period of historic development the progressive forces always have been the ones that advanced history through their everyday activities. So we should, as a priority, also deal with the actions and efforts of the outstanding representatives in history. Many contributions to the Karl Marx Conference a year ago were so impressive and affecting and captured our mind and heart because they showed the hard and sacrificial road for progress to break through. What those contributions however also showed us was the variety of forms and methods in the struggle by the progressive forces, and under which conditions and flags the revolutionary and other progressive movements came to be linked with Marx and his ideas. It would be tantamount to wasting an opportunity if one failed to work time and time again with the materials of that conference particularly since, thanks to our party's initiative, they are compiled in the volumes of proceedings available in all science institutions.

The conference also brought out clearly that the development of human society is, to be sure a history of class struggles, yet the class conflicts take distinctly different courses. No conference has brought out so clearly the multitude of forms in the socialist and anti-imperialist movements, and this must more persuasively be presented. That task follows from the fact that for many people it is not so easy to understand the essentials behind certain processes, events and phenomena. What began in Wittenberg in 1517, e.g., was in fact the start of a revolutionary class conflict, even if under a strongly religious signature. For today it of course is so that the basic contradiction of our era is that between socialism and imperialism and that in capitalist society the workers class and imperialism stand in hostile confrontation with each other. But in the everyday struggle for peace and socialism that basic contradiction shows up in divers and sundry forms.

To get a properly differentiated picture of the class conflict, history must be understood as a complicated contest between progress and reaction and as an implacable class struggle with both victories and defeats. This contest always continued in specific historic periods marked by a complex of inter-connecting and complementary political, economic, intellectual-cultural and social development processes. Integrated in them are the acts and attitudes of classes, strata and persons which have to be measured most cautiously in terms of their objective role for or against social processes. From that vantagepoint we also assess the work of representatives of the ruling classes, and in this sense we also ought to pay more attention to far remote historic periods, events and personalities.

A differentiated view on the class conflict calls for seeing national history in close connection with world history. That is true, e.g., of the French bourgeois revolution of 1789, the world historic significance of which no one in our country is likely to doubt. It applies much more still to the Great Socialist October Revolution which, qualitatively, initiated a totally new era in the history of mankind and which ultimately deserves the credit for the birth and growth of the GDR. Finally, we also acknowledge the world historic importance of today's broad anti-imperialist movement to the struggle for peace and social progress. In its development it received crucial impulses of course from the strength of the socialist states, especially the Soviet Union, yet it constitutes an influential force in its own right in the world today.

In line with the substantive questions that should receive more space in the consciousness of history I should also like to place those about the historically material and cultural achievements of our people and the peoples in the world. I am afraid we have the need to catch up considerably, as far as such knowledge is concerned. Each should ask himself what our pupils, students, teachers and college teachers might know about medieval art and literature, about Humanism and the Renaissance, about the genesis and meaning of magnificent structures such as Naumburg Cathedral, about the achievement of Otto von Guericke, the scientific and cultural accomplishments of the peoples of Egypt, Greece, Rome, China, Arabia and so forth and, finally, about how these accomplishments have propelled development, e.g. the industrial revolution in England. We advocate that that indispensable component of historical science is given greater weight so that it also can from that side more fully bring into effect its progress-enhancing and humanistic character. We would then also conform more adequately to a requirement formulated in our Party Program as follows: "Everything great and noble, humanistic and revolutionary is preserved with honor and extended in the GDR in that it is vividly related to present tasks. The humanistic and democratic cultural achievements from all over the world are of great importance to the all-round education of the working people. The rich treasures of world culture cared for in the GDR are a great potential for enhancing the wealth and inherent variety of socialist culture."¹⁶

That of course addresses problems in our opening up our legacy and traditions directly. I refer to the remarks from Erich Honecker and Kurt Hager and to good publications and discussion contributions about these problems. I would like to express the great wish that jubilees and anniversaries are chosen not exclusively from the vantage point of political history. Jubilees and anniversaries which, incidentally, I think are highly worthwhile for advancing research and for history propaganda effects, should also deal more with personalities and events of other domains. And here I am thinking as much of the history of science and technology as of comprehensive appreciations of personalities in the history of our republic.

To be able to disclose and convey history so comprehensively and in so many forms is demanded by this complex view on the development of society. Eventually it is this complexity that will persuasively document, e.g., the combative and successful road our socialist country has taken. The nature of historic action lies in everyday active conduct and in successfully surmounting difficulties in enforcing innovations. Those are the successes against which socialism is measured and through which the communists' historic optimism manifests itself.

"Politics is history proceeding in the present. One must seek to get close to the essence of history if one wants to comprehend the essence of politics."¹⁷ This observation was made by Ernst Thaelmann while he was in a fascist dungeon. It says something essential about the value of history for our struggle. And there is no neutral image of history, above and beyond the classes and their conflicts, as bourgeois historiographers and imperialist political scientists and ideologues, in their notorious intent and against their better knowledge, would want us to believe. We know from the terrible experience of the Germans prior to 1945 how for decades a predominant image of history was erected made

up of nationalism, chauvinism, racism, xenophobia and aggressiveness, whereby it helped the rulers enforce their policy. By the way, the image of history currently disseminated in the FRG is by no means concentrated on coming to grips with the pernicious aspects of the past, to put it mildly.

The following remark by Friedrich Engels has lost none of its relevance: "The bourgeoisie turns everything into a commodity, even historiography. It is part of its nature, of its terms of existence, to adulterate all commodities: so it adulterates historiography. And that historiography that does the best adulterating job in the bourgeois sense is paid the most."¹⁸

Imperialism seeks to justify the nature, phenomena and politics of its system with reference to history. From it, it materializes its vicious, malignant attacks against socialism, especially against the Soviet Union and the GDR. Our scientific conception of history always implied an open avowal of party-mindedness and active partiality. Erich Honecker has explained: "Freedom and conscience always have something to do with insight into historic developments and social processes, and with the obligation to be personally responsible and serve the good of people, in short, with dedication to our socialist cause."¹⁹

History thus means passionately siding with progress and the progressive forces out of a scientific understanding. The responsibility of a history teacher lies in his political commitment, in asking himself time and time again: What does my lesson, my lecture, my article contribute to the ongoing struggle for the strengthening of socialism and for peace? How can I simply and convincingly show that socialism and peace are one and the same, that war has been and is tied up with imperialism, that the GDR evolved as a peace state and proves itself as such, that weapons in the hands of socialist soldiers have a function different from being in the hands of U.S. soldiers who, on their government's orders, have attacked other nations dozens of times after World War II?

Teaching history means addressing and cultivating our working people's sentiments. Historical science is especially suited to arousing emotions, evoking indignation against imperialist and fascist atrocities and other intrigues, and the impulsive urge to rush to the aid of the threatened; it instills deep sympathy with the peoples' struggle against imperialist oppression and for peace and social ascent, and turns that into concrete solidarity operations.

Our conception of history furnishes the sense of trust in our own capacities and the sense of pride in having accomplished much in spite of the toughest conditions; it supplies the sense of certitude of being able to cope with the tasks ahead of us as well. We are not producing a sense of helplessness, fatalism and pacifism, of being at the mercy of higher powers. Through the materialist conception of history we convey the sense of optimism in the peace struggle and instill traits such as an unconditional loyalty to the ideals of the workers class and the socialist state, even in complicated situations, and the readiness to defend socialism under arms.

Instilling sentiments into our youth is a great and thankful tasks in the fulfilment of which we have already accomplished quite a lot, even if much still remains to be done. We will make headway in the fulfilment of this task over the long run only if we improve our expertise in presenting history as the concrete actions of men.

Teaching history, finally, means always recognizing its consciousness-forming strength. Historians and teachers today teach history to living beings, yet not just some imaginary living beings but to pupils, youths, students, workers, physicians and so forth, most concrete human beings. Does every author who writes a book proceed from that responsibility or is he just writing for himself, content in finding a publishing house that publishes his work? Whether it finds readers, whom it affects, must no longer be left more or less to chance. It has much to do with the respect for personalities in our ordinary socialist life that one cares for the quality and concern of a book, of an article, of a course of instruction. Respecting and loving the working people and youths as sharing in the furbishing of our home on equal terms--that is the position and inner attitude from which everyone must proceed who studies and teaches history. That is an essential condition for the real contribution he can make to deepening the socialist consciousness of history in our country.

Taking sides, instilling sentiments, loving and respecting the people--that presupposes taking part every day in the struggles of our times, knowing the requirements for the international class struggle and for the further shaping of the developed socialist society, and deriving one's own responsibility from that. What distinguished the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism in general was that all their studies and speeches would always relate to the struggles of their time. Combining science with the working class struggles was their style of work; thereby they exercised an influence on the conflicts while that combination became an essential source for the outstanding scientific achievements by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Taking part in the struggles of their historic era meant to them also continual sharp polemics against unscientific notions and an implacability toward any bourgeois theory and ideology. An active participation in solving our tasks, taking initiatives, demonstrating party-minded attitudes and actions every day--that should be every college teacher's normal working style, through which he impresses his students and becomes an impressive model to them. This all the more so if he manages as early as possible to enable his students to take over such a working style themselves.

In his speech, "The Tasks of the Youth Affiliations," Lenin answered the question how the young growing generation should study communism by saying: "It can study communism only if it connects every step of schooling, training and education with the incessant struggle by the proletarians and working people against the old exploiter society. While those people attend school, this other school should educate them in taking part in the struggle of liberation from the exploiters."²⁰

What it all amounted to then was bread, and fighting against the internal and external counterrevolution. Yet nothing has changed the validity of Lenin's thought, of the principle. The sooner a student enters the ideological struggle and takes part in it, the sooner he can find the correct answers to questions that have arisen.

We furthermore expect of our scientists and propagandists that they react faster to topical requirements in the international conflict, prepare argumentations, and support our party's mass-political efforts through effective popular science publications. The series brought out by the Dietz publishing house on highly topical questions in the international struggle is an outstanding example of it that deserves a stronger participation by our historians.

In further analyzing the SED Central Committee's social science conference, another question should be how history is to be researched and taught. A crucial demand lies in the handling of dialectical materialism as the theoretical and methodological foundation for research and presentations. That applies of course also to the complexity of the historic process: probing into it extensively calls for more and more interdisciplinary efforts. Sound knowledge must be planted about the meaning of dialectical materialism--giving attention to all the connections and interrelations, the matrix of historic conditions, the internal and external impulses, the birth, growth and results of a phenomenon or of a process, in short, of everything that is actually happening.

Turning the dialectical mode of thinking and working more still into our working basis calls for a precise knowledge of the principles, laws and categories of the materialist dialectic and their internal reciprocal connections and for continuously practicing their application in one's own scientific work, in the whole course through which one is trained and educated as a communist social scientist. The dialectical approach includes too understanding the statements from our classic authors in their historic context. Their assessments always were historically concrete, originated under specific historic conditions, and pursued concrete historic objectives. The "high school of quoting" must not bring it about that arguments and proofs of Marx, Engels and Lenin and from party resolutions and the speeches of the general secretary are torn from their context in order to back up any sort of self-made theories.

One of the most important tasks is to work more with facts, data and events. A dialectical approach to history calls for much concrete knowledge and for responsibly dealing with facts. In his speech, "The Tasks of the Youth Affiliations," Lenin time and time again referred, almost like an incantation, to the task of acquiring concrete knowledge. We must, he demanded, "develop and improve the memory of all learners by the knowledge of basic facts, for communism would become a hollow phrase or a mere shingle, and a communist a vain braggart, unless he has consciously processed all the knowledge acquired." To that end, according to Lenin, "very earnest, laborious and great work has to be done."²¹ It would be mistaken to assume "that it would be enough to appropriate the communist mottoes or the conclusions of the communist mottoes and science without appropriating the sum of all the knowledge of which communism is the end result. Marxism is the prime example for how communism evolved out of the total of human knowledge."²²

I should like to supplement this by saying that without data, facts and events no convictions can be developed and, even more so, no minds and hearts can be touched. What I mean is that the question of appropriating applicable facts and events at a broad range also must become a first-rate concern of the party and FDJ organizations, leaving aside for once the responsibility of the state executives and scientists.

Thorough familiarity with concrete history is of course one of the most important prerequisites for writing and discussing history vividly and interestingly. For that, the knowledge of political history does not suffice. What I mean is that the main reason why GDR history is not always presented as something "fascinating" is that too little is put into it of facts and events from all domains of public life.

It is also certain that the broad and general education of our college teachers and students will greatly lead to broadening the horizon of their thoughts and, thus, their interdisciplinary vision. Then we can also become more serious about the questions of presentation. It cannot be immaterial whether a historian or teacher can write and argue convincingly, logically, cogently, without redundancies, in good language and, while taking issue with the adversary, in polished acuity and superior sarcasm.

Now still some remarks about the training and education of history teachers. Like all our other teachers, they are to be enabled and qualified so that they, as the SED Program puts it, "through scientific, party-minded and relevant instruction enable the pupils to penetrate the developmental laws of nature and society and acquire a deep understanding of history, especially of the revolutionary traditions, and of literature and art."²³

Are our students in fact prepared for these demands? Do they have what it takes in knowledge and skills? They are, as it were, everyday and direct fighters on the ideological frontline. Every teacher is of course aware of his responsibility for his pupils' education, but it is the history teacher who gets mainly confronted with the questions relating to our course and with the lies and distortions in the enemy's ideological diversion. Here he can show the value of his training and his ability to separate the essential from the phenomenal and be aggressive.

In particular, he will always again be asked: history teacher, how did that actually happen, who has done it, why did this occur? He has to face those questions, he is committed, he must not shrug his shoulders. A history teacher is a desirable partner to pupils and the practical school and territorial affairs that surround him because he knows the inevitabilities in human development and sides passionately with the good and the progressive. He will prove that the many imperialist provocations always serve the preparation of military aggressions and explain the concrete peace initiatives from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in history all the way to present days. He will answer all questions as interestingly, vividly and convincingly as the breadth and depth of his own knowledge, his expertise, allow. Thus the history teacher has considerable influence on the political-ideological climate in his classroom and in the school altogether. His knowledge and arguments radiate into his pupils' families.

Anyone who knows what history teachers do is likely to show the greatest respect for what they do and will do what he can to prepare the students as best he can for becoming professional history teachers. In turn, a history teacher already practicing his profession will always seek to stay au courant in historical science in general so as to draw, e.g., further aspects in the study of our legacy and traditions into his own instruction. The scholars of history can and must give him valuable assistance for it.

A history teacher can be proud of his profession. He can before his pupils' eyes-- to quote Friedrich Schiller once again--spread the "grand painting of times and peoples."²⁴ He is the one who firmly anchors the materialistic conception of history and, together with his collective, lays significant foundations for turning the pupils into conscious and committed GDR citizens. This great responsibility of his calls for an equally great stake the universities and colleges have in his education and training.

The birth and growth of the GDR are inseparable from the achievements of our scientists and teachers. They have helped make our actions, led by our party, successful despite economic sabotage, boycotts and persistent ideological imperialist diversion. They have had a significant share in instilling a truly profound GDR consciousness in the citizens. And this performance also must be appreciated so highly because the development of the GDR people has taken place under conditions virtually unique on the global scale, in there being two German states and in that the imperialist FRG has the possibility to exercise an intensive ideological influence on the development of GDR citizens. Among our party's great historic achievements is that it has succeeded under these extremely complicated conditions in providing our country's citizens with a growing socialist national consciousness and a homeland consciousness and with deep patriotic sentiments for their socialist GDR. That too is a process we all can be proud of at the GDR's 35th anniversary.

FOOTNOTES

1. F. Schiller, "What Do We Mean by and for What Purpose Do We Study Universal History?" "Gesammelte Werke" [Collected Works], Vol VI, Berlin, 1954, pp 513 f.
2. Cf. "Protokoll der Verhandlungen des III. Parteitages der SED, 1.-3. Verhandlungstag," Berlin, 1951, pp 396 ff; "The Next University and College Tasks. Central Committee Resolution of 19 January 1951 (Fourth Session)," "Dokumente der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" [SED Documents], Vol III, Berlin, 1952, pp 355 f.
3. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 6 December 1982.
4. Cf, material of the chief publishing department at the Ministry for Culture (in manuscript).
5. K. Hager, "Gesetzmaessigkeiten unserer Epoche--Triebkraefte und Werte des Sozialismus. Rede auf der Gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen Konferenz des ZK der SED am 15. und 16. Dezember 1983 in Berlin" [Inevitabilities of Our Era--Driving Forces and Values of Socialism. Speech at the SED Central Committee's Social Science Conference on 15 and 16 December 1983 in Berlin], Berlin, 1983, p 61.
6. Quoted by P. Lafargue, "Personal Recollections of Karl Marx," Mohr and General, "Erinnerungen an Marx und Engels" [Recollections of Marx and Engels], Berlin, 1982, p 287.
7. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Berlin, 1976, p 47.
8. Cf. Hager, op. cit., p 62.

