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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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DOCTORS WARNED ABOUT IDEOLOGICAL DIVERSION BY WEST

Prague CASOPIS LEKARU CESKYCH in Czech No 43, 29 Oct 82 pp 1313-1315

[Article by Karel Boucek, doctor of social sciences: "Problems of Ideological Subversion in Health Services"]

[Text] The international situation at present is characterized by aggravated attacks against all that is progressive waged by the military industrial complex of the major capitalist states in collaboration with international monopolies. Every day we witness the hard line pursued in particular by the U.S. administration against revolutionary and national liberation movements, against countries with progressive orientation and against the states of real socialism. The USSR and other socialist countries are the main targets of such indiscriminate attacks. The notorious formula is repeated here: the crisis of the capitalist system, chafing from serious internal conflicts and having millions of unemployed, is to be resolved by militarization of national economy, bellicose provocations and military adventures.

The threat to peace is not insignificant. The efforts of the bourgeoisie to recapture, or to expand, the space for private enterprise by means of war disturbs all peace-loving citizens. More than ever before the world is split into two camps--the camp of peace, led by the USSR, and the camp intensively preparing for war, whose epicenter is the United States with its NATO allies. The United States does not conceal its focus on war. Irresponsible individuals recruited particularly from certain U.S. business circles are preparing for mankind a nuclear war which may be averted only by the solid and united peace forces.

The leading circles of industrially advanced capitalist states are using increasingly more mystifications and lies in their effort to camouflage their military line and its motivation. The lie has become a political device of the capitalist states in an unprecedented way and in some cases official policies are based on it. It alleges that world peace is disturbed by the countries with progressive orientation and by the socialist states, not by the transnational monopolies which are looting the resources of developing countries, not by the states with many fascist characteristics, not by the countries founded on racial and national oppression of their citizens. The capitalist states are trying

to pass the black for white, which compels all honest citizens to stand up, unmask such lies and mobilize the progressive forces to prevent masses of people from getting entangled in a web of lies.

It depends on every citizen which position he will take in the struggle for world peace and social progress. However, goodwill alone is not enough to turn a person into a fighter for peace and social progress. People must know who is a liar and how he lies, so that they can protect themselves against lies and learn how to unmask them. Every individual must consider how his deeds and attitudes contribute toward consolidation of the progressive front of peace-loving forces because in today's class-divided world every citizen, whether he is aware of it or not, is attracted toward one or another camp. There never were political neutrals in the great social struggles for a progressive development of mankind, and it is so much less possible now when the future of all humanity is at stake.

By virtue of their profession and occupation physicians and all other health workers stand on the side of life. They know best the value of people's health; they know what it requires to help even one citizen in sickness, and they realize more than other citizens what a catastrophe would it be if means of mass destruction were used against people. Therefore the case of peace finds staunch defenders in them. Thus, it is no coincidence that many appeals and actions for peace are initiated precisely in their ranks and that their antiwar propaganda is especially intensive and convincing. For that reason military cliques in the capitalist states are viewing with displeasure the antiwar protests of health workers, and that ideological subversion focuses on them so much. Representatives of the U.S. military-industrial complex would find it easier to "justify" their criminal plans if the antiwar protest of physicians could be crushed. Physicians from all over the world have done much to prevent a nuclear war. Unfortunately, their strength and unity are not so great as to avert local conflicts and military provocations by the world reaction. Often their role must be limited to healing the consequences of military conflicts. In that process many of them have lost their health or their life.

Nevertheless, their reports about people's suffering in military conflicts are politically very stirring and confirm that there is no other sensible alternative for the life of human society than peace and social progress; they encourage ordinary people in their determination to find ways to become antiwar activists. For that reason, many physicians and health workers are not satisfied with mere pacifism which opposes war and point out the social and class roots of war--private ownership of the means of production in the stage of monopolistic capitalism. For that reason, progressive physicians and health workers support efforts to achieve the inevitable complete change in the world in order to make it possible to settle problems among states by peaceful means only.

There are enormous differences between pacifistic approaches to military problems with "apolitical" interpretation of issues of war and peace, and between active opposition against forces jeopardizing human civilization. While simple pacifism equates the threat and its victims and does not feel any compulsion vigorously to defend progressive values, the position of real defense of peace is on the side which promotes social progress and the people's welfare. That position stems from, and expresses, social maturity of the citizen. Cliques in the West which count not only on "major" but also on "minor" wars, or so-called limited wars with deployment of "small" caliber atomic weapons and tactical use of neutron bombs are well aware of that. By the same token, they intentionally belittle the fact that even conventional weapons are being updated continuously and that their mass deployment may cause people untold suffering. Therefore, in their attempt to break up antiwar political opposition in the ranks of our citizens and to intimidate them with military machinery, they are following special schemes, one of which is aimed at physicians and other health workers.

Ideological subversion waged by capitalist states, especially the United States, i.e., deliberate use of psychological methods for the purpose of political struggle relayed by ideological means in order to affect social (political) consciousness of our citizens, is focused specifically on the exploitation of professional approaches by groups of the population to the life of society. Its authors realize that it would be sheer nonsense to propagandize war and even more so support of transnational monopolies among physicians. As in their other plans, they have opted for deviations and distractions which also lead to the same goal. Their intention is to influence physicians to adopt "objective" and "apolitical" attitudes to political developments; they are interested in keeping physicians as far from politics as possible and let them assume an elitist professional standpoint from which to survey political problems. They are taking advantage of the fact that in his profession a physician cannot refuse, for political or other reasons, help to any person whose health is in danger.

That position of physicians does not seem to have anything in common with issues of war, peace and social progress, which is most advantageous for monopolistic capitalism; this is quite satisfactory for monopolistic capitalism in its achievement of its political objectives, although this represents only the first step in its gradual effect on physicians. Evaluation of ideological subversion regards it as direct support of the program of monopolistic capitalism, because it weakens the unity of activists defending peace. Ideological subversion is inspired by "concerns" about the scientific and technological progress in medicine, about human rights and so on. In addition to frontal attacks against real socialism, more subtle methods are used in the sense of general considerations of humanity, freedom and democracy--all tailored after the bourgeois fashion. It appears also under the guise of scientific and technological information presented in an effort to impress the recipient with the superiority of all areas of science and technology in the West, including medicine. Its approach to our society and our medical practice

is such as to emphasize the achievements of the West, to minimize the authority of socialism in the eyes of the physicians and health workers, to weaken the unity of the working people with the workers class, and to attack the CPCZ and our alliance with the USSR and other socialist states. Ideological subversion is intended to persuade our citizens to change the orientation of our policies toward the West, and to undermine their opposition against private ownership of the means of production and against man's exploitation by his fellow man which is related to private ownership.