9. "Erich Honecker Interviewed by FRG Journal LUTHERISCHE MONATSHEFTE," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 6 October 1983.
10. "IX. Parteitag der SED" [Ninth SED Congress], p 67.
11. Hager, op. cit., p 17.
12. Hager, "Beitraege zur Kulturpolitik, Reden und Aufsaeetze 1972-1981" [Contributions to Cultural Policy, Speeches and Essays, 1972-1981], Berlin, 1981, p 232.
13. "Communist Manifesto," K. Marx/F. Engels, "Werke" [Works], Berlin, 1956 ff. (MEW), Vol 4, Berlin, 1964, pp 464-467.
14. Ibid., p 468.
15. Hager, "Beitraege . . .," loc. cit., p 230.
16. "IX. Parteitag der SED," pp 52 f.
17. E. Thaelmann, "Geschichte und Politik, Artikel und Reden, 1925 bis 1933" [History and Politics--Articles and Speeches, 1925-1933], Berlin, 1973, p 5.
18. F. Engels "From the Fragments on the 'History of Ireland,'" MEW, Vol 16, pp 499 f.
19. Interview
20. V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 31, Berlin, 1972, p 284.
21. Ibid., p 277.
22. Ibid., p 275.
23. "IX. Parteitag der SED," p 49.
24. Schiller, op. cit., p 529.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED'S AXEN ADDRESSES PEACE COUNCIL

AU061811 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1/2 Sep 84 p 6

[Report on speech by Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, at Peace Council session in Berlin on 31 August]

[Text] In his concluding remarks, Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, stated that the session proved worthy of the great significance of the forthcoming 35th anniversary of our socialist German state. We have heard here clear, convincing, and passionate declarations for the most important cause, the cause of securing peace. And these declarations were made by citizens of all classes and strata, old and young, atheists and Christians, representatives of the most various professions and walks of life. The entire gamut of the valuable life and combat experiences of our people became evident here.

The session made it evident in a most impressive manner: The struggle for peace, for worldwide security and trusting international cooperation is a daily obligation for our state and entire people in the spirit of effective and responsible activity.

Mass Movement on World Peace Day

The course and result of this important and forward-oriented conference were primarily marked by two important aspects: first, the high degree of agreement among all the classes and strata of the GDR people united in the Peace Council on the assessment of the world policy situation, and the resulting political consequences as they were pointed out a few days ago by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, in his interview on topical problems of the GDR's foreign and domestic policy.

A convincing expression of this deep agreement of the citizens of our country with the peace policy of our socialist states is also demonstrated by the mass movement of working people, which follows the appeal of the Joerg Harder Berlin youth brigade and pays tribute to 1 September, World Peace Day, with new top achievements for the strengthening of the GDR. "It is in this grandiose movement that the leading role of the workers class in the peace struggle and the historical peace mission of the workers movement are emerging powerfully. The significant feature of this great movement is the unity of the declaration for peace and efforts for peace, of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism."

The speaker termed as the second important outcome of the conference the affirmation that in view of the further exacerbation of the international situation there can be only one single consequence: that is, to precisely now continue the peace struggle with all strength and energy, to extend a hand to all peace forces in the world--in spite of all differences--and, through the collaboration with all peace-loving men, through the creation of a worldwide coalition of commonsense to reverse the dangerous situation back toward detente and disarmament.

The international situation has been burdened to the extreme by the irresponsible arms drive and confrontational course of the U.S. Administration and of other aggressive NATO forces, and mankind has been pushed another step closer to the peril of a nuclear inferno, Herman Axen pointed out.

Missile Launching Pad Western Europe

The provocative deployment of new U.S. nuclear first strike weapons in Western Europe, which was set in motion against the declared will of the peoples, constitutes a new qualitative step in the efforts of the aggressive U.S. quarters to upset the military equilibrium. This enhances the danger for our continent, the speaker emphasized.

With the escalation of the confrontational U.S. policy, Europe, the continent from which the turn toward detente originated, once more becomes a hotbed of international tensions. Here, where the main dividing line between the two opposing social systems and the two strongest military groupings of our times are located, the transformation of Western Europe into a launching pad for U.S. nuclear first-strike weapons conjures up a global threat to all mankind.

This not being enough, the U.S. leadership also pursues the arms drive by introducing more and more new systems of weapons of mass destruction. Under the delusion of obtaining new miraculous weapons and of achieving strategic superiority with these, the U.S. Administration is advancing plans to carry war into space in order to also be able to conduct from space a first-strike against the Soviet Union, against the socialist world.

The peaceful solution of seeds of conflict is being sabotaged, the development of foreign military bases is being stepped up. The rulers in Washington are supporting the undeclared wars against Afghanistan and Nicaragua as well as the dictatorial regime in El Salvador. They give a helping hand to the Israel and South African aggressors and racists.

The World of Today Is Different From That of 1914 and 1939

But today's world looks different from that of 1914 and 1939, Herman Axen underscored. "There exists and operates the other line of world policy, the line of peace, of security, of national and social liberation, and of progress. This line

determines the main direction of international events. It is represented by forces that counteract the stepped-up preparations for war and incitement of peoples, forces that are determined to put an end to the aggressive policy and to ban the danger of a nuclear war."

It is the awakening of the consciousness and conscience of the peoples, it is particularly the actions of the partisans of peace, which justify the conclusion that it is necessary and to enforce a return to detente, to asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence.

In doing so, however, we do not cherish any illusions, but are aware of the fact that a long and stubborn struggle is required for this, the speaker pointed out.

USSR Develops a Maximum of Prudence

The socialist countries are not partisans of a balance of terror, Hermann Axen stressed. They are stubbornly struggling for a reduction in military armament to the lowest possible level while observing the principle of equality and equal security. Constructive proposals for limiting and reducing armaments made by the socialist side aimed at this are on the table.

After describing the most important of these proposals and the negative attitude of Washington, the speaker noted: Any unbiased observer is able, in the light of facts, to see for himself. It is the socialist countries that time and again and untiringly seize the initiative to achieve realistic steps toward disarmament and detente. And it is on the other side, the U.S. foreign policy, which rigidly pursues the fatal path of confrontation and arms folly. It is the socialist community, particularly the Soviet Union, that develops a maximum of prudence and flexibility--something which, last but not least, is underscored by the fact that its military measures are exactly commensurate with what is required for the protection of socialism due to U.S. actions. With the declaration of the CEMA member-countries of June 1984, the socialist peace program was again reaffirmed by the highest representatives of the socialist states.

Hermann Axen continued: The community of peoples is confronted today and will be in the future by many important, globally unsolved vital issues such as the elimination of exploitation; social, national and racial oppression; hunger; malnutrition; underdevelopment; diseases; illiteracy; ensuring environmental protection, and other problems.

"All these issues are pressing, all require urgent solutions. But the most important of all questions is the preservation of human life, the earth, world civilization and world culture. Preventing war constitutes the basic prerequisite for the existence of the world and of the environment."

What Revolutionary Action Now Implies

As far as our country is concerned, we stand for what was said in our proclamation on the 35th anniversary of the founding of our Republic. The GDR is a state whose policy is not only predictable, but also promotes peace. We shall wage the struggle for peace--now more than ever. Thus, we are asserting our responsibility as part of the peace movement.

The people of our Republic understand very well the inseparable interconnection between domestic and foreign policy. As daily practice shows, our country's working people regard making the most up-to-date, effective contribution to strengthening the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, as well as the entire socialist community precisely in the jubilee year, as the most important peace deed and revolutionary action of our time. It is with new, good deeds, and increasingly productive work that the citizens of our country are preparing the 35th birthday of their worker-peasant state.

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POLITICAL CONSENSUS WITH YOUTH ON SHAKY GROUND

Budapest POLITIKAI FOISKOLA KOZLEMENYEI in Hungarian No 4, 1983, pp 17-18

[Article by Gabor Fodor: "Consensus and Youth"]

[Excerpt] The confusion is growing. One hears from various sources that there is too much of a gap between the proclaimed values and the practice of society. According to some opinions, ideology does not offer a sufficient amount of assistance toward choosing rational solutions; as a matter of fact, in some cases it appears as a factor hindering rational behavior. Others deem it unacceptable that serious discrepancies can arise between righteous and correct ideas on the one hand and reality on the other, and they unequivocally assign the responsibility for this to practical reality. These conflicting views, however, completely agree on one thing: theory and practice should be brought into more proximate harmony, since a close unity between the two is essential.

There is a self-evident sense of something missing. Inconsistency is an unpleasant state. It does not enhance people's inner equilibrium, if, even temporarily, they find that the views which they cultivated concerning social justice again and again conflict with those circumstances, in the creation and maintenance of which they played a certain role, or at least they concurred with them.

This self-evident sense of something missing, however, is manifested in a social impatience which is not quite as self-evident. Undoubtedly, one of the factors causing this rather intensified and over-intensified impatience is the fact that, from the schools to the [political] seminars, an ocean of public pronouncements keep hammering away at the unity of theory and practice, neglecting or insufficiently pointing out that under normal conditions such unity can only manifest itself through the processes of dialectics. In general, [the speakers] forget to mention that both theory and practice have their own specific and distinct forms and courses of progress; that the unity, here too, can be realized through the differences; that there are sovereignty, self-support and independence between the two spheres, otherwise they would mutually destroy, annihilate and distort each other.

Theory cannot be anything other than generalized experience derived from practice, and if all other guidelines are limited to previous generalizations, then existing reality, of course, will prove the faultlessness of theory, but only

because such generalizations allow nothing to arouse doubts concerning the theory. The situation is equally absurd in the reverse: No society, no community can tolerate a chronic lack of values. The system of non-substantial, fulfilling values, in the long run, assumes a regulating function in the lives of people; they hold together the structure of their personalities, integrate community behavior, demarcate those limits of action within which contradictions are still endurable.

The attitudinal limits assigned to the unity of theory and practice, of course, do not sufficiently explain that social impatience which, brought on by ambivalencies, undoubtedly exists, especially among the youth, whose members, primarily due to their age, wish to acquire lasting foundations for their commitments, alignments, convictions and rejections. It is also part of the phenomenon that Hungarian political culture generally lacks sufficiently deep traditions for the toleration of contradictions. And this is not an issue which can be taken care of within the cognitive sphere! This attests to a development which was, in the psychological sense, disintegrated, as well as to a collective instability which in ambivalent situations manifests itself in a low threshold of tolerance.

It cannot be claimed that there are no real tensions requiring real actions. However, a complete identification of theory and practice cannot be expected from any kind of action, and for this reason there is no other solution than to learn not to break, not to come into conflict with oneself, not to lose or change one's faith when the contradictions cannot be eliminated; because indeed it is possible to live without deserting one's convictions, even if those can only be realized slowly, gradually and incompletely. A psychologically strong society differs from a weak one not because it endures in silence, and of course not in exhibiting cheap radicalism, but in its capacity to react to the presence of ambivalencies by inspiring a willingness to solve problems patiently, instead of a desire to escape. Those who would approach ambivalent situations with a forceful attitude, or those who would turn their backs upon them, could not eliminate contradictions in the long run either. This is a fact, but for the time being our youth can scarcely "inherit" this from us, because the examples we have to offer are few in number and not always satisfactory.

Youth cannot be presented with a past, a future, ideals, or even a political culture in general. The most we can do is strive to create conditions under which all of the above can be easier to acquire. This portion of responsibility falls on us, the older generation. And in the meantime, we should not be afraid that truth will disillusion the young. Gyorgy Lukacs was not mistaken. Faith is not for children, and it is not a laughing matter. If someone is optimistic because he does not know what he could know, if someone believes because he always thinks of pretty images, that is not faith, it is not even as good as having doubts. No, faith is not childish, faith is a Promethean reality. Childish faith is false purity; there is no ascension to the heavens without a Mount of Olives.

12588

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EMPLOYMENT PLANNING FOR AVAILABLE HARD-TO-FILL POSITIONS

Planning Employee Numbers

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 9 Aug 84 p 7

[Article by tes: "Hopeless Hopes"]

[Text] I wonder what kind of work force planning is in progress where last year's resignation rate was ten times the -- planned! -- figure estimated by the enterprise experts? For that matter, the work force reduction due to resignations was likewise pretty much underestimated -- though not to a similar degree -- at 60 percent of the 105 enterprises now examined by the State Wage and Labor Office. And because this is a phenomenon which repeats itself year in and year out, one begins to suspect: we are confronted not so much with a sequence of errors resulting from incompetence but rather with some kind of peculiarly distorted planning practice, the essence of which is that the most optimistic possible -- and completely unfounded, thus unrealizable -- work force plans, on the one hand, automatically justify the demands for stabilized work force expansion and, on the other hand, they can be used quite well when the time comes to try to explain the internal economic troubles. Not only "outwards" and "upwards" but within the enterprise as well.

Methods and Motives

On the occasion of the examination in question, several labor leaders admitted that they did not pay attention to the labor market limitations and knew very well that their current work force plans were unrealizable. But at least--so they said--the workers see the enterprise efforts in connection with alleviation of problems, efforts which in turn end in failure, of course. In this case, however, the leaders more easily secure acceptance of their ideas and decisions in relation to increasing work intensity and making output requirements more rigorous.

There are even more special--read: more distorted--labor management methods. Some economic and labor leaders do not conceal it either that in various departments of their enterprises--due to supervisory and

organizational mistakes--applicants are hired indiscriminantly. And they are not indicted because of disregard for central wishes in connection with work force reduction. The primary motive for their work force reductions this year is, "We do not place obstacles in front of those who want to move." After that, people are hired again in their place indiscriminantly...

There are, of course, also leaders who deal more moderately with the unachievability of their own labor plans. They acknowledge that their labor management intentions were in fact realized, i.e., their actual work force requirements were much smaller than indicated. And, while regretting all this, they add that they cannot plan differently, because they never know how many of the new employees will stay for a comparatively longer time and how many will leave after a few months. (At the same time--as we already mentioned--they repeatedly underestimate the number of those leaving, i.e., they routinely aim at the formation of a reserve force.)

They, the Fifteen

Here we stand up for work force planning where the situation is not so troublesome. Among the 105 enterprises 15 (!) were found in which the labor management intentions were achieved so that the planned work force formation and the actual one agreed; indeed, the labor activity of these enterprises--according to this year's plans at least--is characterized by well-directed and undeniable consistency.

Where the work force was reduced last year according to intentions, an additional reduction--without exception--is being planned (for example, the Zalaegerszeg Clothes Factory). Where the labor force problems can really be alleviated with the new economic forms, there the spread of the new forms is being urged (for example, the contractual operation at the General Consumer and Marketing Cooperative in Georgik). Moreover, where the product composition calls for it, structural modifications are implemented in connection with the introduction of technology which saves on spadework and with investments which increase productivity, and on this basis the work force reduction takes place according to plan (for example, at the Szombathely factory unit of REMIX). Elsewhere--for example, at the number 26 State Construction Industry Enterprise--one notes the rather unfavorable labor market situation and the withdrawal of ordering customers, though the work force reduction is still not left to spontaneous movement; deliberate, methodical attempt is made to guide and influence it so that in this manner the composition of the remaining work force becomes more favorable.

We could hardly cite many more good examples as proof that enterprise work force planning and labor force management for the most part still take as their starting points stubborn hopefulness and--often very deliberate--dismissal of labor market reality. This is the explanation for the fact that last year the enterprises altogether planned on 113,000

new employees and the loss of 55,000 old ones; thus, when all was said and done, they counted on an increase of 58,000. In contrast to this, the work force of the entire enterprise sphere decreased by 76,000 (disregarding the organizational changes).

Just Extensively...

And what conclusion do the enterprises draw from all this? This year's plans in unchanged form bear witness to extensive labor force management pursuits and intentions. The enterprises which are hopeful about the possibility of work force expansion are planning altogether on 109,000 new employees and the loss of 58,400 old ones, i.e., employees should increase by 50,600 according to these hopes. Let us add that the chances for this are not a bit better than they were last year.

Furthermore, the enterprises are underestimating the number of persons leaving even more than last year, which would not matter if they would treat strengthening the ability to maintain the work force as a task to be stressed. Only a few signs point to that, however. At those unquestionable 15 enterprises--they can be singled out as positive examples from the examined sphere--there are initiatives worthy of attention in this matter: more rational work time arrangement, easing commuting circumstances and material conditions, bunkhouses for young married couples, significant and undiminishing support for home building, etc. This kind of effort is not characteristic for the great majority of enterprises, however. Nor do they give head to the possibilities of part-time employment. The demand for part-time employees and retirees is 4.6 and 16.2 percent less than last year, and one wonders why.

And why are so many elements and possibilities of the labor force management resource system not examined seriously? We wrote earlier and--for lack of a definitive change--we can only repeat: labor force borrowing and temporary labor force regrouping are practically inestimable. The cottage industry worker system is stagnating, or rather shrinking. There is no definitive change in the elaboration and application of technologies which spare the work force. And indeed in many places even organization of enterprise business work partnerships is only considered a kind of compulsory accommodation to the given state of the labor market and is treated thus; but the establishment of more efficient and more reliable cooperative relations is handled in the same manner...

And perhaps the most characteristic thing is that the labor force troubles and the disparity between supply and demand are traced back to the putative or real defects in the total system of labor law regulations, wage regulations and, in general, macroeconomic management, even if the labor force management intentions and the actual economic processes are not in harmony. Last year 26 of the 105 examined enterprises fell short of their production target, and 12 of these operated with the planned work force or one higher than planned. Fifteen enterprises did not achieve their productivity goal; among them, six employed more persons than planned, nine, however, employed fewer.

Work Force Change According to Actual and Enterprise Intentions at 105
Examined Enterprises

National Economy Branches	Change in labor law work force according to actual data, as percentage	Change in labor law work force according to enterprise intentions, as percentage	
		<u>31 Dec 1983</u> 31 Dec 1982	<u>31 Dec 1983</u> 31 Dec 1982
Industry	97.2	101.2	101.2
Construction	97.7	100.8	100.1
Agriculture and Forestry	95.5	101.9	101.0
Transportation and information	100.1	102.2	102.3
Commerce	97.9	100.9	101.0
Water supply management	101.3	102.5	103.7
Material branches altogether	97.3	101.4	101.3
Nonmaterial branches	102.6	102.5	102.3
Total	97.6	101.5	101.3

In brief, the enterprise labor force plans often lose touch with the economic whole, take on an almost independent life and, of course, strengthen the irrational features of labor demand.

That is to say: nothing indicates that the work force management of industrial enterprises is becoming more active in comparison with past years. According to the partial data, discontinuance of labor relations initiated by employers will be somewhat more frequent: in contrast to the 8,470 planned last year, it will affect scarcely 11,000 persons, 0.7 percent of industrial employees (according to this year's plans).

Agriculture and forestry are planning a work force expansion of an additional 9,000 despite the fact that last year they were obliged to record a reduction of 41,000.

The construction industry is the only sector where work force stabilization is this year's target.

Last year the transportation and information services were able to carry out an expansion of 500 persons altogether. "Learning" from this, they would like to increase their work force by 11,000 this year.

Commerce: in contrast to the expansion of 5,000 planned last year, a reduction of 10,000 took place. They obstinately believe in last year's scheme: this year they are planning an expansion of 5,000.

The water-supply management services cherish hopes for a work force expansion vaster than anybody else. Their plans last year were only halfway achieved: they were able to increase their permanent staffs by 900. This year they are planning a work force expansion of 2,500.

And finally the nonmaterial branches: last year, in accordance with plans, the staff increased by 5,000 persons, and the plans are similar this year.

Two more sentences about regional demands for labor: last year a minimum work force expansion succeeded only in the megyes of Baranya and Győr-Sopron, although expansion ranging from 0.9 to 2.5 percent had been planned in every megye. Preparations were made this year for stagnation in the Pest megye, and besides this, an expansion similar to last year's is counted on everywhere.

Filling High-Skill Jobs

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Aug 84 p 5

[Article by Laszlo Bakos, division chief at National Association of Small Artisans (KIOSZ): "Reserves for Unfilled Professional Positions"]

[Text] Small-scale industry has an important role in the fulfillment of production and service demands. The basic condition for the ability of artisans to satisfy society's requirements is the existence of

sufficient specialists. This, however, is inconceivable without adequate professional reserves. In addition to the requirements of large-scale factories for production specialists, we must also provide in an organized way for master workers in the artisan and service professions.

Fluctuation Is Great

In the decades after the liberation--when industry's extensive development stood in the forefront--the preservation of service and artisan traditions was forced into the background. In recent years however, together with insistence upon quality, economic efficiency and product structure change, the improvement of small-scale shops and services has become an important topic and, along with it, insistence upon a sensitive solution to reserves of specialists. This, accordingly, called for a change of approach in the area of professional training and continued training.

Today more than 300 professions and occupations are recorded in small-scale industry. Some of these are linked to qualifications or presuppose suitable industrial, construction or artisan knowledge and experience. In the past, acquisition of this knowledge and skill was solved by inheritance of family traditions. Today this is no longer the primary means of acquiring a fresh supply of artisans. Interest in small-scale industry is influenced in large measure by the lifestyle change and by the changing demand of fashion, the economy and society for services and provisions. Some trades ceased to exist, new ones were created, or professions previously sentenced to death came back into fashion.

We must also take into consideration that fluctuation is very significant in small-scale industry. This has affected tens of thousands of workshops in recent years. The number of artisans decreased last year by 4,116; many retired, others stopped working because of illness. But assurance of the personal conditions and professional reserves necessary for continued operation of these workshops is in society's interest. Yet a solution to this latter issue is made difficult by the fact that there are trades which today are not even taught in vocational training schools. Only in adulthood is there the possibility in organized form for acquisition of such knowledge; at the same time, many master tradesmen still work to-day in these professions in small-scale industry, for example, glaziers, roofers, cutlers and knife grinders, sign painters, wainwrights and rubberwear repairers. These professions are in demand today as well, they fulfill important service and production requirements, and in cooperation with the responsible ministries we are making an effort to find those training institutions where it is possible to learn these trades. Some institutions and factories organize vocational education pertaining to enterprisal/specialty training, and in cooperation with them we are working hard to provide reserves.

Our system for providing reserves in some professions must be solved by building on the practical and instructional basis of artisan workshops operating today; the personal and material conditions necessary for this must be created. Let us look at a few examples. The demand

for shoe repair has grown significantly in recent times, but the number of master craftsmen has declined; in this profession today all but half of the artisans work as retirees. Last year there were 13 shoemaker apprentices in small-scale industry, and this number does not solve the problem. It is common knowledge that several hundred thousand persons with foot ailments live in this country; yet there is hardly a handful of orthopedic shoemakers. We must solve the problem of the survival of individual professions, as, for example, the Szeged slipper maker and the bootmaker.

Restoration and upkeep of our monuments affect several dying professions. There is a need for substantially more gilders, decorative painters, bricklayers, thatchers, plaster and terracotta makers than we currently have. There are several thousand organs in the country, but altogether two artisans work as organ makers and repairers; in recent years three skilled apprentices have been trained.

Scholarship System Brought Up-to-Date

The shortage of specialists must be examined not only nationally but also regionally. The beautician belongs to a fashionable and overstocked profession, but even so we have many large villages where this service does not exist. This is proven by the fact that altogether 75 of the 471 beauticians work in villages.

KIOSZ and small-scale industry have so far made significant efforts in the interest of assuring a fresh supply of specialists. In recent decades more than 130,000 young people have acquired their practical knowledge in artisan workshops; they are holding their ground very well in the areas of production and service, after all, they acquired extensive specialized knowledge from their master teachers. At present, 6,290 apprentices are being trained in skilled labor in artisan workshops. Our organizations pay scrupulous attention chiefly to registration, career choice and reserves in dying professions.

What do we intend to do to rescue the moribund professions? Not long ago the national committee of KIOSZ identified the things to be done which can promote better replacement of specialists. I would like to mention a few of these tasks. We decided that in cooperation with cultural and career-choice institutions we will expand our activity in career-choice consultation. With the help of master craftsmen who have pedagogical gifts, we visit primary schools, chat with young people faced with a career choice and draw the attention of young people and parents to those understocked professions which they do not know much about and thus do not know what kind of training is possible.

In addition to the state scholarship, KIOSZ offers a study scholarship to young people and a pedagogical bonus to master craftsmen in 19 professions. In recent years we have paid out scholarships or pedagogical bonuses to 200 apprentices and master craftsmen. We decided to modernize

our scholarship system and make it suitable to promote the learning of individual moribund professions. We also plan to create better conditions for practical training in small-scale industry of young people with reduced work capacity. We consider our Szabolcs-Szatmar megye organization's initiative and collaboration with the institute for continued education at the Nyiregyhaza auxiliary school to be an example worthy of imitation nationwide; here the possibilities and the conditions are developed so that the artisans can have a hand in the preparation of primary school children for each profession. It would be good if the young people could find employment in the understocked professions. The master craftsmen take upon themselves this instructional work.

It is very important that the artisan workshops operating today have a fresh supply of skilled workers. The responsible ministries have recently readjusted the legal conditions for the adult-age skilled worker examination, and the conditions for acquisition of a trade by artisans and assisting family members and the participation of KIOSZ and the master craftsmen in the preparation of those who want to learn a profession have become regulated.

In Good Collaboration

New opportunities for retraining and continued education have been created which can contribute to the reduction of understocked professions, but only if good collaboration between KIOSZ and the local educational institutions emerges, collaboration which makes it possible for the development of flexible conditions of instruction. Yet we must also see that there is more individuality in small-scale industry, that there are more cases which call for individual consideration; these, however, can only be solved if all concerned organizations jointly reflect on how it might be possible to assure the professional conditions necessary for the survival of each workshop and the acquisition of specialized training in accordance with changing demands. We determine what the workplaces are where in the long run the further existence of some professions is possible only through the acquisition of necessary specialized knowledge. In the light of these things, we prepare the instructional plans and establish our collaboration with the educational institutes.

We also have other plans. The KIOSZ center for education and professional development will open at the beginning of next year. This will create a new opportunity for the development of a new generation of skilled workers in line with demands. Thus, for example, we are preparing a course to train makers of orthopedic shoes. In collaboration with the Ethnographic Museum and the School of Arts and Crafts, instruction is given by master craftsmen who already have basic professional knowledge in the areas of decorative painting, gilding and restoration, and in the case of their further education they can undertake such work.

Among the professions figuring in enterprisal/specialty training, 121 certificates authorizing activity as synthetic materials processing artisan, 29 as rubberwear repairer, 65 as art and machine embroiderer, and 39 as construction industry repairer have been obtained so far. The organized continuation of this will be one of the main tasks of the center for education and professional development.

Particular Conditions

Our national committee asked for the help of the responsible state agencies so that more flexible registration and planning conditions, more in line with the particular features of small-scale industry, could develop. The council divisions in charge and the principals and teachers of schools which train skilled workers must bear in mind the particular conditions of small shops and small-scale industry. Greater esteem should encircle those master teachers who undertake instruction in each profession, who share in the education of reserves.

The tasks are diverse. The tomorrow of services, repair, maintenance and small-scale production depends on the change in objectives. Together with the interested state and social agencies we would like to solve the urgent matter of a new generation of skilled workers.

12327

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POLAND

GENERAL CYGAN DISCUSSES GDANSK ISSUES

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 31, 4 Aug 84 p 5

[Interview with the Gdansk provincial governor, Brig Gen Mieczyslaw Cygan, by Henryk Jezierski]

[Text] [Question] Reconnoitering terrain before taking action is a basic military concept. What was your vision of Gdansk Province at the beginning of 1983 when you first became governor?

[Answer] What vision could there even be at a time when decisions were literally being made in a few minutes? Of course, having been a naval quartermaster 30 years ago I knew the Gdansk seacoast quite well, and can even discuss my emotional attachment to the area, although it is a bit faded with time. What I learned in school also had an influence upon me. Gdynia represents the window on the world, the romance of the seas, the Kashubian people fighting to hold on to their Polish identity, and identification with such symbols as Drzymala's coach or the Silesian uprisings. Subsequently, I paid close attention to everything which was taking place in Gdansk, from the August events to the introduction of martial law. I knew as did the majority of Poles that the turn of events in Gdansk would have major consequences, as well as great significance on the course of events in the nation. Frankly speaking, however, I had no clear vision of the province at the time of my nomination.

There was no vision, but rather a certain awareness of the role which awaited me. From the beginning, I stressed at each meeting that I understood my function as being constituted by tasks which would be based upon the coordination of all activities and mobilization of all forces to guarantee normal working conditions throughout the province. At the time, order in the factories and on the streets was important and necessary only insofar as people were able to realize the fact that the most controversial matters could be resolved only under normal and orderly working conditions, and that there is no other way.

[Question] One meets with opinions that warrant a somewhat scholarly attitude toward the crisis-causing nature of Gdansk. The fact is that December 1970 and August 1980 had their beginning here.

[Answer] I did not and still do not share the opinion that what is taking place in Gdansk is justified completely or to a large degree by its location, revived contact with the world, great industrial potential, etc. For some, however, this explains why the conflicts appeared with such severity and why the public reaction was so strong.

I believe that this type of situation can occur in any part of the country. Besides, the facts confirmed this, which makes it all the more difficult for the vindication of people attempting to hide behind a screen of previously-mentioned concepts. Where is Rome, and the Crimea? Where are the Tri-cities, and where Ustrzyki? Yet the tensions in Ustrzki, which has a low level of industrial development, a rather archaic social structure, and little contact with the outside world, were as severe as those in Gdansk or Silesia.

This activity by the political opposition was designed to be intentional and organized and had been under conscious and consistent preparation for a long time. The fact that this time it took place in Gdansk is because the circumstances were right. Mainly, it was due to the disproportion between production development potential and the slow pace of social matters.

[Question] For the majority of our population, Gdansk served as a symbol, renewal for some and opposition to the authorities for others. The attitudes prevailing here and the greater impetuosity and frequency of demonstrations forced the adoption of radical measures. In such cases it was easy to decide on violation of the limits of preventive action and make decisions which could be misunderstood even by those in agreement with the authorities, or any opponents not hostile to them. Have we reached this level of transgression? Has the view that the government placed the responsibility for law and order exclusively into the hands of the organs of repression been confirmed?

[Answer] I can say most emphatically that everything which took place here during the time when we had to make certain unpopular decisions occurred with my knowledge and personal involvement. In all these instances, I functioned as the head of the Provincial Defense Committee with significantly greater authority than that of a provincial governor. If anyone believes that too many measures or too much force was used to guarantee security, and that this force was unnecessary, then I would respond that I cannot even begin to ask myself what could have happened if force had not been used. After all, it was because of the use of adequate force that order was maintained. In each case, based on specific information, we considered the need for even a demonstrable show of force, since it was irrefutably evident that domestic and especially foreign centers of subversion were calling for active opposition to the authorities and to law and order. This active opposition not only had propaganda support but also material support. Whenever certain doubts arose as to such a decision, we chose the lesser of two evils. Bringing several dozen or several hundred militiamen onto the streets represented the lesser evil. This was in place of arresting or holding administratively accountable several foolish and often young people.

On the other hand, we realize the losses which we are suffering with regard to the psychological effects on not only those who were affected physically or otherwise by the demonstrations, but also those who were only spectators and did not have sufficient cause to, as we would call it, place public interests over personal interests.

The differences between subsequent celebrations such as May Day speak for themselves and attest to the correctness of our actions. On the other hand, people disloyal to the authorities must be prepared for the consequences. The same holds true the world over.

[Question] You entered the state administrative sector with many years of military habits and experiences which frequently differ from civilian practices. What civilian elements have influenced you as governor and general, and what military customs have your subordinates taken on? The fact that I am speaking to a general who is wearing a suit suggests the predominance of the former.

[Answer] We are having this discussion on a free Saturday, which for me represents a regular work day but without official meetings. That is why I am dressed in civilian clothing. I am rarely without my uniform, even in situations where civilian clothing would be more comfortable. In addition, I must say with pleasure that by not coming to meeting in uniform I disappoint people. There is nothing more gratifying for an individual who has over 40 years of military service and who has devoted his entire adult life to his uniform. Consequently, I do not want to disappoint anyone.

It is not only I, but also my colleagues in uniform who often meet with questions of basic childish curiosity from the media as to how it happens that someone who spends his life marching and drilling, which is how some perceive the military, can be given a position in the government. I am then tempted to respond that similar questions are not addressed to a mechanical engineer who has become a director, provincial governor, or chairman.

I understand quite well that in the civilian sector one cannot act merely on recommendations, orders, or by standing at attention. The concern is merely to preserve all the elements which are involved in the development of an efficient work plan. It is altogether insignificant that one does not say yes or stand at attention. I have tried to look at the accepted administrative practices and principles from the point of view of my expectations, inasmuch as they are in accordance with the model which I have in mind. I knew that I could not just come out one day and say, "Please act according to the following outline"; that would have been impossible. I had to accept that to which people were accustomed, even if their habits were unique. I strongly support individuality as expressed through activity of a particular character. Under no circumstances would I want to suppress this.

In order to put an end to this issue, as is well known, I have never nor do I now surround myself with military personnel. There has been no need

for this. Besides the few military officials in the Civil Defense Inspectorate, the deputy superintendent in charge of youth defense training is my only military subordinate.

[Question] You are a member of the provincial governors' working group, which is a body whose goals and authority are relatively unknown.

[Answer] In reality, few people know, for example, that the governors' group was established before martial law, yet its work only dates back to May 1982. The group consists of 12 persons, all provincial governors, appointed to a 1-year term by the premier. Large sessions are not conducive to spontaneous discussions, exchange of opinions, or polemics. Instead, this structure allows for a smaller group which can be augmented by representatives from the interested ministries. I am currently the group representative for Slupsk, Elblag, and Gdansk provinces.

Frequently the group represents the first level of initiative, which later finds expression in important legal acts and even Council of Ministers resolutions. Among other things, we discussed the law on the people's council system and the state housing policy. A frequent topic of discussion was the functioning of economic reform, mainly the problems concerning the completely new quality control functions of the state administration being fulfilled by the founding organ for a hundred or so enterprises.

[Question] How is it that the Main Regional Inspectorate which evaluated the province gave you a C-plus?

[Answer] The use of any graded evaluation contains a certain margin of error. I believe that if, for example, the health care sector is doing well but the sanitary conditions are bad, then this merely signifies that things are going well in the health care sector and badly in the sanitary area. There is nothing more to it. Taking an average of this could be useful for certain artificial evaluations, but I see no need for great rejoicing or for despair. Therefore, in response to a question asking me if I am pleased with this positive measure, I would definitely say yes. But does this mean that we are satisfied with our work? To this I would respond negatively. Not only because we are aware of the more significant needs, but also because of the reserves existing within the population insofar as better work organization, elimination of waste, etc, are concerned. I said repeatedly to my coworkers and I reiterate now that we cannot become too complacent until our work is publicly supported and accepted.

[Question] You are in charge of the province with the greatest maritime potential in the nation. The shipyards, shipping and fishing enterprises, and ports represent enviable capital at first glance. In practice, however, this causes many unusual and troublesome problems.

[Answer] Above all, we should emphasize the positive aspects of the so-called maritime qualities of our province. Approximately 200,000 people are employed in the maritime economy and in the enterprises which produce for its needs, and this constitutes over 40 percent of the overall employment

of the region's socialized sector. Just think what would happen if suddenly the maritime enterprises were shut down! First and foremost, the maritime character of our province gives us a stable and dependable work place. This also represents advantages for the authorities. In Poland few people realize what unemployment is and what devastation it can have on the psyche.

Of course, as I said earlier there is a certain disproportion between the production potential and the level of satisfying the most basic social needs. Unfortunately, we have no economic associations here. On the other hand, I believe that at the present time this is even beneficial for us. During the past 2 years we have had a fairly high level of economic self-sufficiency. The administration budget, which is concerned with such areas as trade, culture, education, transportation, etc, must be a stable budget. On the other hand, our enterprises that are currently linked to the maritime economy are experiencing all sorts of difficulties. This denotes a difficult financial situation, together with insolvency. If there existed direct tension between enterprise production and the municipal or provincial budget status, then we could find ourselves in a situation where we would not only not have enough money for material purchases, but also for pensions for hundreds of teachers, doctors, and municipal workers.