Ideological subversion appeals especially to politically unstable and immature individuals, however, it also counts on people's gullibility, petty-bourgeois backsliding in our society and on other social phenomena which may be politically exploited to its best advantage. Although ideological subversion does not avoid campaigns, its program counts with a long-range perspective and with the effort to erode social consciousness gradually, particularly among certain groups of our population. The workers class counteracts the attacks of ideological subversion by the bourgeoisie with the development of real socialism and open policymaking benefiting our people. The workers class needs no tactics of ideological subversion to achieve its social goals. The method of political struggle consisting of saying one thing and thinking something else is totally alien to the workers class. What we encounter in the clashes of antagonistic class effects bearing upon social consciousness are not conflicts of two types of ideological subversion but an open ideological struggle of the workers class fighting in defense of our people's interest against ideological subversion waged by the West.

As concerns a special focus on physicians, ideological subversion assumes an especially "professional" form. Here it expects favorable response because physicians are always keenly interested in the scientific and technological progress in their field, and medicine in the West may boast of many good achievements, which makes its argumentation credible. An individual who in his ignorance or for other reasons regards various therapeutic methods and pharmaceutical products as excellent just because they were invented in the West, and who underrates the achievements of medical science, pharmaceutical production and socialist health care in our country, in the USSR and in other socialist countries, will be especially receptive and susceptible to the influence of ideological subversion. Ideological subversion is trying to exploit the fact that scientific and technological progress in medicine and in other sectors of social practice follows an uneven course worldwide, and uses it to enhance the reputation of capitalism. Furthermore, it exploits the fact that some nonprofessional citizens are trying to acquire certain medical, particularly pharmaceutical, products of the West.

Ideological subversion is much more insidious because it is difficult for many people to separate the need to be informed about science and technology in the West, because that is essential for the performance of their profession, from its subversive ideological intent and representation; then the inevitable ideological effect of science and technology turns to ideological subversion and becomes its tool. Because science

and technology belong to all mankind, it would be foolish to bar information concerning scientific and technological advances in the West just because it may be used as a device of ideological subversion when it is cleverly inserted in "documents" about the eternal and historically justified capitalist system and invindication of frontal and even military attacks against socialist and other progressive countries. However, success of ideological subversion does not depend only on the way it is conducted by the capitalist states but mainly on the level of social maturity with which the citizens confront ideological subversion and on the development of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. In essence, it may be said ideological subversion coming from the West through the most diverse channels has affected our citizens very slightly; in their overwhelming majority our citizens can find their correct orientation in the complexities of our troubled world today. Nevertheless, this does not mean that ideological subversion by capitalist states should be ignored.

At the same time, it is paradoxical that some achievements of science and technology in the West cannot fully be applied to benefit the people; that the capitalist social system appraises them according to the criterion of profit and that it is only when they are adopted in socialist social practice that they become effective means in physicians' care for people's health; and that they cannot be fully advanced until they are applied in real socialism.

Where it concerns problems of ideological subversion of medicine by capitalist states, achievements of Western origin always clash with our social practice, which has attained a high standard in care for people's health. In many respects, the achievements of our scientific research can fully meet the highest criteria in the world. We are, therefore, capable of counteracting enemy activity in this area.

It is not enough to regard these problems as nothing more than matters of "defense" and thus, to accept in fact instructions about what we are to do in terms of social consciousness, which is not, and cannot be, formed as a result of the political, economic and ideological struggle waged against us by the West. Although the real socialism developing in our country is being constantly confronted with attempts of monopolistic capitalism to upset its progress, it depends mainly on our people's creativity and determination to reach our adopted goal despite the difficulties which they encounter in this endeavor.

In spite of all attempts of our class enemies to reverse the wheel of history, the historical initiative to change the world is in the hands of the workers class, of the forces of national liberation movements and of all progressive people. A pillar of strength in this development is the USSR with the countries of the socialist community, and the desire of working people all over the world to live in peace and social justice in this world. Ideological subversion by the capitalist countries cannot thwart the inevitable departure of mankind from capitalism to the road of socialism and communism.

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VARKONYI INTERVIEWED ON US., USSR DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS

[Editorial Report] LD211825 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1500 GMT on 20 January carries its monthly edition of the "Radio Diary" program entitled: 1983, the Year of the Struggle Against Missile Deployment, presented by Eva Vertes and Gyorgy Bernat with studio guest Peter Varkonyi, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee.

The program begins with a recorded interview by Istvan Kulscar with John Edwin Mroz, director of the U.S. Institute of Studies on East-West Security Issues, dealing with Soviet and U.S. disarmament proposals and the Warsaw Pact declaration, in which Mroz says that Andropov's proposals are very constructive and that he is pleased with Reagan's reaction to the Prague declaration that it is worthy of being studied.

Commenting on Mroz's view Varkonyi says: "It is very positive, although in some of its elements one could argue about what he said. However I would draw attention to the fact that the speaker's first sentence was that this is not a political institute but a political research institute; his word therefore plays no part in the government's stands. I would like to hear a similar statement from official U.S. Government organs too."

Bernat asks whether it is true that from the replies of the West, that is wherever the West does reply, it looks as though the socialist countries have taken over the role of initiative in the big issues of world politics.

Varkonyi replies: "It is absolutely true, and in fact this is proved by every reaction, even the negative [word indistinct] reactions show this. As a matter of fact the Warsaw Pact's political consultative committee, following Comrade Andropov's proposals, formulated and submitted to the world's public opinion a political declaration which not only sums up our earlier peace initiatives extremely flexibly, but at the same time puts forward new proposals. These cannot be swept aside with the schematic reply with which NATO circles have swept our proposals off the table to date by saying that there is nothing new in this, because it is obvious that there cannot be so many new elements in our proposals for the defense of peace. But the situation at any rate is new, and these proposals contain solutions, constructive solutions, which meet the new situation."

Questions which listeners have phoned in are then read out. One listener asked why the world's mood has changed after the pleasant years of detente, and who is responsible. Varkonyi replies:

"I think that this is an extremely important and exciting question, and that those people in the world today who deal with foreign politics are dealing extremely thoroughly with it and seeking an answer to it. They are not just seeking it, they are also finding it. Perhaps I could try to sum up very briefly and remind our dear listener of a few events, recalling the events of the seventies. Public awareness sees this sharp turn in the political line pursued by the United States and NATO in this way: It began at the start of 1980, that is since the Reagan administration came into office. However, I would take a chance and trace it back even to the last 2 years of the Carter administration--to 1978-79--since the NATO arms decision, a missile deployment decision, was taken back in the time of the Carter administration, in 1979. Now, if we imagine ourselves in the series of events of the seventies, and if we imagine that the imperialist circles are preparing an account or a balance of what happened, then in this phase of detente we must remember their Vietnam defeat, the failures they suffered in Iran and in several parts of Latin America, Nicaragua for instance. We have to remember the exacerbation of the problem of inflation and unemployment, of economic difficulties in the United States, the deepening of the social crisis--I would recall the Watergate Scandal, the CIA, the FBI scandals. Therefore the trust placed in the establishments of the administration was shaken. I will also add to this that the dollar exchange rate sank extremely low, and U.S. competitiveness, even compared to that of its most developed capitalist partners, suffered damage. According to history, if a good part of the monopolist-capitalist grouping finds itself faced with such difficulties, then they are susceptible to looking for adventurist domestic and foreign political ways out of their difficulties. I would add to this that especially if they also see chances of there being problems in certain socialist countries which they could exploit in the interest of obstructing and repressing the advance, prestige and growth of socialism, then this is extra data with which we can explain why this change occurred in U.S. NATO policy. It is extremely important to determine who is responsible for this change, because it is on this basis that we can adequately mobilize international public opinion against the adventurist, warlike plans."