Therefore, I am a great supporter of a stronger relationship between the province and the maritime economy. We should not only be concerned about what it can give us, but also be interested in its future development. In the near future we must reach the point where the statement "the sea feeds and brings wealth" will become very obvious. The enterprises must also make sure that the city in which they operate is a wealthy city. This must be accomplished not only through taxes, but also by not doing anything which would cause problems for the city.

[Question] In your opinion, how would you rank provincial needs and the problems that need to be solved?

[Answer] The Gdansk area reflects almost everything which is characteristic of Poland. We possess developed industry, great traditions, a developed culture, great artistic centers, and we are a great educational center as well as a Mecca for tourists. I even think that our agriculture is typical, we have fertile marshlands as well as very poor farmland. Consequently, we have the characteristics of the entire nation in a relatively small area. At the same time, we have both those which are characterized as developing or successful and those which cause problems or conflicts.

In connection with this I would like to respond more broadly to the question of what is most important by saying that work discipline is most important. Not that which is officially understood as discipline, but rather discipline in a broader sense, as an irrevocable condition of success and benefit. It would solve a great number of problems for us, and not only material ones. In my opinion, it is a problem which deals with the

restoration of social equilibrium. The expression in the military which denotes collective bodies where trust in oneself is absolute is "comrades in arms." The establishment of a similar attitude in the factories would eliminate hundreds of everyday problems.

We simply need a new style of work with new methods of operation and verification of their success. Specific mechanisms must be put into operation here, rather than the good will of a salesgirl, bus driver, etc. This cannot represent only those actions which are carried out under pressure from regulations, supervision, or inspection, but also as a result of economic, social, and even commercial conditions. I am sorry for the digression, but today the public rarely censures breaking of the law, or even arrests and imprisonment. I ask you to note how infrequently family and close friends, rather than the militia, come to the defense of another citizen's property.

Perhaps I am evaluating this too optimistically, but I think that despite everything certain symptoms of civic duty have become apparent recently. The visible improvement in the appearance of our cities and residential areas is not only the result of greater efficiency on the part of the manager, chairman, or director of the municipal economic department. The citizens' self-defense system, which organizes public surveillance of parking lots, has similar implications. We do not treat this as a vote of confidence for the security forces, since every reasonable citizen is well aware that the militia will never be so numerous as to protect everyone and everything.

[Question] You mentioned the needs which are on the border between materials and awareness. What does Gdansk Province lack in terms of more measurable matters?

[Answer] Undoubtedly, the most troublesome matter which creates the feeling of deficiency and even a certain sense of helplessness is the need to satisfy consumer demands. The provincial program has plans to build up to 70,000 housing units between 1983 and 1990. Even the completion of this very rigid plan will still leave 50,000 adults without any chance of obtaining housing in the near future.

I am convinced that we will not solve this problem until the public realizes that everyone, not only the authorities but all employers and factories, must cooperate in order to improve the housing situation. This would be an excellent way to link the worker with his place of employment. The Lenin Shipyards, the Ship Repair Facility, and the Port Authority in Gdansk are successfully implementing this policy.

[Question] An inaugural meeting of the newly appointed provincial people's council took place in late June. Do you believe that the actual activity of the new advisers can substantially complicate the work of the officials?

[Answer] Supposedly, regional self-management like enterprise self-management, etc., is simply a defined condition which must be taken into

consideration in our work. Only those authorities who usurp the privilege of making fair and just decisions can view this as a restriction. I in turn believe that self-management represents great support for the administrative organs--under the one condition, however that the self-management bodies also feel responsible. This is not only a problem for newly formed groups, since it is much easier to demand something than to be responsible for something.

[Question] Dostoevskiy once said: "Not to recognize one's obligations and simultaneously to demand all rights is dishonest, yet very tempting."

[Answer] Therefore, if we all discuss obligations together with rights, the self-management bodies will not only represent the interests, but also the activities, actions, initiatives, and activism of the electorate.

With regard to your reference to the inaugural session of the provincial people's council, I would like to cite an old Gdansk motto: *Nec temere nec timide*, "without fear and also without impudence." Therefore, moderation is necessary, but with consistency. I believe that this is especially important for us today.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

12229

CSO: 2600/1259

GENERAL LUKASIK, PZPR POZNAN CHIEF, DISCUSSES LOCAL PROBLEMS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 33, 18 Aug 84 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Brig Gen Edward Lukasik, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Poznan, by Marek Henzler: "We Should Have Courage"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] What cities should Poznan belong with on the political map of the country?

[Answer] With the most difficult ones. For some, this immediately conjures up "running [wild] in the streets," but this is not the point. I mean political work, and from that point of view this city is a difficult one due to the full slate of communities you need to work with and the problems you have to solve. The working class at large industrial enterprises, not necessarily the Cegielski Plant, is numerous; there is a large scientific community, a lot of students and cultural workers.

It should also be remembered that Poznan is associated with the events of June 1956. Still, there are tendencies to play up this date politically. However, for a long while nothing bad has occurred in this city on the background of these events due to the intelligence of Poznan residents and, perhaps, also due to our political work.

[Question] Why are you not wearing your general's uniform?

[Answer] It would not be true to say that I do not wear it at all. However, I noticed here, in the PZPR Provincial Committee, that during conversations with others the uniform brings about a somewhat restrictive atmosphere and a certain distance (this is not the case with all people, of course). As far as I am concerned, I appreciate natural direct contacts without unnecessary embarrassment.

[Question] You have been entrusted with the responsibilities of Provincial Committee secretary in a particular period for the country and the party, the period of martial law. Do you consider yourself to be "brought in a briefcase"?

[Answer] When I assumed these responsibilities, I had been a member of the executive board of the Provincial Committee for the third term. I have been associated with Poznan for 10 years; among other things, I headed the political department of the air force in this city. Therefore, it is difficult to regard me as a person "brought in a briefcase." The form in which I came, not by election, but by the decision of the Politburo of the PZPR, was characteristic of that time. Certain affairs in the country, the state and also the party were being put in order. At that time I assumed the post by virtue of a special instruction on leading the party, which was in effect in that difficult period.

[Question] It was stressed in the materials of the last report and election conference that in Poznan Province this instruction has not been used.

[Answer] Yes, with the exception of my case. Let us make no secret of it, the Politburo decisions were made with mixed feelings. However, at no meeting, of which I had quite a lot, and not necessarily in the Cegielski Plant, has my person been called into question. This was my initial asset in this position, and I have been trying not to lose it. During the last secret elections for first secretary of the Provincial Committee, only 10 delegates out of 400 struck me out.

[Question] Did you make changes in the party apparatus which you found upon assuming the post at the Provincial Committee? Your predecessor was accused of that. Following your nomination, someone wrote to our newspaper that you put the Poznan Committee at attention.

[Answer] I do not favor changes just because a new person comes around. Every change must be justified and must serve some purpose. Some of those who thought that they would not be able to work under the new arrangement have left. I respect them for leaving in that fashion. There were also those who have left in a different way, including the ones who had intended to leave earlier. However, in total this amounts to mere cosmetic measures. More significant changes were introduced only in the course of the reports and elections campaign in the party.

However, throughout the history of our people's state, the armed forces, in line with their class essence and function, have never presumed the right to put society or the party at attention. They always have and are carrying out a service function for the people and the socialist state. The state of martial law was introduced only for as long as needed and only with a view to create conditions for the normal functioning of both the state and the party. Only an internally united party can discharge its function adequately. Burning the energy of party members in internal disputes weakens the party. By that token, it renders the party less efficient in the fight with political adversaries and in playing the leading role in the state and society.

[Question] However, at the same time debates and discussions are an engine of progress....

[Answer] This is also true; after all, we carry on such discussions. Often we are the organizers and instigators in the matter. These, however, are useful constructive discussions which allow us to work out and make optimal decisions and resolutions and also to elucidate the problems discussed.

[Question] Can such discussions be conducted sincerely, without the threat of being labeled right or left, especially in the ideological sphere?

[Answer] Currently, I do not encounter such labels; this is a matter of the past. Now, there are no incongruities such as in the years 1980 and 1981, when there was a naive belief that the party could be reshaped in a different way, without respecting the universal Marxist-Leninist principles of its functioning under our Polish conditions. At present, we are trying to work in such a way as to implement and prove in practice the correct slogan: "the party is as it used to be, but different."

[Question] Are there any peculiarities in the functioning of the party in individual provinces?

[Answer] In provinces, perhaps none, but in regions such as Great Poland, yes. Some of the regions display a specific condition of inhabitant awareness, resulting from historical experience and certain cultural differences. The party organization is also a reflection of the community in which it operates. On the other hand, it cannot but take into account such special conditions in its work.

[Question] How would you define the traits of the Poznan party organization?

[Answer] There are no such traits, and if someone sees them, they must follow from the traits of the organization's members. It is common to observe that Poznan Province has a higher degree of discipline than elsewhere, greater attention to detail, diligence, frugality, the rationalistic nature of society... and this is true.

[Question] Are these not just myths? After all, there are about 4,000 persons evading work in Poznan Province, about 3,000 compulsive alcoholics and about 500 drug addicts. Products of the provinces have also been losing quality marks...

[Answer] The traditional good traits of Poznan do exist, though maybe not on the scale we would like to see or the one which is commonly ascribed to them. We propagate and spread such traits through our political work. On this basis, resulting from the history of Great Poland, the party organizations are building positive social attitudes, which we need in the entire country, especially at this time.

[Question] The years 1980 and 1981 passed rather quietly in Poznan. What strikes occurred were of a warning or solidarity nature?

[Answer] The residents of Poznan think twice before doing anything. They are not in the habit of harming themselves and their community by, among other things, strikes. This is why the social turmoil of those years was not quite as drastic here.

[Question] From the window of your office one can see a memorial to June 1956. Its name, "Unity," is symptomatic. At present, what is the status of social unity?

[Answer] There was a period when we made ourselves believe in the seemingly existing moral-political unity of the people. This was not the case. Today, we have still fewer reasons to talk about such unity. Our society is what it is. Some people unambiguously come out in favor of socialist power, there are those who are waiting, indifferent or lost and, let us make no secret of it, some are against us. The divisions in the society of Poznan parallel those in the country at large. The tasks for party work, which follow from that, are to win over an increasing number of supporters for the only correct policy adopted by the Ninth PZPR Congress. This requires time and arguments.

[Question] What conclusions can be made after the voter turnout at the last elections to people's councils has been analyzed?

[Answer] An overwhelming majority of the population came out in favor of the present political system, of the peaceful process of stabilization and of understanding. Voter turnout was higher in the province, outside of Poznan. It came up to 82 through 85 percent and in some districts was as high as 90 percent. It was lower in Poznan, which we, after all, expected. Here we have a very varied community; at this stage, some people are not yet inclined to accept our reality. The pressure exerted by centers of foreign propaganda and certain communities in the country was also a factor. However, the final results of the elections to people's councils are undoubtedly an indication of normalization in our political life.

[Question] Is the party organization of the province already regaining its numerical strength?

[Answer] We have already registered stabilization in membership, and at present are 90,000 strong. The efforts to build the party ranks, especially among the workers and peasants, are one of the important tasks of party organizations. Many of the workers and peasants are now deciding to join the party. The inertia of some organizations in this sphere cannot be explained solely by the alleged concern with the quality of party ranks. More concern should also be shown for party members who have left their parent POPs [basic party organizations] due to retirement. What I mean is the need to promote the activity of territorial party organizations. It has been suggested that an institution of honorary party members be introduced for those who cannot take part in the internal life of the party due to an illness. This issue may be resolved by the forthcoming congress.

[Question] What is the most difficult for you in your current political work?

[Answer] Political work mainly consists of difficulties... after all, easy issues are not to be resolved or are not taken to party echelons. It should be that way, because in the worst case one may once again come to believe that there are no problems. There are various examples: political, economic, purely human, for example, the housing conditions of many citizens, housing construction, interpersonal relations in enterprises and organizations; even problems with our good agriculture, with the supply of implements and water for it, which was the main topic touched upon at pre-election meetings.

[Question] At these meetings, did the issue of the so-called "Poznan trough" come up (i.e., the construction of brown coal mines in the vicinity of Poznan, which would put in jeopardy the agriculture of the province, already affected by the steppe transformation of soil)?

[Answer] There still were some echoes. However, nobody discusses the mining of these deposits now.

[Question] In the Supply Enterprise of the Garment Industry, the Provincial Committee dissolved the party organization and suspended individual memberships. Are such decisions frequent?

[Answer] This was a precedent. However, if everything is to be based on words and declarations, one should also have the courage to take even such drastic action when justified.

[Question] What was the reason for this action?

[Answer] Abuses, which are under investigation by law enforcement organs, and moral and ethical problems with a part of the work force. Many party members from this organization are involved in these matters. As a result, the organization turned out to be incapable of fulfilling its statutory responsibilities and had to be dissolved.

[Question] At this year's reports and elections conference in Poznan, the Provincial Commission of Party Control indicated that local structures were being recreated. On the other hand, the state of martial law was to break such structures. Is it possible that local structures are an inherent part of politics, social and economic life? May it be that they are unavoidable? At present, when things have quieted down somewhat, a recurrence is underway, because it seems to some people that the old ways can be brought back again.

[Answer] The party must do everything in order to counteract efficiently these negative tendencies and prevent them, as well to respond sharply to their manifestations. The search for a mechanism of such counteraction is constantly ongoing, currently, in the discussion on the guidelines for setting up the worker-peasant inspection and its operation.

[Question] A couple of years ago we carried out a large propaganda action under the slogan of setting up social control committees. Their activity resulted in practically nothing. What guarantees do we have that this will not happen to the inspection?

[Answer] The committees of social control were set up without adequate prior preparation, quite spontaneously, with signs of spectacular activity, under the slogan of letting the people have something. The very idea of this initiative, though, was in my estimation highly desirable.

[Question] Why should not the inspection be considered something spectacular?

[Answer] This will depend on the form the inspection will assume, because by itself the slogan "worker-peasant inspection" does not accomplish anything. It must have executive rights, and at the same time it must operate in accordance with the law. There should be concrete results of this activity. Otherwise, nothing will be accomplished. In that case, the inspection will share the fate of committees of social control, and we cannot let that happen. This is why the consultation on the guidelines for setting it up and its operation is so extensive.

[Question] The acronym for the worker-peasant inspection is IRCHA [also "chamois" in Polish]. One uses chamois to wipe one's glasses clean. Is the "chamois" supposed to wipe clean the glasses of authorities, so the latter can see better?

[Answer] This is also needed; however, this is not its only function.

[Question] At the last "workers" plenum of the Central Committee and in the discussions which followed certain accents appeared which can be defined as anti-intellectual. Educators have been blamed for bringing up young people in this rather than a different way. It has been suggested that certain institutions of higher learning be dissolved. Even the idea of inspection, its very name, as if it negated the role of intelligentsia. I exaggerate on purpose, but...

[Answer] Undoubtedly, this is an exaggeration of the problem. Any sensible person knows that no modern state can operate and develop without the intelligentsia. Its contribution to the comprehensive development of our people's motherland is tremendous. I am convinced that an overwhelming majority of the working class sees it that way. However, the bad developments at the fringes of certain intelligentsia communities, mainly in the institutions of higher learning, as well as the unfavorable phenomena in the private sector of our economy upset the working class.

[Question] Speaking of that sector: does not this amount to looking for a substitute enemy in a situation where it is difficult to justify your own inefficiency and sloppy work?

[Answer] We have so many genuine enemies that we do not have to look for substitutes. This is not venting one's ill feelings, either. The workers

are offended by the disparity in the living standard. The unfavorable tendency to generalize also adds to this.

[Question] The PZPR reports and elections campaign has passed; elections in colleges are over, as are the elections to people's councils. The peak of celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the PRL is behind us. Are we in a period of political vacations?

[Answer] There can be no vacations in the sphere of ideology, or of politics and economics. At least, we need to propagate the party resolutions adopted at the National Conference of Delegates and the 16th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, and to consider how they should be applied locally.

[Question] How would you evaluate the efficiency of party activity in Poznan Province?

[Answer] There are no precise measures of efficiency of party work. What we have are only certain symptoms associated with various situations. The results are apparent if we look through the prism of social attitudes. Things are much quieter. Mass participation in the May Day parade, the results of elections to people's councils and the good atmosphere around them do convey a message. For a long while, we have not had a major incident in enterprises, where discussions, even on such important topics as the new remuneration systems, are proceeding in a sensible and logical fashion, without negative emotions. The growth of industrial output and labor productivity is slow, but consistent.

[Question] Until January 1982, the Forum of Political Thought, on the one hand, and the Forum of Communists, on the other hand, operated at the Poznan party echelon. Are there still manifestations of some ideological controversies dating back to that time?

[Answer] A majority of individuals involved in these bodies have verified their positions and their view of our reality. Sometimes something surfaces around the edges, on the margins, but the scope of it does not give rise to concern. In general, we try to accord each party member an opportunity to speak his mind fully on any topic. You may not believe me, but, for example, I did not know in advance the texts of presentations by Poznan workers at the Lodz plenum, though I had had such offers...

[Question] Offers coming from whom?

[Answer] From some of the workers.

[Question] Would this be passing the buck on their part?

[Answer] Not passing the buck, but rather a desire to prove to themselves the correctness of what they were doing or what they wanted to say. This is human, but this is not what everyone does.

[Question] It has been 3 years since the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress ended. From among many voices heard on that occasion, an article in TRYBUNA LUDU advocating the principle of rotation in positions of authority introduced into the Party Statute at that congress evoked much interest. Is there a tendency toward modifying this principle?