Another listener wanted to know whether there will be an Andropov-Reagan summit shortly. Varkonyi answered:

"In connection with a summit meeting I can say that on the side of the USSR leaders there have been statements which confirm that the USSR continues to ascribe great significance to top level meetings and is ready to hold such a meeting. In fact it was from our Soviet colleague's statement that we heard that the USSR responds to the slander that they have written off a summit. On the other side too there have been statements that they are willing for a summit meeting, but that this has to be prepared thoroughly. The USSR, the Soviet Government, naturally agrees to a thorough preparation, only they add, as Comrade Gromyko did at his Bonn press conference, that there is no kind of preparation in progress. Therefore, for it to be prepared thoroughly the American side should begin the preparations."

Other listeners asked whether Hungary has any missiles equipped with nuclear warheads and whether SS-20 type missiles exist in the other socialist countries outside the USSR, to which Varkonyi replies:

"I shall say to this very briefly that there are neither warheads nor 22-20 type missiles. There is no need for them because of the range. But I will add to this that at the last--that is the Prague-session of Warsaw Pact political consultative committee the member states said in the political declaration that they take a stand for an international agreement which would say that no nuclear weapons should be deployed in countries where there are none at present, and that nuclear weapons should not be increased in those countries where they already exist."

Vertes reiterates the question as to whether there are any nuclear warheads or SS-20 type missiles in Hungary.

Varkonyi replies: "There are not."

Another listener wanted to know how arms limitation can be controlled, and whether it is sufficient if the big powers rely only on news gathering and trust. Varkonyi says:

"No, that is not sufficient. But international control can now be realized with national means, that is with observation by satellite. These are such developed instruments that they can determine with great precision whether somebody is adhering to the agreements or not. However, let me add a piece of data to this. The 7th Warsaw Pact political consultative committee--I have often alluded to this, but after all this political declaration is of great significance and it is this that we shall be dealing with, and it is the most recent--said that the endeavor which is now trying to force the arms race into a new spiral, precisely on the part of the NATO circles, carries with it the danger that ever newer and more developed types of weapons appear, which foreshadows the danger that they will no longer be sufficiently controllable, or not controllable at all, with international means or national means, or with the technical means at our disposal; this would therefore mean an increase in the threat of war. This is precisely why we take the stand that we should freeze the existing level of armaments and then agree on gradual reduction."

Another listener asked whether 1983 will be called the year of nuclear war, or whether it will be possible to avoid this catastrophe, to which Varkonyi replies:

"If I had my way I would have already taken issue with the title of this program, for why do we speak of it as if it were already the year of missile deployment? This is by no means a contest that is over; there will be many struggles to come and we socialist countries will do everything to make sure that 1983 will be the year of the beginning of disarmament, the year of the relaunching of discussions, of wise discussions. And not the year of missile deployments. I would like to say to our listeners that 1983 will not be the year of nuclear war, and I trust too that no year of the eighties will be the

year of nuclear war; moreover that no year at all will be the year of nuclear war. Let me say that there are guarantees for this. The guarantee, and first and foremost the fundamental guarantee, is that the socialist countries, the Warsaw Pact member states, possess the strength which means equality--we stand on the world arena as equal parties--with imperialism, too, and this strength serves peace. Its guarantee is that the governments, administrative circles, responsible political circles of very many states and many responsible political factors even in the United States are interested in our returning to the path of detente, discussions, and agreement. Finally the masses are increasingly recognizing the danger, and also the possibility that with their joint and united stand they can force governments to accept the path of negotiated settlement. For that reason I can reply to this question in the negative."

To the question as to what extent the West European peace movements can influence missile deployment decisions, and how governments are to decide later about the deployment of missiles, Varkonyi replies:

"No government can escape the influence of the mass movements and every government must expect that all those who take a stand against a government policy that brings the threat of war nearer are also voters who can withdraw their trust from various parties at the elections. This is also the case in West Europe where among very broad masses of people there is a process of awareness that NATO policy on this issue wants to make them the theater for a limited nuclear war. The movement for the freeze on nuclear weapons has mobilized similarly large masses in the United States. Which has not remained without an effect and it must be said that responsible political factors are increasingly paying attention, in an ever more nervous way, to these movements.

"Let me make a digression. Attempts are being made to discredit those spontaneous peace movements, which have great strength, by telling them that such demonstrations are not being allowed in the socialist countries whereas there are also such missiles in the socialist countries; that there is no anti-government peace movement, only a progovernment peace movement; and that there can only be a true peace movement in the socialist countries when it also takes an antigovernment stand. This is a totally false and crooked argument because we are dealing with the fact that nobody can state that a peace movement must be antigovernment. If a government pursues a peace policy, naturally that government's peace policy is to be supported. To take a stand against a government that pursues a peace policy is completely absurd. In West Europe and the United States a stand is being taken not against the policy of the governments in general but against the governments' belligerent policy, and this is what they want to change."

A listener asked what is the point, in the present era of intercontinental missiles, of maintaining conventional forces which are extremely expensive but not as effective as they used to be? Vorkonyi replies to this:

"There is a very simple answer to this and I would like to give a very brief reply. We must take into account Western military doctrines, that is to say,

"the plans being considered by NATO which is in our view a military bloc of an offensive and aggressive kind, and that the possibility of a conventional war is still being considered in these doctrines. For this reason we too must maintain the required defense capability because its reduction would provide a temptation for NATO circles and would attract them to commit aggression. Moreover, local conflicts can also be imagined which make it necessary to maintain an adequate conventional force so long as tension remains as it is now in the world. However, on this issue too we are interested in reducing conventional forces and would like to see the talks--which have been carried out in Vienna for 10 years now--leading to results, because so far they have produced no results whatsoever, even though the socialist countries have submitted constructive proposals year after year."

Varkonyi continues: "Five countries--the United States and the USSR, Britain, France and the PRC possess nuclear weapons, including delivery systems needed for targeting them on their destinations, that is to say missiles and aircraft. Another five or six countries are capable of manufacturing such weapons, including Israel, South Africa and Pakistan. I would like to add here that it is no accident that the USSR and the socialist countries in alliance with her call at every international forum for the concluding of an agreement or treaty which would prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons."

A listener asks whether there is a basis for agreement with the United States, to which Varkonyi replies: "Naturally, extensive consideration and respect for mutual interests is the basis. I agree that we should reach agreement, but an agreement made with the common intention of two sides, and each side must respect the other's sovereignty and just interests. This is what the socialist world does in all its proposals."

To the question as to why concessions are awaited only from the USSR in the missile issue Varkonyi replied: "The opposing sides have two main goals at and outside the talks: they want to attain an advantage in the agreements, where they would like to obtain one-sided advantages. Obviously agreements can not be concluded in this way. The other goal, connected to this, is to gain time for carrying out the armaments program. This on the one hand [words omitted] the discussions should be a (?reference) pretext, and in the meantime they carry out armaments programs while playing for time."

To a question concerning the personality of Ronald Reagan, Varkonyi comments: "Whoever the president, minister or member of the administration of the United States is, we respect him in that he is a representative and official spokesman of a large power, irrespective of whether he is a diplomat or Hollywood actor; this is a characteristic of U.S. political life. However I add that I am sad when I think of the circles behind these persons who have worked out this policy and represent it (?with) administrative organs. Those power interests which he represents must be taken into account."

Concerning the NATO dual decision Varkonyi comments: "This is an extremely crafty decision, to use a mild adjective, because in essence NATO decided, in its own sphere of authority, that at the end of 1983 the United States will deploy dangerous medium-range missiles in West Europe; the other half of the

"dual resolution is to ensure that the negotiations getting underway between the United States and the Soviet Union do not lead to results. Therefore, if I take this two point decision as a whole I see that the solution to arms talks depends on almost entirely on NATO, or the United States. Because they have already decided on one thing, and we cannot interfere in whether they deploy or do not deploy. On the condition that this is the function of the discussions, they have half the word, since discussions depend on them too. Regarding the progress of the discussions which have been going on since last year, attaining agreement depends on them first and foremost and almost exclusively. Of course our initiatives can influence their intentions."

In answer to a question concerning the effect of U.S. missile deployment on Hungary, Varkonyi says: "The point here is that with this step, the decision on missile deployment, they are striving to upset the military balance of power. If this takes place then without doubt the military balance of power will be disrupted because, I ask you to imagine, in place of tactical missiles strategic missiles will appear in our immediate vicinity. Our medium-range missiles, those of the Warsaw Pact, do not reach the United States; the United States on the other hand will have a nuclear weapons arsenal capable of first-strike against which we will have to take the appropriate measures, in other words we will have to regain the balance on a higher level of armament. We say and propose that it is an illusion, and history has shown this--it is impossible to acquire permanent and lasting superiority of military power by way of the arms race. When the United States and the NATO came forward with a new weapon of destruction, we developed it; that is to say, the USSR was able to respond to it. History shows that we have always responded, that is they brought a new weapon and we responded, we were forced to respond in the interest of preventing them discussing with us from a position of power. The justification for the striving for military superiority is that they will then want to discuss with us from the position of a superiority of strength, which we cannot allow because this brings nearer the danger of war and threatens to a large degree the peace of mankind. There is still another danger, of course, in this missile deployment, namely that the time that exists between launching and impact becomes extremely short. In the case of the Pershing-2 missiles, I think this is 4 to 5 minutes. Now, in such a case one can say that even an incident occurring by accident or as a consequence of chance could have extremely serious consequences. Therefore, every effort has to be made to prevent this."

To a question as to whether the USSR and the United States are not taking China into account, Varkonyi says: "They are not leaving it out of the reckoning. I will here mention the Salt-II Agreement which the Americans signed but did not ratify, although on the whole they have so far kept to the measures of the agreement signed. In this the ceiling which they determined was reached by also taking into consideration the strength of other nuclear powers, including China. In other words, to avoid a situation in which too great an advantage could be acquired by those who possess nuclear strength, but considerably less of it. I would add to this as a fact that anxiety could be somewhat reduced, because the 12th, the last, Congress of the CPC said that in its earliest theses which said that world war is unavoidable the PRC was declaring her interest in peace, in the maintenance of peace. It seems that

"it is also in these terms that she is conducting her politics now in the international arena. We strongly hope that this positive change will be shown in positive acts."

Concerning the extent to which the two world systems are influenced by the world economic crisis, Varkonyi says: "Here we must distinguish between the two world systems, between the capitalist world system and the socialist world system. This crisis, just as the general crisis of capitalism of which this is a deepening phase, is the property of the capitalist world economy. At the same time however, since the countries of the socialist world system also take part in the world trade, this deepening of the capitalist world economy crisis has an effect on the individual socialist countries, including Hungary, to the extent to which this is justified by their participation and share in foreign trade. Therefore, to this extent it has an effect also on the socialist world; but I say once again, this is a crisis of the capitalist world."

Bernat refers to the Soviet proposal to reduce its missiles to the level of "national" missiles in the possession of Britain and France, and wonders whether these missiles can be regarded as serving only a "national purpose."

Varkonyi says: "This is the first time, and I frankly admit this, that I have heard this description and it appears very strange. After all, missiles that can reach targets beyond the national frontiers can, indeed, be national but then, in that sense, all missiles are national depending on which nation's territory they are deployed on. I would like to note with regard to this whole interview that if our listeners listened attentively to what was said here, they will then appreciate how much work and commitment are awaiting the diplomats and representatives of the socialist countries both in the near and distant future so that we may get our proposals accepted on the basis of mutual advantages."

"I would add another point, if I may, to the definition of weapons. I can sense from such a definition that it contains the recognition of the possibility of a limited nuclear war. Let us just consider the idea that there are missiles in Europe which serve only the purposes of defending French territory or of defending Britain's territory. In that case a conflict can be envisaged which would not involve the FRG. Well, in our view, a limited nuclear war is unthinkable, and all those who claim otherwise in the West, in particular within the NATO circles, are playing a very dangerous game with the concepts and theories of world war. So, I think it is worth considering this, too."

Vertes mentions that the USSR and its allies form one entity in geographical terms while the United States lies far from its allies. He goes on to ask: "To what extent does this represent an inherently more aggressive behavior on the part of the United States?"

Varkonyi answers: "Well, I would frankly confess that I have learned foreign politics from Endre Sik, Comrade Imre Horvath and Comrade Janos Peter [former Hungarian diplomats]. By saying this, I am not trying to shift responsibility onto their shoulders if the answer is not as forceful as the question. All

"the same, I understand the question and it tries to explain or reduce different kinds of political conduct from geopolitical considerations. I would not agree with this. While, to a certain extent, the geographical location of an individual country does determine that country's international conduct--it may make it easier or more difficult for it to get involved in international life--it does not justify any kind of aggressive behavior. Indeed, the United States declares itself in favor of policy of isolationism for a long time while it was situated in the same geographical region. This was then replaced by its policy of active interference and intervention. The aggressive nature of this policy is to be found not in geographical location but in the imperialist system.