[Answer] I would not call this a tendency, but rather a discussion on whether a wholesale change of secretaries with all the ensuing consequences will be caused in the party by adhering to this principle stringently. I am a career officer, and my work in a civilian military echelon is but an episode, however essential it may be. I have no personal stake in keeping or removing the principle of rotation in the party. It is my feeling that the principle of rotation is correct. Staying put does not bring a person glory, to say nothing of its other negative consequences. However, life is often richer than intentions and even correct principles. It follows from our analysis that a majority of the first secretaries at the basic level should resign their posts in the next reports and elections campaign in our province. But there should be exceptions. Indeed, this is allowed by the statute.

[Question] And what if the exceptions turn into a rule?

[Answer] Exceptions should only bear the rule out.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

9761
CSO: 2600/1244

CONTROVERSIAL STAND TAKEN BY PROFESSOR REGARDING 'THE OPPOSITION'

AU141853 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Aug 84 p 3

[Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz article: "Agreements and 'Agreements' Viewed by an Individual"; first two paragraphs are ZYCIE WARSZAWY introduction]

[Excerpts] Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz's article, which we are publishing here, discusses the issue of agreement, which is a basic issue for all of us. Professor Kozakiewicz presents this issue against the background of the 1980 August anniversary.

We regard some views and evaluations presented in this article as controversial, but we think that they will interest our readers and will help expand a constructive and realistic dialogue.

The ZYCIE WARSZAWY editorial staff has invited me to answer the question of how I evaluate the situation of national agreement against the background of the 1980 August accords. Openly proclaiming the truth, even the truth that is quite obvious in the light of the 1980-84 experience, is now very unpopular in our country and can result in condemnation from all sides.

That is why it was reckless on the part of the editorial staff to ask me that question and even more reckless on my part to agree to answer it. Nevertheless, I think that I should accept the risks involved, regardless of what they may prove to be for me.

Although the government has so many times reaffirmed its determination to honor the August 1980 accords, including those over and above our economic potential, as ascertained by both our and foreign economists and other scientists, the climate of distrust has continued to recede very slowly and the climate of national agreement has continued to develop very slowly. The chasm between those in government and those governed has also continued to close up very slowly. Why?

I think that aside from the continuing difficult living conditions, three main factors have been responsible for hindering the process of agreement: 1) the dissolution of Solidarity, 2) the dissolution of the other trade unions, martial law repressions, and the resulting imprisonment of people for political motives, and 3) the still inadequate strength and credibility of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON].

I wish to state in advance that I am not out to seek the "guilty people," because in the situations marked by extreme conflicts "guilt" or rather "responsibility" is shared as a rule by both sides.

The oppositionists see the dissolution of Solidarity as principal proof that the government has not honored the accord on establishing independent and self-governing trade unions. At the same time, the authorities blame Solidarity leaders for having themselves forced the government to dissolve their organization because they turned it into a "social movement" and, in fact, into an aggressive political force, which continued to attack the state system with increasing clarity.

Martial law, which took an astonishingly mild course, as even foreign observers admit, was bound to create dramatic events that have imprinted themselves in a dramatic way on the awareness of many people. Thousands of people were interned, arrested, and, in part, sentenced. Such treatment was felt painfully by the people concerned and by their relatives and friends. We have to look this truth square in the eye. At the same time, everyone was interested in the fact that the martial law events produced a group of people imprisoned for their political convictions and in the fact that this group, which involved fewer than 700 people, was released from penitentiaries by the amnesty proclaimed on the 40th anniversary of People's Poland. The imprisonment of these people was a moral hindrance for the authorities and all our people. This truth cannot be changed by the fact that the opposition claims that those prisoners were jailed for their own political convictions, while the authorities claim that they were jailed for their political actions, which were in conflict with the law. That moral hindrance has made it difficult for the two sides to make progress in dialogue and agreement. The complete and unlimited amnesty has courageously removed this hindrance.

We had great hopes for PRON when it was set up. PRON is expected to create a platform for free discussions and dialogue among people with differing views and philosophies; to speak for a majority of our citizens who are not politically organized; to increase their influence on the course of central and local affairs; and to organize valuable public initiatives undertaken by people for their own good, despite, the differences dividing them. This is not the place to evaluate PRON's achievements in detail. There is no doubt that people would differ in such an evaluation. One thing is certain: Considering our needs, PRON's progress in promoting agreement is still inadequate. I think this is due to two factors: The boycott of PRON ordered by the opposition and the distrust in and distance to it on the part of many opinion-making communities. These two factors are responsible for the fact that PRON is without many important persons who are respected in their communities, voivodships, and the country as a whole and whose authority and names could have multiplied many times over the public popularity and significance of PRON as well as its voice vis-a-vis the authorities. The other factor, which I can mention only in passing, was the errors committed in the organization of PRON and the poor service in meeting people know what really takes place within PRON. All these factors are reasons why PRON has as yet failed to cross the barrier of prejudice and distrust and to convincingly demonstrate for many communities that it is an autonomous and credible movement. That is why its image is darker for many opposition sections of our people than it really is.

The amnesty has been made possible by the progressive stabilization of the country, by public calm, by slowly stabilizing the situation in the shops. In addition, almost 60 percent of workers have joined trade unions and a good majority of our people voted in the elections to the people's councils. These elections and the amnesty have created a special opportunity to make essential progress in national agreement. However, we should realize that nothing will happen by itself in this regard. The release of 700 political prisoners calls for some concepts with an eye on the future on the part of the released and of those who released them. The amnesty has not solved the problem of opposition in Poland. Side by side with those amnestied, there exists in our country a large number of active oppositionists who have not been jailed, and the number of those who express their distrust and criticism by passivity, by refusing to participate in public activity, and by avoiding dialogue is even larger. These people hail mostly from the intelligentsia communities. The position and prospects of all these people vary from case to case. It is necessary to do everything possible so that these prospects evolve in the direction of agreement. Those who have benefited by the amnesty have several "lost years" to their names. What thoughts and intentions do they harbor after they have left behind their isolation? What conclusions will they reach by having observed the changes in society and in the world? Will they want to fight for something or will they continue to oppose something?

The new situation created by the amnesty also demands that the authorities devise a concept for the future. Two dangerous illusions may destroy the opportunities created by the amnesty. The one illusion is that in the present domestic and international situation and in view of the experience of the past few years, one can count on the reinstatement of Solidarity. The other illusion is that it is possible to expect all the people committed to political activities to shelve their political ambitions and convictions and to calmly pursue their occupational or scientific work as if they have never lived through those 4 years full of hopes, disappointments, ascents and falls. It seems to me of fundamental importance to devise conditions under which the different views and attitudes of such individuals could be stimulated and made to work for the good of the people and their destructive energies could be turned into constructive energies so that they may participate in creating our national assets under socialist constitutional conditions, but without having to renounce their own differing attitudes. For the reasons already mentioned, PRON will not be a proper place for many people in opposition. It is necessary to create new places and opportunities outside of PRON for the people who do not want to join PRON, but who want to shake off their isolation and the state of sterile negation.

We should not be afraid of opposition. We should learn to live with it. I know that, following the traumas contracted by the authorities and the opposition during the 1980 events, it will not be easy to go for a new pattern of relations. There is no doubt that the opposition includes the people who will never agree to a new setup of the relations, because they continue to believe in the poker philosophy of "all or nothing." I am convinced that they are outnumbered by the people who have learned from past events and errors, and that we must not reject these people. What we must do is to allow them to choose their own forms of legal participation in public life.

If the two sides fail to work out new concepts free from myths and if either side chooses to begin its activities exactly at the place and in the manner of 2 or 3 years ago, we will soon be back at square one and the great opportunity created by the amnesty will be wasted.

CSO: 2600/1293

EDUCATION MINISTER COMMENTS ON PROGRESS OF REFORM

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Aug 84 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Boleslaw Faron, minister of education and upbringing, by Danuta Drachal (PAP): "Coping With Modern Society's Requirements"]

[Text] The beginning of the new 1984-85 school year presented the opportunity for a PAP reporter to obtain a few answers from Boleslaw Faron, minister of education and upbringing, regarding problems encountered within the country's younger generation's education system.

[Question] What new developments are in store for our youth and their educators?

[Answer] This traditional question presents itself at the beginning of each school year. Because of this, my answer may be somewhat of a disappointment, since we do not anticipate any major changes. The last 4 years abounded in decisions involving the organization of school programs and establishment of student upbringing methods. Among these were new regulations dealing with the evaluation and promotion of students, reinstatement of high school entrance examinations, raising graduation examination requirement levels, implementing better methods for the operation of education councils, and acting upon a series of other problems.

We are resolving the school reform program consistently. This year it will be carried out to the seventh grade. In another 2 years, program and organizational changes will be introduced at the intermediate school level. All of the programs mentioned will tend to advance the education and training levels of the younger children and teenagers.

It is time for us to start benefiting from these projects while maintaining a conservative attitude. We must determine what actually can be accomplished more efficiently or what has to be changed or corrected. It will take some time to bring the school system to its full potential. To my way of thinking, conditions now appear favorable for this to happen.

[Question] You have mentioned program reforms. Would you kindly give a short summary revealing the basics of their nature?

[Answer] Four fundamental elements characterize the direction these changes will follow. They will depend upon: an accurate evaluation of the social and educational role of the school system in the overall national educational system; an updated definition of scholastic and upbringing objectives, the principles by which schools function, and the criteria for the selection of material for educational and upbringing processes; the modernization and formulation of educational and upbringing program profiles which will be suitable to progress made in the individual disciplines and requirements of the pedagogical and psychological sciences; as well as improvements of methods, forms and resources used in implementing educational and upbringing tasks.

New programs are the subject of unending discussions. Much attention is given to these problems, and the criticism is often on target, although not totally justified in all instances.

[Question] While on the subject, would you be kind enough to give a hint as to how fundamental trends are being implemented?

[Answer] Our studies of these modifications show significant activity at many schools. They are searching for more positive solutions dealing with problems encountered in their children and youth upbringing programs. There are, however, some facilities that have taken our concepts in too formal a manner. It should be understood that attitudes of this sort will continue to be closely scrutinized.

[Question] What can you tell us about vocational education?

[Answer] We are entering a period of intensive reorganization in this branch of education. We are focusing a large number of legislative programs in that direction. Recently, the government presented the Sejm with a draft to update the law of 1961, which in part regulates the vocational school system. The Ministry of Education is to act as coordinator. These activities are also intended to induce industry and individual ministries to demonstrate more diligence and sense of responsibility in the training of skilled personnel, which has been faltering in the first month of the economic reform. It is unnecessary to add that we have great faith in the future of vocational education.

[Question] On 1 September 1984, changes at the basic level of educational administration will take effect. Upon what will they be based and what can the resulting improvements be expected to be?

[Answer] They will be the outcome of resolutions of the law dealing with the system of people's councils and territorial self-government. In the light of this law, the position of the gmina school director is eliminated and is replaced by the gmina education inspector, whose responsibilities and aims are educational guidance at this level. The post of gmina school director combined the functions of director, teacher and administrator. This role has now been split up.

In Siedlce Province, in place of gmina education inspectors, regional education inspectors were appointed to administer authority over several gminas. It is my opinion that this constitutes sensible staff management. It seems even more practical when you consider that generally the functions of gmina education inspector encompass those performed by the former gmina school directors, thereby by experienced educators, who as a matter of fact are in short supply.

[Question] What is the current situation involving the educational staff, which has been quite troublesome recently?

[Answer] This year we have 23,000 graduates from various fields of the teaching profession. From this number we were able to recruit 12,000 graduates from higher academic institutions. We presently have the first group of 3,000 qualified elementary school teachers in whom we place great hope, since they will strengthen schools in the countryside. A large number of retired teachers have gone back to work part-time.

We notice generally the favorable phenomenon of increased interest in working in schools and the teaching profession. Contributing to this significantly is a consistent implementation of the Teachers Charter, an expression of which is the introduction on 1 September of this year of a new stage in the regulation of teachers' salaries.

All of these facts give us reason to believe that with the oncoming school year we will be able to reduce the number of teachers lacking the required teaching qualifications. The main obstacle in hiring teachers, especially in the country, where they are needed the most, is the scarcity of living quarters for them. We must admit, however, that these problems are presently receiving much more attention than in the past.

[Question] Regarding the subject of school facilities, are there any hopes for improvement?

[Answer] The shortage of school facilities is well-known. They are the result of building program deficiencies which had accumulated during past years, and an increase in the birth rate. In the coming school year we will have nearly 130,000 additional students.

Optimistic forecasts are drawn for the future based upon the government's educational funding program. We are concerned at this time, however, about the school capital expenditure release schedule. Of this year's planned 230 new preschool facilities, only 36 have been made available for this semester. Of the 137 elementary schools, only 16 have been completed. This situation must be the cause of much anxiety.

We have great hope for the effectiveness of PRON's appeal to the public for their help in the school dilemma. Up to this time, there has been much more favorable acceptance by the small settlements, while the larger aggregations, where needs are the greatest, especially in the new residential areas, have shown much less enthusiasm. This attitude will most likely change.

Incidentally I would like to add that in some of the provinces, for instance Szczecin, disturbing tendencies have surfaced to divert education facilities to other uses. It behooves us constantly to remind ourselves that in the year 1990 we will have 1.3 million more children in school than we had in 1980.

In conclusion, I would like to refer to another, somewhat different set of problems, namely, to cooperation with the Polish Teachers Union. In June of this year an agreement on the principles of cooperation was signed between state authorities and the union. I expect it to have great significance for future cooperative dealings. I must admit that the Polish Teachers Union is quite a demanding but also a dependable and honest partner. Without neglecting the socioexistential difficulties, it continues to allocate more time to affairs related to socialist school teaching and upbringing.

Returning to the beginning of our conversation, I would like to add that all of the discussed changes in our school system constitute but a preliminary outline of an attempt to bring the Polish school system into conformity with its projected plan of transformation.

The ministry intends to create a body of eminent scholastic specialists who, on the basis of research and practical experience, would develop an outline for a Polish educational system reflective of the 21st century. I believe that it would be appropriate in these strivings to utilize the experts' report of the early 1970's. Many of the ideas and much of the expertise contained in it could serve the new proposals well.

12306

CSO: 2600/1242

PRON ANALYZES SOLIDARITY REMNANTS

AU121406 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Sep 84 p 4

[Zbigniew Siedlecki article: "The Offer Is Still Open"]

[Excerpts] The summer of 1984 brought with it events that contribute to the straightening out in people's minds of many important factors concerning our country's internal situation. I am, above all, referring to the results of the elections to the people's councils and the results of the amnesty that was proclaimed on the 40th anniversary of the July Manifesto.

There were some 8-9 million Solidarity members, according to estimates, that is, according to uncertain data. A large number of them became disappointed and left it. This process had already started following the Solidarity congress. Some of them continued their activities in the underground and some even do so now. However, the majority remained in a state of abeyance between the underground, by which it no longer allows itself to be swayed, and the authorities, whom it still cannot resolve to support fully, though, as the results of the peoples' councils elections show, these people are already mellowing toward participating in public affairs.

It is this large and important group--which had various grudges, questions, doubts and hopes--that after the amnesty started looking this way and that. Will, for example, the people who they regarded some 3 years ago as being their leaders and who have now been released, manage to explain the disaster that they brought upon Solidarity? Will they be able to make programmatic proposals that could be compared with the program of social and economic reforms that was worked out after the Ninth PZPR Congress? This is doubtful, because even if by analyzing the reasons for the disaster they will ascertain that the goal they had in 1981--that is, gaining power--was unrealistic, then the question remains whether they have the courage to conclude that their attempt to implement this goal could not have resulted in anything else other than a civil war and the destabilization of a country that is an important part of the socialist camp. Could they not have concluded, that, regardless of their intentions, these activities were at odds with Poland's state interests while they were, on the other hand, concurrent with the interests of U.S. imperialist policies? Or will they be able to say that in struggling with the authorities for power they increased the number of obstacles on the road to socialist renewal, the program for which was put together by the Ninth PZPR Congress? As a result of this,

this group lost the chance it then had of harmoniously conducting the democratization process of public affairs and, at the same time, of uniting various Polish political alignments in the attempt to emerge from the crisis and make up for the backward nature of or economic development? After all, by making an honest and deeply grounded assessment, we will see ourselves as politicians who are not only incapable of pulling the country up, but even of shouldering the burden of responsibility for the nation's fate.

It was not I who thought up these questions and doubts. I only collected them by following the bourgeois press and foreign Polish language radio stations' discussions and the disputes that go on among circles of opposition followers and sympathizers.

That is looking at it one way, and how about the other way? Some former Solidarity members look in this other direction with the belief that the amnesty should be accompanied by more steps in the direction of conciliation and national accord as well as the consolidation of dialogue with representatives of various factions.

These are warranted expectations--if they concern the development of socialist democracy and policies of openness and readiness to cooperate for the good of the country with everyone who respects the principles of constitutional order, and therefore, if they concern the effects of the consistent implementation of the Ninth PZPR Congress policy lines. However, we still have to deal with attempts by the opposition to take over these expectations by trying to make the public believe that the authorities were forced to proclaim an amnesty by the strong internal and external pressure that was exerted on them, that it is their duty to take these steps, and that their eagerness for accord should be expressed by their undertaking a dialogue with opposition representatives. The opposition still wants to be placed in the position of a partner by the authorities, a partner with whom it is necessary to talk in order to negotiate an agreement.

The point is that one cannot announce that one is a partner, one can simply only be a partner. In this particular case, it means that one must have the support of the people at one's disposal. After all, from 1982, attempts to demonstrate this support by leading people out on the streets testified to something else--their constant reduction of their ability to rally the masses. This was sealed with the fiasco of the election boycott, and that at a time when it was not active but passive support that was clearly needed in refraining from voting. But what is an imaginary partner worth, one from whom you get nothing although he agrees with everything?