Bernat asks Varkonyi how he would assess Helmut Schmidt's role, in Europe, taking into consideration his role in NATO's decision on the deployment of missiles and in plans for the deployment of missiles. Varkonyi replies:

"We have assessed very highly Helmut Schmidt's personal role and share in ensuring the development of cooperation, detente and the comprehensive and multi-faceted broadening of interstate relations between European countries with different social systems, including that between the Hungarian People's Republic and the FRG. As regards the stand taken by him with regard to NATO's plans for the deployment of missiles, that does not belong to his most fortunate political acts, however I believe that there have been modifications to this attitude since those days, that is since 1989-79."

A recorded interview in French with superimposed Hungarian translation by correspondent Eva Szczzi with Jacques Huntzinger, foreign affairs secretary of the French Socialist Party, is then played, in which he says:

"We are not for the Pershing missiles but for the zero solution. In other words what we want is that there should not be any Eurostrategic weapons in Europe, neither SS-20's nor Pershings. This is the fundamental essence of our position."

"In order for the Geneva talks to be successful the Soviet Union will have to take further steps and make more concessions. The French Socialist Party and French diplomacy hold the view that the Soviet proposals cannot be the basis for a solution. It is precisely the deployment of the Pershing missiles which will convince the Soviet Union to make concessions. The deployment of NATO missiles will not block the Geneva talks, rather it is through them, and perhaps after 1983, that the road that will lead to an agreement and to the restoration of a European balance of power.

"With regard to the French nuclear striking force, the French position is unchanged. The French missiles are limited in number and range; they serve exclusively the defense of France. They are independent of the other NATO member states, and are at the disposal of the French Government alone. As you know, the French deterrent forces at present just reach that strategic level which ensures the safety of the territory of France. Secondly, the task of the French forces is not to protect The Hague, Hamburg or Rome. In other words, if the Soviet SS-20's were deployed against these cities--and this

"cannot be excluded, after all, what else can these missiles be used for--the answer would come not from the French forces. Thus, how can two systems be compared which do not resemble each other? It is the NATO forces which must equalize the Soviet weapons system."

Answering a listener's question as to why the French Communist Party [PCF] cooperates with the Socialist Party [PS] which supports Reagan's missile deployment plans, Varkonyi says: "Well, what I would like to remark in connection with this interview is that it shows how much work we still had to do to have our proposals accepted. This statement by a PS official shows that we have a great deal to argue about. It is logical that he says that the world would be an ideal one if there were only French missiles in it. This is an understandable national endeavor, but this is something that nobody can accept. Since France is a member of NATO, the utilization of the offensive weapons at its disposal in the case of a conflict is obviously not toward war against each other but is directed against the countries of the Warsaw Pact. This is something that we must take into consideration. By the way, the Soviet proposal, the proposal of the Warsaw Pact, also takes this into consideration.

"With regard to the PCF's participation in the government, this cannot be directly linked with every foreign political manifestation of the French Government. It is known to everyone that the PCF does not hold the post of foreign minister. Several important ministerial posts were allocated to PCF representatives, and the PCF is participating in the government, facilitating the implementation of the progressive paths of the socialist program with the means at the disposal of the state and the government; at the same time the PCF naturally criticizes the actions of the socialist administration against progress.

"Concerning whether to participate in the government, this is a question for communist parties with significant mass support in many capitalist countries; it is a disputed question and there are various contradictory answers. I believe, and this is my opinion, that the PCF's participation in the PS government can be regarded as a significant progressive step. Its cooperation with the PS, its support for the progressive movements, definitely influences developments in a more positive direction than if it were to serve events from the outside. Naturally however this gives rise to very complicated situations for the PCF as well and orientation in these complex situations often causes surprise to the outside observer."

To a question as to whether Giscard D'Estaing was better than Mitterrand since Mitterrand's government fully supports missile deployment, Varkonyi replied: "I would like to note once again that it is far from the socialist countries to classify the leading personalities of other countries. These people represent countries whose electors have entrusted them with certain functions. We respect them as government representatives and we talk to them in a way which endeavors to maintain normal interstate relations, and the expansion of these relations, precisely because of our interests and the interests of the world as a whole. Now, a government may be more pragmatic in certain respects, in foreign policy, even though it is more conservative with regard to its internal policies. At times this can also happen in reverse. However, this can be regarded as a temporary phenomenon.

"In particular, if I take the situation of France into consideration, it is obvious that their history must teach them that their sovereignty, independence and authority as a power in Europe and perhaps in other parts of the world [break in transmission]. In the sense I too am a European communist because I am a communist in Europe and not Asia or Africa, but to call me a Eurocommunist in Japan or Mexico is a total absurdity. Naturally, this attributive noun was intended to stress a distinction not in a geographic sense but to [word indistinct] the contrary opinions of the parties representing the opposing views inside the international communist and workers' movement. We could sum it up under the title: opposition to the socialist countries; the criticism or rejection of existing socialism. This was not a viable tendency even when it was born and is increasingly less viable now.

"I must say here that socialism, existing socialism, exists in the socialist countries; it is developing despite all the difficulties. While of course we all say that with our present minds, at our present level of development and on the basis of the experiences which we now possess, if we were to begin now we would perhaps lay down better foundations and would start the work better, this is no reason for destroying the foundations, simply because it appears to some people that perhaps in the past we should have done better."

"This is untenable from the point of view of the masses as well. After all, what sort of perspective can our fraternal parties provide for their own masses if they reject everything that socialism has created and realized to date, and this is no small achievement--the existence of socialism, the socialist world system, the fact that we can act on the world scene--if they reject all that and aim at something completely different, something that is completely opaque and undefined? It is obvious that this, as well as other considerations, played a part in the regrettable electoral defeat that hit our fraternal Spanish party. I say that it was regrettable because we cannot take pleasure in the misfortune of our brothers. We are with them with all our hearts, and we would like them to realize all their goals. They could serve well the (?welfare) of the Spanish working people. They drew the appropriate conclusions from this [and] are trying to repair all those faults which they have possibly committed."

In answer to the questions as to whether the capitalist countries initiated the arms race in order to create an economic crisis and political troubles in the socialist countries; what the socialist countries can do about this, and whether the East can afford the arms race when the Western countries are richer, Varkonyi replies:

"My answer to the first question is that we can do a very great deal and can prevent these endeavors from succeeding. Concerning the second question, which is a very exciting one of course, I can say that we can afford it if necessary; naturally we can afford it, because we are capable of achieving less costly solutions. We have no such burdens as making profit on military expenditure. I think it is well known to everyone that in the socialist countries there is no person or group or family in the government possessing shares in munitions factories, and they are not in any way interested in us spending anything on military expenditures. It is only the defense of the

"people, the nation, the homeland and socialism which forces us to do this, while in the capitalist countries this is an undertaking bringing in considerable profits, particularly in the United States but elsewhere as well where the capitalist circles are interested in the production of the costliest possible weapons systems. After all, this is how they can devote the largest amount from the money of the taxpayers to the improvement of their own profits.

"This was one of the considerations that I wanted to mention in connection with the arms race. The other is naturally that the stamina of our people, our peoples, the peoples of the socialist countries is, for historical reasons as well, considerably greater and they can value much more the achievements that we have attained; our people are capable of and willing to defend these. This is something that Western propagandists are also increasingly realizing. There are more and more statements to be heard to the effect that it is madness to imagine that the Soviet Union can be forced to its knees through the arms race; it cannot be forced to its knees. The more they realize this, the closer we will come to disarmament, to the reduction of armaments."

A recorded interview by Warsaw correspondent Szaboles Szilagyi with Polish Government spokesman Jerzy Urban, recorded in Polish with superimposed Hungarian translation, follows. Szilagyi asks Urban to evaluate the effect of the state of emergency on Polish society, to which Urban replies "The state of emergency had an effect first of all on that part of society which had come under the influence of the opponents of socialism. Besides this it had an effect on those who had a tendency toward the realization of utopian ideas and who, occasionally in a well-meaning spirit, participated in the attacks against the state, in the disruption of the economy, in strikes and in demonstrations. The state of emergency came as a shock to this part of society. I do not say that the state of emergency is something good but it was rapid intervention and intended to shake people up."

Szilagyi asks Urban how he sees the perspectives of economic development.

Urban replies: "Well, I can speak about more than just the possibilities. The process of economic development is already underway. Production has been increasing for the last few months. The effects of the state of emergency manifested themselves almost immediately in the mining industry. This was very important for the country, particularly in coal production. The entire economy of Poland is built on coal. This is what we use to heat the dwellings and this is also our main export. Thus, I think that purely in order to restore the level of coal production it was worth introducing a state of emergency."

"Poland is still facing tremendous economic problems and for that reason it will take years to return to the level of production and consumption which characterized our country in 1979. It would be difficult to speak of marvellous perspectives here. At any rate, with the help of the rationing system we are capable of meeting the most basic needs for food and industrial goods. We hope that we shall be able to do away with rationing of certain articles and that the normal state of the market can be restored. The meat supply presents us with a difficult situation. Also, we are worried that the

"price of certain goods must be raised. Thus, for the near future the standard of living will not rise. In other words, even though the situation is improving, there are still difficult times to come. Society must exhibit patience and everyone must be aware that we must get through this period. The more effectively we work, the more people come to realize that we can only overcome the difficulties together, the shorter the period of worries will be."

In response to a question about whether there is a chance that the standard of living and production in Poland will reach the level prior to 1980 and what Hungary can do to facilitate this, Varkonyi states:

"I think that within a few years they can reach that level and will be able to make a start along the road of further development. It is an unquestionable fact that since 13 December 1981 significant progress has taken place in every sphere of the life of the Polish People's Republic. This progress has been developing in very positive directions. Naturally, what is involved here is a crisis which developed over a good many years, and this cannot be overcome in a matter of months. To restore the trust of the masses, to work harder with their concurrence to launch (?greater) development, to repair the damage--this is a matter of years, and this is something that we must realize."

"As for our role in this, well, naturally we maintain very close ties of alliance, friendship and economic relations with the Polish People's Republic. We will give all the help we can to the Polish People's Republic, our brothers, so that they can overcome their problems. This, by the way, is also in our own interest. Even disregarding the spirit of internationalism which guides us, it is in our own interest, because the sooner the production, and the economic and social conditions are restored to normal in the Polish People's Republic, the more we can concern ourselves within CEMA with the solution to our problems."

A listener asks whether it is true that it is the Hungarians who pay the Polish debts.

Varkonyi replies: "No, naturally this is not true. In any case, we have our own debts that we have to repay. This would be impossible in any case. How much it costs us is a question that must always be examined from the aspect that our bilateral relations and our multilateral relations within CEMA are based on mutual economic advantages and all such help will be returned. I would add to this that we need not question how much it costs us. In 1956, when we were in trouble, the Polish People's Republic unselfishly came to our help, and this is what we do when our Polish brothers require it."

Varkonyi is asked to answer a "sensitive" question raised by a called as to whether there will be an improvement in Hungarian-Romanian relations.

He replies that "there are no sensitive questions, only sensitive answers. I think this is a question that can be answered quite safely. Just as with the other neighboring socialist countries, we have close and many-faceted

"relations with the Romanian Socialist Republics. In these relations we consider it as an added special factor that in the neighboring socialist countries there are citizens of Hungarian origin who build a socialist society there, in the given country, and through maintaining and strengthening our links, by cultivating their national culture and language, cultural traditions, they fit organically into the life of the socialist country in question. Thus, instead of being a diversive force in relations with other countries, for the first time in our history they can fulfill the role of the bridge, the link, facilitating the development of many-faceted relations between the socialist countries."

"Historically, precisely the opposite was the case before the existence of the socialist system in Eastern Europe. Naturally, in the beginning we had illusions that hereafter everything would be settled automatically and the very positive processes that are our aim would occur automatically. Well, nothing is automatic; we have to work for it. The Hungarian People's Republic, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, exchange views in the course of negotiations, with our Romanian comrades, endeavoring to further the solution of these problems. Last year Comrade Lazar visited Romania. Party functionaries have also visited. Comrade Aczel and I also took part in one of these negotiations. The communique issued on these talks quite clearly lists the topics. This was one part of a series of negotiations, and the communique also states that these talks will be continued. We shall have negotiations in the near future in Budapest with the relevant leaders of the Romanian party."

"The essence of the talks is that at the meeting between Comrades Janos Kadar and Nicolae Ceausescu an 1977 agreement was reached on a wide-ranging and comprehensive program of development. This was also set out in a memorandum. The implementation of what was set out in this memorandum has been successful in many areas, but in certain areas there are still possibilities and even shortfalls. What we should like is to make progress in these areas to realize a situation in which the nationalities living in our countries, the Romanians living in Hungary and the Hungarians living in Romania, should have closer relations with us. By improving their mood and through their participation in the work of building socialism we will help the expansion and development of the friendship between our countries and peoples."

The next question deals with Afghanistan and what considerations motivated the Soviet Union to give military help to Afghanistan and what changes have occurred in the country since December 1979.