Some 3 years ago the antisocialist opposition that managed to grasp the chance of steering the mass Solidarity movement ignored the results of the Ninth PZPR Congress. It behaved as though it had never heard of the Congress, and it was precisely this way of looking at things, of passing over the achievements of the Ninth PZPR Congress as being insignificant, that was imposed on Solidarity. This was probably the greatest example of manipulating the consciousness of the masses in the history of recent years; and its effects were tragic, because ignoring the content of the socialist renewal and accepting world-shattering illusions as facts was bound to lead to a catastrophic clash with reality.

A similar situation came about less than 2 years later. This time, an attempt was made not so much as to ignore the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] which was then being created, but to discredit it without discussing its programmatic assumptions and then making it a duty to boycott it--to boycott it as both a movement that brings together the political and moral content of the patriotic-progressive streams in our history, especially the heroic period during which we were fighting against the Nazi invader and reconstructing the country from its wartime destruction, as well as to boycott it as a forum for dialogue.

This attempt was successful only partially and in the short run, partly because PRON did, after all, set itself up and started to work, although it had to do so with the support of a smaller social base than its creators expected; and this was only in the short term, because time has been working in PRON's favor. The offer that PRON has made to everyone who professes constitutional principles and is looking for a field for his social and political activities still remains open.

Everyone who can soberly assess the balance of political forces in Poland in 1984 knows that only disappointment awaits those who are deluding themselves that the party or the government will propose another alternative as a further step following the amnesty, other than the offer made by PRON. For what more can it do other than assure everyone, irrespective of where he came from, the chance of developing his social and political activeness for the good of the country? This goes without suggesting to anyone that they should renounce their world outlook or ideological identity or even--here I am using an expression that was made up by the opposition--come over "on bended knees."

Of course, the offer can (and should) be extended and enriched with new possibilities. The next plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee, which is now being prepared and is dedicated to issues concerning the development of socialist democracy, will certainly contribute to this. One should also suspect the further activation of PRON, whose activists--those who test out the ground and then hesitate before they make contact--should do considerably more in this direction than they have up to now.

CSO: 2600/1291

FAILURES OF SOLIDARITY EMPHASIZED

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 37, 12 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by Jan Rem: "On Holzer's Book"]

[Text] Solidarity used to call for the rectification of history. Historians attached to this organization however do not attempt to humiliate or embarrass their political opponents by practicing objectivity. The only thing the opposition wants to do is to rectify somebody else's history and fill it with facts and interpretations supporting those political views which it wants to popularize.

A strongly apologetic book on Solidarity's history has already been written. That which is inconvenient has been avoided, and blanks have been left. The facts have been so arranged that they support the political views of the author. The fanatics of the truth, including professional historians such as Jerzy Holzer are not filled with indignation at such practices. Giedroyc, who lives near Paris, has recently published Holzer's book entitled "Solidarnosc 1980-81 geneza i historia" (Solidarity 1980-1981, Origins and History) which has been dedicated, by the author, to those killed, imprisoned, dismissed from work and persecuted. Quite correctly, Holzer left out dedications to those who remember and those who think.

The editor's note says the book is published without the author's agreement and knowledge. This ritual note means nothing more than that the author lives in Warsaw and does not give up plans for a future scientific career within the structures of the regime. In fact notes saying that a given work is published without the agreement or knowledge of its author inform the reader that cautiousness, hypocrisy and double-dealing are the characteristic features of the authors concerned. I think that the contents of "Solidarnosc 1980-81" is trustworthy only for those who are ready to believe that Mr Jerzy Giedroyc employs burglars in Poland who break into the apartments of writers and scientists and steal their works from locked drawers.

If Mr Jerzy Holzer (an assistant professor or professor, I can't remember) feels like filing a libel suit against me, I think he should first file a suit against the Paris KULTURA for having stolen his work and violated his copyright, win the trial and collect the damages. Should this happen, I will be all too ready to stand accused.

Holzer carefully portrays Solidarity's history but he keeps avoiding those facts particularly embarrassing to this organization, for instance the protest action at Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski during which, in spite of forcible attempts to coerce them to strike, the municipal transport drivers refused to participate in the walkout. Most frequently, however, Holzer mentions the facts but falsifies them by keeping silent about certain important circumstances. For instance when the truth is that Solidarity tortured a branch union leader in one of the mines, that it humiliated him and drove him out of the mine in a wheelbarrow, Holzer only mentions that the man was removed from the mine. He does not say that the reason for the Zielona Gora strike, which embraced the entire Zielona Gora region, was the refusal to relieve a Solidarity leader in a state farm from professional work, since, in accordance with the regulations, he was not entitled to have a full time job in the union. This conflict, unleashed by the organization which had 40,000 other full time employees, brought a whole region to a standstill. Holzer does not explain the pretext for the general university strike caused by the conflict which developed in connection with the rector of the Engineering College in Radom.

The point of this conflict was that, since Solidarity was the losing party in the campaign at the college, it did not want to recognize this democratic election. This should be considered as characteristic fact by those who assess the union's democratic strivings. Never in history has any organization questioned free elections as long as the majority voted for it and the democratic procedure did not complicate its life.

Holzer very rarely explains the arguments of the government in his descriptions of negotiations, between the authorities and the union. For instance, when he says that the miners' Solidarity considered an improvement in food supplies as a condition for greater coal output, he does not explain that it was this Solidarity which rejected the offer of special food supplies for miners but instead demanded a general abundance of food all over Poland as a condition for greater coal production.

As a rule, Holzer leaves out the course of Solidarity National Commissioner's debates, the fights inside the union, and the contents of political speeches by representatives of the confrontation-oriented Solidarity wing. One looks in vain in his book for Walesa's "punching on the jaw." According to Holzer, Rulewski views are extreme since he is impulsive, and Jurczyk talked about gallows for communists because, lacking experience, he listened to a bad advisor.

After 350 pages of facts, Jerzy Holzer devotes a few pages to a synthesis and, as a matter of fact, it is this general evaluation of Solidarity that I want to discuss here.

First, Jerzy Holzer writes, "In the years 1980-81 Solidarity undermines its credibility as Moscow's faithful ally many times." By writing about a faithful ally the historian appears to be somewhat of a humorist, but this is only a problem of style. In this comically diplomatic sentence, Holzer admits that anti-Soviet sentiments dominated Solidarity, but he explains that these were provoked by the Soviet Union itself, which was hostile to Solidarity from its infancy. This is not true.

The first concerned reactions were recorded on the part of the Soviet Union after Solidarity openly and aggressively declared itself against the USSR and manifested its ideological, political and organizational links with anti-communist forces in the West. If Holzer wants to deny this truth, could he quote at least one single Soviet official text in the autumn of 1980 which criticized the August agreements and attacked the birth of the independent trade union movement in Poland? He simply won't find such texts. On the other hand, Holzer himself attributes Solidarity's birth to various post-1945 trends and events directed against the Soviet Union. If he thinks this is so he should avoid saying that Solidarity's anti-Sovietism and its desire to play the role of the fifth column in the socialist camp were provoked and imposed on it. Meanwhile, Solidarity had approved of the alliance with the Soviet Union which was included in the August agreements and which was the cardinal condition of these agreements, broken by the union's leadership.

By choosing the pro-Reagan administration and hostility toward the USSR, Solidarity lost its chance for a permanent existence and development. By accepting anti-Sovietism, Solidarity committed suicide as an organization capable of modifying the structure of public life in socialist Poland, and as a serious political force taking into consideration the interests of the Polish state and the reality in which this union could function. When Solidarity chose the isolation of Poland from the socialist camp as its goal, it became an organization without a chance, and an organization threatening state and national interests. Such an organization could only enjoy being a major influence for a while since it was eaten by cancer, and carried death in its womb. With the passage of time, the authorities only concern was to spare society from the tragic consequences connected with Solidarity's death. When Holzer suggests that Solidarity wanted to be a credible ally of the Soviet Union and desired to use its influence on society to strengthen the ties of Polish-Soviet friendship but simply failed in these objectives, he lies and denies his own statements.

The second problem is connected with the assessment of the PZPR. Holzer writes that the party "lacked the courage to undertake at least fragmentary reforms." This is astonishingly far from the truth. The signing of the August agreements and the permission for Solidarity's functioning were themselves radical reform with far-reaching consequences. The program of the 9th PZPR Congress contained so many reforms that they would suffice for the coming century had the course of developments in Poland not accelerated dramatically.

If improving the system is the proper interpretation of the word "reform" Solidarity did not want any reforms. The reforms called for by the union had an antistate character and were designed to destroy the basis of the socialist system and the state system in Poland. With this objective in mind, Solidarity, which wanted to weaken socialism and not strengthen it, consistently hampered all the feasible and rational reforms. It wanted to lead Poland in a different direction from that desired by the party. Holzer himself calls the movement led by Solidarity a revolution rather than an evolution.

Then Jerzy Holzer poses interesting questions in his inadvertently published book. First: if Solidarity had been more moderate, would it have stood a chance of success? And secondly, would the movement have been successful if it

had been even more radical than it was? Where did the mistake lie--in too much militancy or too much readiness to conciliate? A more self-restricting "revolution," the historian answers, could not achieve its goal, which was to transform the system. If it had checked its momentum, it would have encountered barriers and Solidarity would have been "sucked in" by the system. On the other hand, greater radicalism would have meant nothing short of reaching for power in the state, which would have required an armed struggle. Aspirations of this kind did not enjoy public support, Holzer claims.

This reasoning is convincing. It would be easy to describe the above outlined dilemma in the language of party documents. Solidarity would have had a chance to exist and develop if it had found itself a place within the socialist system and acted in the cause of transformation strengthening this system. Counter-revolution could not be achieved either by peaceful and gradual means nor by violent ones, including armed struggle. So Solidarity lost because it had chosen an incorrect goal, which did not have public support, that being one reason why its leaders did not always formulate this goal openly.

Solidarity attracted 9.5 million members, and achieved great strength and the majority's support, but this support was a reaction to the errors of the 1970's, it was support for a force which would repair the errors and promote reforms within the system. As Solidarity's counterrevolutionary goals became clear and the union became controlled by forces which were intent on changing the system in Poland by diverse means, public support in Poland by diverse means, public support for Solidarity began to wane.

The masses had not yet turned their backs on Solidarity as an institution, but the trust they put in its leadership was beginning to diminish and a vast segment of the public no longer approved of the goals and methods of the union's operation. The majority of the membership opposed strikes, disturbances, the proliferation of demands, and the breaking of negotiations. A sense of uncertainty and anxiety was growing. Holzer to some extent admits this when he mentions the results of polls conducted in the autumn of 1981, in which the majority of the Solidarity membership expressed its opposition to strikes. It is something else that the radical and active minority was able to impose an adventurist course of action on the majority.

Jerzy Holzer avoids asking one very important question: Why did the operation which introduced martial law succeed and why, with one tragic but accidental exception, did it not involve bloodshed? Holzer explains the disinclination to armed struggle of the masses of Solidarity members in the categories which no historian should use, he writes about "abhorrence of fratricidal struggle" and the technical impossibility as the crowd was not armed, while the state had weapons at its disposal. Historians realize that civil wars break out because of political logic, and not because the masses are blood-thirsty or do not abhor bloodshed. Holzer calls Solidarity's political aspirations a revolution; the study of history should have told him, however, that revolutions and counterrevolutions have always occurred in defiance of the armed state apparatus.

The point is simply that there was no revolution in Poland at that time and no mass support for the aspiration to counterrevolution which genuinely characterized Solidarity. That is the only reason why it was possible to impose martial law practically without the use of arms and with only a moderate display of force. Martial law succeeded in terms of a legal and psychological pressure because it was imposed at a time when the masses' support for Solidarity's leadership was decreasing in intensity and scope. Having become disappointed with its policy, the masses were beginning to turn their backs on the union. Soon after 13 December 1981, over two-thirds of the population of the large cities approved of the imposition of martial law, and a large segment hesitated or was indifferent (according to a poll conducted by the OBOP polling center). In the countryside, the scope of approval must have been wider.

At no time in history has any mass movement intent on a coup d'etat and believing itself to have the support of the public considered itself powerless because it was challenging the state apparatus. When the situation is ripe for a revolution, the masses gain access to arsenals of weapons, while the army of a state which has no public support becomes divided or goes over to the other side en masse.

Martial law was introduced in Poland by the army, but this is no supernatural force, simply a body of young Poles with a civic and political awareness knit together by the army organization.

Without resorting to fabrications and myths, historian Holzer simply cannot explain historical events in a way which concurs with the views he professes. In his view, which he shares with his publishers and Solidarity leaders, the system which exists in Poland is an all-embracing system of evil. Nearly all society hates socialism and is forever experimenting with different methods of getting rid of it.

If the evaluation of the actually existing socialism which Holzer presents were justified and his own view were the universal one. Solidarity would not have lost, but won, and any tactic it chose would have led to its success. The imposition of martial law would not have been possible, or at least, it would not have been effective. We would not have been able to terminate the dramatic struggle of 1980-81 in a peaceful way and on our own.

If socialism were the embodiment of evil, if it were generally hated, Soviet intervention would have been out of the question, too. However, Holzer constantly writes about it as a possibility which strengthened the Polish authorities' position in their tussle with Solidarity. No supernatural powers are preserving socialism in the Soviet Union, either. If socialism were what Holzer suggests it is, the intervening armies would seal Anna Walentynowicz's mouth with a passionate kiss and would choose Kuron as their generalissimo.

Jerzy Holzer's book shows that false political assumptions make a historian stretch facts and lead him to mistaken conclusions. I am not claiming that the study of history inspired by the hatred of socialism cannot involve some honesty in the presentation of facts and some intellectual and personal courage. One does not determine the other. So far, however, we have seen no examples of professional honesty among the historians--apologists of Solidarity.

TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY CRITICIZED FOR PUBLISHING POLICY

AU171059 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Sep 84 p 4

[IJerzy A. Salecki article: "About a TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY Publication--The Author Is Unworthy of the Hero"]

[Text] Issue 37 of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY of 9 September carries on page 1 an article on Adam Chmielowski, known as Brother Albert, who was a monk, painter, and, above all, an exceptional human being. Chmielowski's humanity, which was demonstrated by many years of his charitable work among the lonely and deserted, is recorded in the encyclopedias issued in People's Poland and by two editions of Polish postal stamps showing Brother Albert.

It is not surprising that TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY has given prominent attention to a pole living in the 19th and 20th centuries, who has been on the Catholic Church's register of the blessed for over a year now. However, what is surprising is the author, whose memoirs the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY editorial board chose for publication. According to TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, the author is "Archbishop Andrzej Szptycki, Lwow metropolitan bishop of the Greek-Catholic Church."

Those who were children during World War II or who were born after the war and who may read "The Reminiscences About Brother Albert" know nothing about the name of Andrzej Szeptycki, whose title impresses them and inspires with trust. In an introduction to those "Memoirs," Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki stresses the "friendship and mutual understanding" as well as "godly love" between that humble monk and the dignitary of the Greek-Catholic Church. When one reads that introduction one cannot help concluding that TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY presents memoirs written by a humanitarian, upright human being, and Pole about another humanitarian, upright human being, and Pole. But the facts tell us a different story.

Count Andrzej Roman Szptycki, who lived between 1865 and 1944, was metropolitan bishop of Lwow and Halicz, a member of the Chamber of Gentlemen of the Austrian Empire between 1901 and 1918, and a deputy to the Sejm of Galicia and marshal of this Sejm between 1902 and 1918, had the worst possible record during Poland's most recent history. Although he was a grandson of Aleksander Fredro [a 19th century Polish playwright] and a brother of Polish General Stanislaw Szeptycki, he was regarded for most correct reasons as a leading spokesman of extreme Ukrainian anticommunist and anti-Polish chauvinism and nationalism.

Archbishop Szeptycki's political activities during the Hitlerite occupation were too rich in events for all of them to be cited in this article. Let us cite only the most prominent ones. On 30 June 1941--8 days after the USSR had been attacked by the Third Reich--the Hitlerites occupied Lwow together with the Ukrainian fascists from the group led by Stecko, who proclaimed the "independence of the Ukraine" and was elected "premier." When the Hitlerites murdered Polish intellectuals, including a group of professors headed by Stefan Banach and Tadeusz Boy-Zelenski, Archbishop Szeptycki published a pastoral letter with a blessing for Stecko's "government," the first proclamation of which ended in the words: "Long live the free Ukraine! Long live the great German Reich and its leader Adolf Hitler!"

In February 1942 the Ukrainian nationalists addressed a memorandum direct to Hitler, assuring him of their loyalty and willingness to wage a joint struggle for the "German order in the East" and "a new order in Europe." Archbishop Szeptycki was the first to sign this memorandum.

On 28 April 1943 SZ Brigadefuehrer Dr Waechter, who was governor of Lwow, announced the setting up of the "Galician SS Division of Riflemen, in which young Ukrainian men will be able to fight against the Bolsheviks." A meeting in the governor's headquarters was followed by a solemn mass in the local cathedral. The mass was celebrated by Bishop Dr Jozef Slipyj, who was Archbishop Szeptycki's deputy. Reverend Wasyl Laba said in his sermon, among other things, that the setting up of the SS Division "Galizien" and its fight against the Soviet Army was a cause "entrusted to us by God in the same way that he entrusted a cause to the knights of the cross at one time. This is a Godly cause and we will embrace it...."

The SS "Galizien" bandits murdered tens of thousands of Poles, Jews, Ukrainians and Russians, both peaceful people in the street and members of the resistance movement. Archbishop Szeptycki's blessings for Hitler and his army as well as for Stecko's "Government" and the active participation of his aides in the establishment of the SS Division "Galizien" are the facts which need no commentary. We could cite more such facts.

There are competent and incompetent authors and there are authors worth publishing and those who are not. A Hitlerite servant, who was an enemy of the Polish and Ukrainian peoples, is not worthy of any remembrance, no matter who he was. He is especially unworthy of any remembrance when some like Brother Albert is involved, who was a Pole, a humanitarian, a citizen and a human being.

CSO: 2600/1292

COMMENTS ON BANISHMENT CRITICIZED

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 38, 16 Sep 84 p 1

[Article: "Non Possumus"]

[Text] The PAP report on government spokesman Jerzy Urban's press conference on 4 September was published both in ZYCIE WARSZAWY and RZECZPOSPOLITA. You can read there a statement that Jerzy Urban made in the context of the government initiative to amend the penal law. We learn from it that "some experts on penal law have also proposed that consideration be given to the possibility of introducing new penalties to the penal code, such as stripping people of their civic rights and banishment for a definite period of time for people who have committed serious offenses against the state resulting from habitual disrespect for the Constitution." So, according to Minister Urban "experts have proposed that consideration be given to the possibility..." In the next line of the above quoted report we read that "experts (...) want to have this possibility discussed..." Well, there has been some possibility, then. Although the discussion, reportedly, "has not gotten further than preliminary considerations," nevertheless concrete proposals on the penalty of banishment have been made ("if the experts' proposals..."). What is more, we learn of preliminary decisions made in this regard-- "the possibility of banishing certain people from Poland for a period defined by the courts may become realistic." Who has said this, where and when? "Certain non-European countries are ready to accept, on certain definite terms, people banished from Poland."

This way of informing the public about extremely important matters which could have serious consequences is totally illogical and makes a mockery of public opinion. The arguments for supporting proposals to banish certain people, based, allegedly, on the practices of the "capitalist world" given in this statement appear extremely ill considered. The provision in the legal code of some countries to banish certain foreigners (read transporting them to their home countries) has nothing to do with the "idea" of banishing people from their homeland even if they have been defined by the courts as political offenders. There is no reason why we should copy obsolete foreign models (the French penal code e.g., was drawn up in 1810) even if this would meet with understanding of some West European countries.

The matter is of the utmost importance [...] [Law on Censorship from 31 August 1981, Article 2 point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 22 amended in 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)]. In feudal Poland banishment was considered the most serious form of punishment replaceable by the death penalty

(incidentally there were regulations that severely limited the execution of this punishment). Small wonder then that modern Polish legislation has abandoned this punishment along with others peculiar to Medieval times, such as breaking on the wheel, burning at the stake, the pillory and the stocks-- i.e., flagrantly uncivilized forms of punishment. The traditional Polish sense of justice, generally adopted ethics and reflection on the present state of the social conscience, dictates decisive resistance, as the only answer to Urban's suggestion. It is not the formal and legal aspects but the ethics and morals which should after all be of interest and importance to the experts who put forward such proposals. Every Polish citizen irrespective of his beliefs, activities and any offenses which he might have committed against the law of the land, has a stake in his homeland. Depriving him of this basic right because of his political activity--and according to what Jerzy Urban has said--banishment would apply to perpetrators of political offenses only--would be deeply at variance with the Christian ethical norms obeyed by a considerable portion of Polish people. It has been acknowledged for a long time that the law should not interfere with impunity into such subtle spheres of man's life as his attitude toward homeland religion, philosophy of life, morals and political outlooks. History teaches that this [interference] often brings unpredictable losses. In Poland, especially, exceptional prudence is needed when dealing with matters often specified as imponderables, i.e., those whose effects cannot be estimated yet those which strongly affect the fate of an individual and the nation as a whole. He who does not understand the Poles' particular sensitivity toward imponderables will also not understand their reaction. Little wonder then that the ideas outlined by Minister Urban have met with a marked resistance. [Law on Censorship from 31 August 1981, Article 2 point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20 Item 99; amended in 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)]. This is a mistake, said Talleyrand on some other occasion, and it was mistakes he feared most.

CSO: 2600/28

GAINS IN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT REVIEWED

AU261354 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Sep 84 p 4

[Commentary signed '(bie)': "Union Activity"]

[Text] Four and one-half million members, 112 national unions, and over 20,000 registered factory unions. Those are the latest statistics of the reborn trade union movement. And let us remember that the trade union law was only passed less than 2 years ago, and that the trade unions started from zero following the dissolution of all previous trade union organizations.

In many voivoidships and in a large number of important plants, trade unions already bring together over 50 percent of the work force, and are noting a steady increase in members. This is a positive phenomenon, showing that the working people need the trade unions and that these unions are proving their worth through concrete activity.

Party organizations and the state administration have been following the principle of partnership vis-a-vis the reborn trade union movement since the very beginning of the unions: the opinion of workers representatives is considered every time important workers issues are dealt with. Let us recall the meeting involving the highest party and government representatives at the "Baildon" Steelworks, the meeting in the Nowotko plant near Warsaw, and the participation of the leaderships of some national trade unions in the PZPR Central Committee Politburo meeting at the end of August.

These were not casual meetings; they were not "festive" in nature. The talks were business-like and in a critical vein, and as a result of trade union demands many matters were settled by the authorities or adopted for further implementation.

The fundamental principle of the class nature of the trade unions has also proved itself during the almost 2 years in which the reborn trade union movement has been functioning. The unions defend the interests of specified professional groups.

It is understandable that unions view many matters in the light of the parochial interests of a given plant or industrial branch, whether steelworkers

or textile workers, tradesmen or railroadmen. After all there are many of these unions, as many as 20,000. The number of ideas and demands put forward by them is great, and they sometimes clash with each other. There is also very often a tendency to obtain preferential terms and attempts to receive better treatment than other unions.

And all this is understandable. That is the way it must be in partnerlike relations. This pattern of checking decisions, involving a respect for the independence of the unions from the administration, well serves the interests of the work forces. It shows at the same time that this function can be performed energetically and efficiently without the need to hide behind the screen of trade union pluralism, which 4 years ago pushed many trade unionists onto the arena of political struggle with socialism.

The reborn trade union movement is sensitive toward prevention of a repetition of the chaos prior to December 1981, but it also carefully guards against any revival or any talk of the state of affairs prior to August, 1980, just as we in our entire sociopolitical lives see to it that a system of appropriate guarantees to prevent a repetition of past errors is created.

That is also why initiatives aimed at institutionalizing the movement and its organizations emerge slowly and after great premeditation. First of all, there were initiatives to set up trade union federations or other national union structures. Later, it turned out that cooperation is needed between various unions on the one hand and a national union representation on the other. It is these very matters about which we will shortly make important decisions. The unionists themselves are to decide what kind of national representation to set up and in what form it will best unite the efforts of individual trade unions and of trade union structures above factory level.

All this lies ahead of us. One can draw one conclusion from the talks and statements of trade union activists so far: the trade unions need unity. After the experience of recent years, so-called trade union pluralism as a screen for activity contrary to socialism is out of the question.

CSO: 2600/1

BRIEFS

SIWAK IN SZCZECIN--On 16 September Albin Siwak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, met in Szczecin with the directors, workers' council chairmen, and party organization representatives from construction enterprises in the Szczecin area. Major problems facing the construction industry were discussed during this meeting. Problems facing the trade union movement were the topic of another meeting held with trade union officials from construction enterprises and members of the Szczecin Voivodship Commission for Trade Union Cooperation. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Sep 84 p 3]

PARTY PROPAGANDA SEMINAR--On 16 September a conference was held for PZPR provincial committee secretaries responsible for ideology, science and education. The conference was also attended by the editors-in-chief of the national party periodical press and by representatives from national institutions. During conference Jan Glowczyk, alternate member of the PZPR Politburo and Central Committee secretary, and Henryk Bednarski, Central Committee secretary, discussed tasks that need to be performed by the party as part of its ideological campaign as mandated by the resolutions of the Central Committee 13th Plenum and the National Conference of PZPR delegates. They also discussed the country's current social and political situation. During the conference a great deal of attention was devoted to a discussion of party training program problems and plans for celebrating the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Sep 84 p 3]

PARTY AUDIT GROUPS MEET--Plans for fulfilling the tasks set forth in the resolution of the PZPR Central Committee 16th Plenum on strengthening the party's working-class character were the topic of a 14 September meeting of members of the PZPR Central Audit Commission Presidium with the chairman of the voivodship party audit commissions. During the course of this meeting, presided over by Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the PZPR Central Audit Commission, an assessment was made of the contribution made by party audit agencies to the consultation meetings being held in workplaces to review the decisions made at the Lodz party forum. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15-16 Sep 84 p 2]

NEW PZPR AGITPROP UNIT--The inaugural meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Task Force for Public Economic Education was held on 13 September. The meeting was chaired by Henryk Bednarski, PZPR Central Committee secretary. The participants in the meeting assessed the progress that has been made to date in fulfilling the tasks mandated in the document entitled "The Economic Education of the Polish People--Basic Problems and Tasks" and endorsed by the PZPR Central Committee Politburo in July 1984. The general thrust and methods of the work to be done by the task force were debated and approved. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Sep 84 p 2]

CEAUSESCU SPEECH AT TOPOLOVATU MARE MASS RALLY

AU171358 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Sep 84 p 3

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at a mass rally in Topolovatu Mare, Timis County, on a working visit to agricultural units on 13 September]

[Text] Dear comrades and friends: I wish to start by conveying to you, all the inhabitants of Topolovatu Mare and Timis County, warm revolutionary greetings and best wishes on behalf of the party Central Committee, the State Council and government, and on my own behalf. (Loud cheers and chants; people chanting: "Ceausescu, RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

This great mass rally of the agricultural workers of Timis County is a special event, namely, awarding the distinction of "Hero of Socialist Labor" to Topolovatu Mare cooperative and its chairman for the special results attained with a wheat yield, of almost 8,300 kilograms per hectare and a barley yield of about 8,800 kilograms per hectare, yields that truly demonstrate the capability of the working people of Topolovatu Mare and other counties to attain particularly good crops and at the same time to follow the guidelines elaborated by the 12th congress regarding the implementation of a new agrarian revolution. (Loud applause and chants; people chanting: "Ceausescu, RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

I insisted on participating directly in the awarding of these high distinctions of the Socialist Republic of Romania in order to emphasize the party and state pre-occupation and care for agriculture and for those who do everything possible to carry out the policy of agricultural development. (Loud applause and chants; lengthy chanting of "Ceausescu, RCP!")

A short time ago, I visited some corn and soybean crops. I noticed with much satisfaction that good crops are expected; corn yields of more than 20,000 cobs per hectare and more than 3,000-3,200 kilograms of soybeans per hectare. These are good crops, which demonstrate once again that the wheat yield obtained is not accidental, but is part of the very good overall results obtained by Topolovatu Mare cooperative in recent years.

I would like to extend warmest congratulations to all the cooperative members and inhabitants of Topolovatu Mare on this high distinction of "Hero of Socialist Labor," which marks particular appreciation of all the cooperative members' work

and, in a symbolic way, means that through this distinction every cooperative member who contributed to achieving these yields is a Hero of Socialist Labor. Thus, here is a cooperative full of heroes! I extend to you warmest congratulations! (Loud applauses and chants; people chanting: "Ceausescu and the people!")

At the same time, I want to extend warmest congratulations to the chairman of this cooperative on the distinction of "Hero of Socialist Labor," in appreciation of his activities in organizing labor well, as well as to the experts, to all the leaders of this unit, and to cooperative members, in applying the decisions of the 12th congress and the scientific knowledge, something which has enabled them to achieve these particularly good yields. (Loud applauses and chants; chants of: "Ceausescu, RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

There are several units in Timis County that have achieved wheat yield of more than 5,000 kilograms per hectare. This is a good yield; but we have awarded the distinction of hero to the cooperative from Timis County and to other cooperatives from other counties which have achieved more than 8,000 kilograms of wheat per hectare, because I consider that the objective of the new agrarian revolution must be more than 8,000 kilograms of wheat per hectare. (Loud applauses and chants; chants of: "Ceausescu and the people!")

In Timis County there are also several units that have achieved a barley yield of more than 8,000 kilograms per hectare. These are good yields which are also part and parcel of the agrarian revolution. At the same time, I would like to mention that, as a whole, Timis County has achieved a wheat yield of almost 4,200 kilograms per hectare this year. This is a good yield which places Timis County among the first ranking counties of the country--but not in first place. Indeed, Timis County has to compete for first place in next years' great competition between counties. (Loud and prolonged applauses and chants; people chanting: "Ceausescu, beloved son, welcome to Timis!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

Concerning barley, Timis County has also achieved a yield of about 4,600 kilograms per hectare. This is also a good average yield, but not one which puts Timis County in first place, either; therefore, in this sector, too, your county will next year have to compete with those counties which have obtained bigger crops this year, and which also aim to obtain first place next year. Thus, there will be a struggle for first place, through much better yields than those achieved this year: a wheat yield of more than 5,000 kilograms per hectare per county and barley yields of more than 5,500 kilograms per hectare per county. (Loud applause; people chanting: "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu-Romania, our esteem and pride!")

I would like to extend congratulations to all the cooperative's members, experts, machine operators, and all the peasantry of Timis County on this year's results and on the wish to achieve ever better results, for the future in all sectors. (Loud applause and chants; chants of: "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu, RCP!")

As is known, the 12th Party Congress established special tasks for agriculture and set the goal of achieving a new agrarian revolution. During the current 5-year plan we have registered a number of positive results. We have worked out programs aimed at land improvement that will permit us to fulfill those goals.

This new agrarian revolution is part and parcel of our party's struggle to change our society and transform nature. We have achieved the agrarian revolution through cooperativization. This brought about a radical change in work conditions and in our peasantry's way of thinking. We have achieved extensive mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture, and we have ensured appropriate conditions so as to apply the achievements of science in all sectors of our socialist agriculture. It is on this basis that we have achieved results up to now, and particular results in Topolovatu Mare which we celebrate today.

However, we have to complete the agrarian revolution, we have to implement everything the party program stipulates, namely to turn agriculture into a variant of industrial activity and thus achieve industrial agriculture based on the latest scientific achievements, on making use of mechanization, and based on everything the best of human knowledge has created in this area. The wheat and corn yields registered here in Topolovatu Mare and in other counties--and there are counties with better yields than Timis and there are better cooperatives than Topolovatu Mare which proposed, during the recent meeting at Central Committee Headquarters, to achieve 25,000 kilograms of corn cobs per hectare this year--illustrate that it is possible to achieve such yields. Therefore, let us change our agriculture radically in this way, so that together with industry it will become one of the basic forces of the national economy and a decisive factor in the constant development of our fatherland and in the improvement of the material and cultural well-being of our people. (applause and lively cheers; chants: "Ceausescu, RCP" and "Ceausescu and the People.")

To achieve such great goals--which in Topolovatu Mare have already been registered in wheat and corn yields--a radical change is also necessary in work, in the way of thinking of cooperative members and of all workers in the agricultural field. Let us see to it that work is done in a revolutionary spirit, that each worker does all he can to implement the party policy, to develop agriculture, and to act always against what is old and no longer suitable, and to promote what is new! (applause and prolonged cheers)

To be a revolutionary does not only mean to make pledges and statements; it means work, it means to work as a revolutionary. To be a revolutionary in agriculture means to achieve high yields of 8,000-10,000 kilograms of wheat per hectare or 15,000-20,000-25,000 kilograms of corn per hectare! This is what it means to be a revolutionary in agriculture! (Loud applause, cheers; chants: "Ceausescu, RCP" and "Ceausescu and the people.")

I am mentioning this because there are people who ask themselves the question: Romania's president tells us all the time that we have to be revolutionaries and live as revolutionaries; how should we act? The cooperative members of Topolovatu Mare and other localities have demonstrated how one can work and live as a revolutionary in agriculture. The same is true in industry, science, culture, and all other areas; it means to do all one can to achieve positive results in agriculture and industry, to promote technology and science, and it means to acquire the best knowledge in all fields, to live in the spirit of the revolutionary concept on the world, and to acquire communist thinking about the world and life. That means to be a revolutionary--and our fatherland's young people must learn how to live and work like revolutionaries! The cooperative members of Topolovatu Mare have set an example for the young people in this commune--and for others--they have proven how one can work and act in the spirit

of a revolutionary concept. From the bottom of my heart I want to congratulate you on this. (Loud applause, cheers; chants: "Ceausescu, Romania, our esteem and pride!")

Indeed, the cooperative members of Topolovatu Mare and all those who have registered high yields have demonstrated that nothing can be achieved without work. Everything we achieve in all fields is the fruit of our work and the fruit of uniting it with the greatest achievements of science, with modern technology, and with the best material means. Only in this way will we be able to implement the party program, only thus will the directives of the 13th Party Congress be not only implemented but even exceeded both in agriculture and industry, and in the other areas. This is why I believe that an output of more than 8,000 kilograms of wheat per hectare is, indeed, an example of how work has to be done in agriculture, and I believe that corn yields of more than 10,000-15,000 or 20,000-25,000 kilograms per hectare are also an example of what should inspire all agricultural workers in our fatherland! Each cooperative member and each cooperative unit must work to achieve such goals! We must understand that such high yields will not be achieved by miracles--because no miracles took place in Topolovatu Mare, on the contrary, people here worked in a revolutionary spirit showing love for work and for their fatherland! (Loud, prolonged applause)

If we work in this spirit, we will implement all the goals we have proposed for the next 5-year plan and up to the year 2000! Let us see to it that Romania becomes stronger and richer, that our people's life is more plentiful, and that our country holds a dignified place among the ranks of free and independent nations. (Loud applause and cheers; chants: "Ceausescu, Peace!" and "Ceausescu reelected at the 13th Congress!")

Dear comrades and friends, once again I would like to extend warm congratulations to all cooperative members in Topolovatu Mare who are heroes of socialist labor. I also want to convey congratulations to the chairman of the cooperative, and to ask all cooperative members in Timis County to do all they can, so that in 1985 an increasingly greater number of cooperatives will be awarded the distinction of "Hero of Socialist Labor" for yields exceeding 8,000 kilograms of wheat per hectare! I will confer this high distinction on all those who register more than 8,000 kilograms of wheat per hectare next year. (Loud applause, cheers, chants: "Ceausescu and the people!")