In reply Varkonyi recalls that "In April 1978 an anti-feudal revolution was victorious. It was a revolution that achieved victory through internal forces. There was no question whatsoever of any external inspiration. The revolutionaries enjoyed great mass support. However, later, due to both objective and subjective circumstances, the mass support dropped to a remarkable extent and the danger of a counterrevolution supported from the outside increased. The fact that Iran dropped out of the U.S. sphere of interest increased Afghanistan's strategic significance. In December 1979 the revolution in Afghanistan was faced with a mortal threat, and the sovereign government

"turned to the Soviet Union for help. The Soviet Union provided that help, thereby making the consolidation of the achievements of the revolution possible. We can now say that there is a continuous, gradual consolidation. There is an endeavor to normalize relations with the international community and with the neighbors; and there are positive signs that the protection, the defense of the revolution in Afghanistan, its consolidation and development, are a realistic prospect."

When asked whether Afghanistan is one of the reasons for the deteriorating relations between the two great powers, Varkonyi replies:

"Well, Western propaganda has been getting up and going to bed talking about Afghanistan ever since December 1979. This is a manipulation. They use the events in Afghanistan as an excuse. I could give various specific examples to demonstrate this. When did the sharpening in the international atmosphere begin? The NATO decision on a 15-year rearmament program was made in May 1978. They recommended that the members should increase their military spending by three percent above the rate of inflation. There was no Afghanistan at that time. In the autumn of 1979, the United States postponed the ratification of the Salt-II treaty, which had been signed in the summer. It has still not been ratified. There were still no signs whatsoever to indicate that there would be events in Afghanistan. The decision to deploy Pershing-II missiles in Western Europe was reached by NATO on 12 December 1979. The Soviet support for Afghanistan was begun on 27 December 1979."

CSO: 2500/110

CZYREK, OTHERS SPEAK AT PZPR CONTROL COMMISSION

AU201313 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Anna Pawlowska report: "The Most Important Task: Help for the Basic PZPR Organizations"--passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Excerpts] /On 13 January a session of the Seventh Central Party Control Commission Plenum took place with the participation of the chairmen of voivodship party control commissions. Jozef Czyrek, member of the PZPR Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, also took part in the session. The basis of the discussion, which was chaired by Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, was a report from the Presidium given by Grazyna Kotnowska, deputy chairman of the commission and principal of the 21st General Secondary School in Lodz./

She presented an appraisal of the experience of the voivodship party control commissions and lower control commissions in increasing the effectiveness of party activity. /The first half of these commissions' terms of office, which is now ending, was at first filled to a great extent by the so-called squaring of accounts. Then, particularly after the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum, their main efforts were directed toward consolidating the party's internal unity and purging party ranks of people who are ideologically alien or casual. This was a stage whose intensity was also subsided. That is why the work of the control commissions should now help prevent bad phenomena in the party, support the principles of the party's cadre policy and assist the educational activities of the primary party organizations./

Whereas the voivodship party control commissions are in general prepared for this kind of work, the lower level commissions are encountering many difficulties. They accurately examine cases of the breach of ethics, but are unable to take a stand on ideological or political problems. That is why the training of commission members is a matter of importance. These commissions are also exposed more frequently than voivodship commissions to local pressure, which should be resolutely and unequivocally opposed by party cells and voivodship party control commissions. An unjust tendency to go for the highest fines at once is sometimes evident in the commission's judicial pronouncements.

/The Presidium of the Central Party Control Commission takes the view that such pronouncements should be made with increasing frequency by the primary

party organizations, in accordance with their statutory rights and duties, because this is of the greatest educational value. Control commissions should offer their help to primary party organizations in this regard./ An important issue is that the primary party organizations should not only impose punishment, but also exert their influence on those who have been punished, creating conditions in which such people can overcome their faults, and, at the right time, make use of the right to expunge punishment.

The control commissions should pay constant attention to consolidating the party and to counteracting any dispersal of effort in the activities outside of the statutory party structures. There is currently so much work in the party, and freedom of speech and criticism are so widespread, that there is no reason for the existence of the nonstatutory form of the *aktywny* meetings. Regardless of intentions, these activities are always fraught with the dangers of factionalism.

/The very important new regions of the control commissions' work are connected with economic affairs./ The party cannot be indifferent to the manner in which the principles of economic reform are implemented in independent enterprises. The distortion of the programmed party policy in this area must be subject to the control of the party and its proposals. There is also a need to tighten up cooperation between control commissions and party cells as well as their internal organizational and ideological commissions and those dealing with complaints and letters.

/Both the Presidium's report and the Central Party Control Commission's work plan for the first half of 1983--this plan was presented by the report--were accepted by the plenum. [passage omitted]

Speaking at the discussion, Jozef Czyrek, on behalf of the PZPR Politburo, highly appraised the Control Commission's contribution to party life and to regaining the party's ideological purity and organizational cohesion. /The Central Committee secretary then outlined the country's political situation, pointing out that the positive increase of social criticism with regard to the slogans and actions of the opponents of socialism is taking place more quickly than the reinstatement of trust in the people's authorities and in the party./ A dangerous vacuum of apathy and passivity is therefore taking shape, which is precisely what the opponent is counting on, adapting his tactics to this situation. How soon this gap disappears and is filled with civic activity and involvement in the affairs of the country will depend to a great degree on the state of the party, its ideological aggression and its bonds with working people. It is therefore necessary to rally the entire party for the struggle in the cause of socialism. The role of each party member increases within his own community, especially the role of one who has been entrusted with any sort of function on the recommendation of the party.

The task of achieving relative economic equilibrium continues to prove difficult. No matter how people may resent hearing this assertion--we are still living above our means. Social demagoguery and the encouragement of extra claims by social and professional groups are serious threats to our chance

of overcoming the crisis. Awareness of this fact should be as widespread in the party as possible.

/J. Czyrek also spoke of church-state relations, as well as the international determinants of Poland's situation./

Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, who concluded the discussion, stated that the changes taking place in the moods of society oblige the party to undertake activities which will confirm our willingness and ability to overcome every evil and master every difficulty every day. /The guiding principle of such activities is invariably the general policy worked out at the Ninth PZPR Congress./

/The struggle against everything which weakens the party, which impairs its ideological, political and organizational unity, which strikes at our sense of social justice, which savors of arrogance and of a lack of sensitivity to the working man's problems and which jeopardizes the good name of a party member, continues to be the task of the Party Control Commission./

J. Urbanski drew attention to the great importance attached to the honest squaring of accounts by voivodship party control commissions at voivodship conferences and to informing delegates of the conclusions stemming from control work during the first half of the term of office. The commissions should also be open to criticism addressed to them by the delegates, he said.

J. Urbanski then informed the participants of the activities and the disciplinary decisions recently made by the Central Party Control Commission.