I am convinced that the cooperative members in Topolovatu Mare will honor this high distinction with better results in the future and that all cooperative members in Timis County and all workers in agriculture--I am referring to both state agricultural enterprises and agricultural machinery depots--will work so that your county will hold a frontranking place in our agriculture in 1985!

I again wish you success in your overall activity, much good health and happiness! (loud, prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the people!" "Ceausescu, RCP!" and "Ceausescu, Peace!" All those present cheer and give long ovations to the RCP and its secretary general and president of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)

PARTY OFFICIAL PRAISES CEMA COOPERATION

LD141449 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 14 Sep 84

[Text] Moscow, 14 Sep (TASS)—"Efficient and active participation in the international division of labour is one of the main components of Romania's economic strategy," writes alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, deputy prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, permanent representative of the Socialist Republic of Romania in CEMA Ioan Totu in the latest issue of the magazine ECONOMIC COOPERATION OF CEMA MEMBER-COUNTRIES.

Romania, he writes, consistently conducts the course of expanding and deepening multilateral cooperation with other CEMA member-countries. It participates in realization of about 250 agreements, treaties and other multilateral accords within the CEMA framework. Mention among them should be made of agreements on joint construction of big enterprises for the production of pulp, asbestos, iron ore and ferro-alloys, on the development of natural gas deposits, on the construction of an atomic electro-power station in the Soviet Union, and also the construction of a plant for the production of nickel and cobalt in Cuba.

Romania, writes Ioan Totu, participates in activities of 26 international organizations and federations, formed by fraternal countries. Trade of the Socialist Republic of Romania with other states of the socialist community increased 7.5-fold, as compared with 1960, with the average annual increment of almost 10 per cent.

Touching upon the CEMA summit economic conference in Moscow, Ioan Totu noted that, in the opinion of the Romanian Communist Party, the adopted documents and decisions, the trends of work and the principles, reaffirmed by the conference, open up new prospects for raising to a higher level mutually beneficial cooperation within the CEMA framework in the interests of accelerated development of the national economies of the CEMA member-countries, successful development of socialism in each of these countries.

The author of the article points out that in time for the 40th anniversary of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation, the Romanian people attained successes in all spheres of activities. Once an underdeveloped agrarian country, Romania has become an industrial-agrarian

state with mighty up-to-date industry, steadily developing socialist agriculture, steadily growing material and intellectual standards of living of the population. As compared with a pre-war period, industrial production in the country increased 53 times, agricultural--almost 4 times, the national income went up 16 times.

In 1971-1983 the real incomes of the population doubled. During the past 20 years 75 per cent of the population moved to new apartments. The results, attained over the years of socialist development, provide striking evidence of the Romanian state's invariable care for creating conditions for raising the well-being, improving the quality of life of the whole people, states Ioan Totu.

CSO: 2020/1

ROMANIA

MONGOLIA'S BATMONH THANKS CEAUSESCU FOR MESSAGE

AU051531 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Aug 84 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

Please allow me to extend cordial thanks to the RCP Central Committee and yourself personally for the congratulations and wishes conveyed to me on my election as secretary general of the MPRP Central Committee.

I express the conviction that the relations of friendship between the MPRP and the RCP and between the Mongolian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania will further develop, to the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of increasingly strengthening the unity of socialist countries as well as peace and friendship among peoples.

I take this opportunity to wish you great successes in your broad activity devoted to the well-being of the fraternal Romanian people and to the triumph of the cause of socialism.

With regard,

Jambyn Batmonh, secretary general of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic

CSO: 2700/274

ROMANIA

REPUBLICAN PARTY OFFICIAL MESSAGE TO CEAUSESCU

AU051516 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Sep 84 p 4

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Dear Mr President Ceausescu,

On behalf of the Republican National Committee, please allow me to extend best and warmest wishes to you and all the people of Romania on your national day, when you celebrate the 40th anniversary of Romania's liberation.

I hope that friendship between our countries will continue to develop and that Romania will attain new successes and prosperity in the coming years.

Most respectfully yours,

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr, chairman of the Republican National Committee,
Washington

CSO: 2700/274

ROMANIA

CASTRO THANKS CEAUSESCU, DASCALESCU FOR MESSAGE

AU241023 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Sep 84 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

To Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

On behalf of the people, the party, and the Government of the Republic of Cuba, we express our thanks for your fraternal message conveyed to us on the occasion of the 31st anniversary of the assault on the Moncada Barracks.

Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and president of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba

CSO: 2700/274

FLIGHT SAFETY JEOPARDIZED BY VIOLATION OF REGULATIONS

Bucharest LUPTA C F R in Romanian 13 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by P. Gheorghiu: "Flight Safety Requires Order and Discipline."

[Excerpts] Under the constant direction of the party organs and organizations the trade union committees in the airports in Bucharest and the rest of the country are devoting special attention to mobilizing all personnel for the exemplary fulfillment of the tasks of the plan and of the missions assigned to them, in the spirit of the guidelines and directives formulated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the party, at the Mangalia Conference and the Plenum of the National Council of Workers on 4-5 May of this year.

Flight safety is a task of great responsibility entrusted to persons in charge of airports, to the party, trade union and Union of Communist Youth organizations and it cannot be achieved unless mass political work, as well as organizational work, responds, more and more, to the requirements of the flight personnel, the people who are called upon to act with awareness, promptly and with maximum effectiveness.

Recently, mass political education used in these units has resulted in noticeable changes in the quality of the campaigns and demonstrations initiated from one period to another. For example, there have been discussions in the trade unions on the topics of patriotism and respect for the values of our society and of the people in the promotion of Romanian civil aviation.

However, in some units of the Department of Civil Aviation we still come across undesirable aspects, "retreats" from order and discipline, tardiness and unjustified absences from the job. For example: in the first 5 months of this year some 16 workers in Bucharest-Otopeni International Airport were punished for repeated violations of the Regulation on Internal Order and the work contract of one of these people was cancelled.

In its mass political work, the trade union committee in the Enterprise for Utility Aircraft has emphasized the need for all its people to know the laws of the land and other normative acts, establishing a juridical documentation point which aids in the broad scale popularization of laws and normative acts, and a large number of meetings with specialized cadres are arranged, on subjects of current political and juridical interest.

But even here--as the plenum of the party committee of the ministry stressed--there are still a number of shortcomings connected with flight safety and with the violation of Decree 400/1981. We believe that it is a good thing for the mass political work carried out here to aim for more thorough knowledge on the part of men, with a more vigorous, revolutionary mass opinion against violations being unleashed in the ranks of the workers. The important thing is not the administrative sanctions but the act of prevention, the principled, objective man-to-man dialogue, capable of setting off the internal mechanisms of those who are responsible for flight safety and for strengthening order and discipline within each department.

Of course, flight safety involves order and discipline, diversity in the forms and methods of mass political work. With the assistance of the Committee of the Union of Trade Unions in Transportation and Telecommunications, the trade union committees, on the basis of the experience accumulated, have been engaging in a more consistent activity in the ranks of all categories of cadres.

CSO: 2700/5

BRIEFS

PRC NATIONAL DAY--Bucharest, 29 Sep (AGERPRES)--A festive meeting was held in Munteni-Buzau Commune, in Ialomita County, on Saturday, 29 September, to mark the 35th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China. Gheorghe Ghita, chairman of the cooperative producer farm "The Romanian-Chinese Friendship" in the locality, and Li Zewang, ambassador of People's China in Bucharest, spoke about the importance of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China and underscored the successes scored by the friendly Chinese people in the years of people's power. Referring to the growing course of the relations of cooperation between the two parties, countries and peoples, the speakers pointed to the special role of summit meetings in Bucharest and Beijing, which go down as mighty important moments in the evolution of bilateral relations, to the mutual benefit, of the general cause of socialism, international cooperation and peace throughout the world. [Text] [AU291746 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1727 GMT 29 Sep 84]

CHINESE BOOK EXHIBITION OPENS--Bucharest 24 Sep (AGERPRES)--The Central University Library of Bucharest venued, on Monday, 24 September, a Chinese book show, arranged by the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, on the 35th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China. There are more than 1,500 books on display--scientific and technical works, art albums, fiction books and works on Chinese and world culture reproductions of Chinese paintings of high artistic value. Translated into Chinese, volumes of "Selected Works" by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania are exhibited. Tamara Dobrin, deputy chairwoman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education; Ion Popescu-Puturi, chairman of the Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association; representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, men of art and culture, a large audience attended the opening. [Text] [AU242037 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 24 Sep 84 AU]

ITALIAN TRAINING SHIP VISIT--Bucharest, 22 Sep (AGERPRES)--The Italian Training Ship "Amerigo Vespucci" arrived in the port of Constanta on Saturday morning. The same day, the head of the march, Captain Ronca Alessandro, and a group of Italian officers paid formal calls on the mayor of Constanta Municipality and on the commander of the military marine, and laid a floral wreath at the Victory Memorial in the respective locality. [Text] [AU221850 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1508 GMT 22 Sep 84]

NEW MILITARY PUBLICATION--Bucharest, 22 Sep (AGERPRES)--The first issue of the Romanian review of military history has been recently put out in Bucharest. Edited under the aegis of the Romanian Commission on Military History, the publication, titled LUPTA INTREGULUI POPOR (THE WHOLE PEOPLE'S FIGHT) aims at highlighting the Romanians' military past, their struggle for unity, freedom and independence. Given its specialized character, the review seeks mainly to capitalize the heritage of Romanian military experience, to disclose the permanent links, throughout history, between the army and the people, to highlight the progressive traditions of the Romanian Army. In keeping with its programme, the review advocates the knowledge and diffusion of historic truth and the rejection of any attempts either to distort, fake this truth, or to present it unscientifically or tendentiously. Put out shortly after the 40th anniversary of the victorious antifascist and antiimperialist revolution of social and national liberation, the first issue centers on a retrospect of this event, underscoring the role played by the Romanian Army in the achievement of the historic act of August 23, 1944, as well as the democratic transformations the army underwent in the years of socialism. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1449 GMT 22 Sep 84]

MILITARY HISTORY CONFERENCE--Bucharest, 23 Sep (AGERPRES)--An international conference of military history on "War and Society in Central and Eastern Europe, 1740-1920. Synthesis," arranged by the Romanian Commission on Military History by cooperation with the Brooklyn College of New York, under the aegis of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, started in Bucharest, on September 23. The conference is participated in by men of science, researchers into military history, university teaching staff, reputed experts from Bulgaria, Denmark, France, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia. The participants in the conference were greeted by Colonel-General Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defence. Welcoming addresses were also made by Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceausescu, chairman of the Romanian Commission on Military History, and Robert Hess, president of the Brooklyn College. [Text] [AU231537 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1510 GMT 23 Sep 84]

PRC NATIONAL DAY MARKED--Bucharest, 27 Sep (AGERPRES)--Military cadres of the Bucharest garrison attended a festive meeting devoted to the 35th anniversary of the National Day of the People's Republic of China. The meeting was opened by Colonel-General Vasile Milea, first deputy minister of national defence and chief of staff, who made a welcoming address. Shi Shangwen [spelling as received], military, air and naval attache of the People's Republic of China in Bucharest, spoke of the significance of the celebrated event. The participants in the meeting were then shown a pictorial exhibition showing aspects of the life and activity of the military of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and documentary pictures. [Text] [AU271558 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1535 GMT 27 Sep 84]

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Maria Subtirelu is appointed deputy minister of domestic trade. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 71, 5 Sep 84 p 2]

REMOVAL OF OFFICIAL--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Ratoi is relieved of his position as first vice chairman of the Investment Bank. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 70, 3 Sep 84 p 2]

NEW DEPUTY MINISTER--Comrade Stelian Pintilie was recently appointed deputy minister of transportation and telecommunications and head of the General Directorate for Posts and Telecommunications. [Text] [Bucharest LUPTA CFR in Romanian 6 Jul 84 p 7]

PEOPLES COUNCILS APPOINTMENTS--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Cretu is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Constanta County People's Council, Comrade Vasile Marin is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Giurgiu County People's Council and Comrade Nicolae Ionescu is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Prahova County People's Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 71, 5 Sep 84 p 2]

CSO: 2700/5

WESTERN COMMENT ON LCY DISCUSSIONS, CROATIAN LEADERS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 26 Sep 84 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier: "In Zagreb the Dogmatists Dream"]

[Excerpts] In early summer there was a strike at the "Nikola Tesla" electro-technical plant in Zagreb in protest against poor living and wage conditions. The workers wanted to go out of their factory and into the street but the police...prevented them. It is officially admitted that strikes in Yugoslavia which before were mostly against intolerable situations in enterprises or the arbitrariness of management, are changing their character. They are becoming protests against the bad economic policy. Jure Bilic, Croatian representative in the federal party leadership, admitted in DANAS, that workers during a strike in Zagreb changed a Communist song to "Comrade Tito, we swear to you that we cannot continue this way."

In June the [LCY] Central Committee refused to accept already prepared resolutions, in order to conduct first a general party discussion on the future role and policy of the party. In general this was seen as a temporary success of the reformist forces in the party since the proposed resolutions sounded rather dogmatic. The Serbian Communist Vidic certainly sees in this interpretation an expression of the "special war" which foreign journalists are waging against Yugoslavia.

In the meantime the prescribed "discussion" is going on. It shows on the one hand that the workers in enterprises often, even on television, speak openly and obviously have little respect anymore for officials of all ranks. Especially dogmatic functionaries repeatedly defend the 1976 enterprise constitution with the fragmentation of the economy into small "basic organizations of associated labor" as the bastion of self-management socialism, saying that the workers see only in these organizations (as close to direct production as possible) the possibility for securing their self-management rights; but now one suddenly hears from workers that these small basic organizations hamper the functioning of the economy and that one should eliminate them. For many functionaries who see the basis of their power in the fragmentation of the economy, such statements by workers signify a bad awakening.

The party discussion which obviously is unusual for many functionaries as well as ordinary [LC] members exposes also the division within the leadership. The party presidium resorts to ever louder attacks on all possible enemies and tries to discredit the thesis of the Slovenian leader Ribicic according to which the party is persuading itself that it is surrounded by enemies. It is true that today demands are made from many sides outside the party and proposed solutions to economic and social problems are brought into the discussion, while the regime has not yet carried out the stabilization program which it worked out and adopted itself. All party resolutions say that now things must be done "energetically," "clearly," "consistently," and "uncompromisingly," but what in detail is to be done is less and less apparent from the text of the resolutions.

It is difficult for many functionaries to tolerate when in the press and in the public discussion the question of "responsibility" is raised increasingly. Dogmatic leaders like Bilic try to bring up this "responsibility" only collectively but not individually or with names; this would again be "hostile propaganda" in their eyes. Bilic, along with the just-as-dogmatic functionary Baltic, bears essential responsibility for two giant projects in Croatia which brought heavy financial losses, also in hard currency: the bauxite plant in Obrovac in the Zagorje area of Dalmatia and the petrochemical plant built in cooperation with an American concern.

The division and dispute within the leadership is seen most clearly in Croatia. The moderate party leader Spiljak... stands over against various groups each of which "is cooking its own little soup" and which all together are to blame for the fact that Croatia, except for Bosnia-Herzegovina, bears the most politically negative traits of all the Yugoslav regions. Vrhovec, Croatian representative in the federal state presidium, is not on friendly terms with his rival Bilic who represents Croatia in the federal party presidium. Both hold their positions thanks to Tito's intervention in 1971. Vrhovec has understood better than Bilic how to give the impression that he is defending basic Croatian interests while he attacks the intellectuals and rejects the theory that one "should fight books with books, not with police." When he objects to "inadmissible criticism" of republic policy in regard to the national question, he does not target some alleged Croatian "nationalists" but rather people who assert that Croatia is moving toward "denationalizing" the Serbs in Croatia.

In this way Vrhovec has understood how to separate himself from the reactionary trio of Bilic, Baltic, and Suvar, although he holds similar views. Bilic has not only identified himself more or less with the meeting of the ideological commission of the Croatian CC which Suvar led against "enemy tendencies" from Belgrade and Ljubljana, but went even further in his revealing statements on his political views in an interview in DANAS. Bilic is a man who openly says what others only think.

His main thesis was that the central party leadership certainly has the right "to speak" with individual leaderships in the republics, i.e., to do that which party functionaries in Belgrade have ironically called showing "fraternal help." Bilic longs for 1971 when Tito in Kardjurdjevo forced the Croatian leadership to abdicate and thereupon introduced a great purge in this republic; he also

[longs for the days] when Tito wrote the "letter" to all party organizations and forced a return to a "firm-hand course." Bilic now declares that such measures "would hardly suffice today." What does he want? There are people who say that this is the mentality of the dogmatic party wing that dreams of an open act of force, perhaps a military coup, because this mentality does not feel capable of "dialogue" or of dealing with the economic-political realities. One recalls that in Zagreb at the "witches' Sabbath" staged by Suvar against the intellectuals in neighboring republics openly pro-Soviet tendencies appeared for the first time in years in Yugoslavia.

The possibility of an act of force that probably would not be taken without the military is always present in the background. Such an attempt has little support, however, also not in the party. Above all, it would not eliminate any problems. Probably then those Zagreb economic ideologists would really get their chance, [i.e.,] those who got Yugoslavia into the present situation, who are against the market, and who characterize cooperation with the IMF as "enslavement to interest [payments]." In addition, an act of force by part of the regime would greatly strengthen nationality conflicts. Nothing would be solved and the difficulties would increase immeasurably. Fortunately, one has the impression that the majority of functionaries are also clear on this and appear to be inclined to go the other way.

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