CSO: 2600/308

MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON NEW TRADE UNIONS

AU221627 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Jan 83 p 6

[PAP reporter Romana Kalecka interview with Stanislaw Ciosek, minister of trade union affairs: "Building the New Trade Union Movement"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] Three months have passed since the trade union law was adopted. It was envisaged then that new trade unions could arise in several tens of thousands of work places. Right now there are less than 4,000 new unions. So what can one say about the way in which the concept of building up the trade union movement from the foundations is being implemented?

[Answer] It is still too early to make any general appraisal on a phenomenon which is only just shaping itself. The birth process of the new trade unions which we are witnessing is a natural process which may take some time. If several tens of thousands of trade unions were to appear suddenly the day after the adoption of the law, then suspicions that the process was being manipulated and steered from above would be justified. For this is not a campaign, but a process which is slow because of the nature of things, and yet one which is gradually growing. Unions have commenced their activity only since the beginning of this year.

Meanwhile, already on 2 January, on a Sunday before the new unions were able to commence normal activity with full legal rights, the entire Western propaganda simultaneously announced the defeat of the "regime's" trade unions as if they had been touched by a magic wand. In addition, only the numbers of registered organizations are mentioned, without giving any consideration to the fact that the seeds of the new unions--the initiating groups and founding committees--are already active in most work places which are entitled to set up trade unions, and signs are appearing every day that new groups have arisen.

[Question] Nevertheless, this does not mean that most workers have already applied to join the new movement. The trade unions are meant to be the greatest mass organization of working people. Yet generally speaking, the new unions contain only a small part of the workforces. One hears voices in this connection saying that it was wrong to dissolve all the previous trade unions

and opinions that the decision to do so has enhanced the divisions among workforces and strengthened Solidarity's legend.

[Answer] The membership figures and influence of the new trade unions are varied: They contain from several dozen to several thousands of people. Please remember what I said earlier--these are still early days in the new union's activity. One must also bear in mind the complex psychological and social conditions accompanying the birth of this movement. By invalidating all the [previous] trade unions, the Sejm performed an act which had to be accepted in different ways. After all, it would have been very naive to expect universal spontaneous approval. It is also naive to say that this action met with firm opposition from working people. [passage omitted]

As far as the Solidarity legend is concerned, the matter is extremely complicated; it still demands an objective and deeper analysis which is more possible today than before since appraisals used to be made in the light of a sharp political battle. There is no doubt, however, that the social philosophy which Solidarity offered people was sometimes a collection of the same illusions which we used to cherish in the 1970's and contained the same daydreams about prosperity and power which does not require sacrifice and hard work. A better life was meant to be guaranteed for us in the 1970's by foreign credits, and after August by the government, which it is enough to grab by the throat in order for it to give money, because it has always done so. Yet the fact that at the same time one's own state was being destroyed, often with cold premeditation, was unimportant as long as one could continue to dream about a second Japan. If it seemed that everything was possible, it was enough to make loud demands for it. The illusions and false hopes with which Solidarity was luring people were easy to decipher. The ebb in support, natural in those months, was followed by a period of sobering up. Rank-and-file Solidarity members began to criticize things. Many took part in strikes under strong pressure, not of their own free will. People became more and more aware that they were being politically manipulated. Time began to act to the disadvantage of the Solidarity leaders. That is why they decided to throw the union onto the course of confrontation. This has been spoken about in detail many times and it is not these matters which are the subject of our interview.

Therefore, it was necessary to break these illusions and adapt them to reality, which is not at all rosy. This is not easy. We have an intelligent though difficult program for stubbornly climbing out of the crisis. Nevertheless, many people still expect promises: When will things finally be all right? The government would be dishonest to make empty promises. It does not want to earn itself a cheap popularity based on empty slogans. Slowly but surely, a feeling of reality is being born and an understanding of the difficult but only possible policy today of emerging from the crisis and replacing Poland on the European scene as a normal, independent and affluent state. This goal--although it may be rather positivistic for some and not romantic--may also be irresistible. [passage omitted]

[Question] What does the government think of the essential negotiations and consultations which are meant to take place this year with the trade unions on

basic matters concerning wage policy, social benefits and prices? This year, the trade unions will only be active at factory level.

[Answer] We must already shape partnerlike relations between the state and economic administration at all levels and the trade unions, in keeping with the letter and spirit of the law. The Council of Ministers' Committee on Trade Union Affairs will soon recommence its activity. We are selecting goals from the government's extensive work program which will be discussed with the trade unions. The list of these goals is very long.

The lack of trade union bodies above factory level is obviously making these consultations more difficult. However, it is worth recalling that it is possible to speed up a Council of State resolution on establishing trade union branch structures, which depends on the amount of time it takes for the unions to organize themselves. For the time being, however, we need alternative measures. Ministries will submit draft proposals for consultation in factories, and representatives of the administration will invite union representatives to discuss more important problems. In a word, if one wants to learn someone else's opinion, he will always find a way. For it depends on the intelligence of trade union activists whether unions will operate only on the basis of the opinions of their members and activists, or whether they will also organize consultations among the entire workforce. The greatest amount of difficulty is being posed by the need to make the right decisions from among a range of extremely varied views and demands and from among expectations which often differ widely. For the point is to create the kind of system which will make it possible to extract from this cauldron of different views those shared by most of society and which take fundamental interests into account.

[Question] What about workers' self-management bodies? What sort of shape can relations take between unions which only contain a part of workers, and the self-management bodies, which represent the work force in general and, during the reform, the employers are well? The trade union law says almost nothing on this subject.

[Answer] This is a problem of capital importance and fraught with consequences. Under economic reform conditions, the trade union model must shape itself in a different way. The workers' self-management bodies will decide on many matters important for the workforces. The director, who might hinder trade unions, only carries out the resolutions of the self-management body. The trade unions must themselves find a correct formula of activity under the new conditions. Right now, this is an open problem and life will supply the answer. In any case, we can expect disputes to occur not only between the unions and the self-management bodies but also between the unions and the administration.

[Question] The government is probably not worried about this, and it seems that there is no threat of excessive strikes in self-managing enterprises....

[Answer] After the heated atmosphere we experienced between August and December, we are all probably more immune to strikes. Seriously speaking,

the administration does not want to make use of self-management bodies in conflicts, but the very reality of life itself and the model of social relations which is only just taking shape will force workers' representatives to head the legal principle of equating their demands with the losses which a strike could cause. If the government were the giver of goods, then revindications and negotiations would make sense. Now the government is to be an administrator and manager; it must only see to it that, for example, wages depend on the amount of work put in, that no one lives at someone else's expense and also that no one who is incapable of earning his own living remains without funds. Almost everything now depends on the workforce, on what they work out, and also on the intelligence of their representatives.

[Question] Even so, are you not afraid that a feeling of inalienation by some of the new trade unions will make them seek popularity at any price: Might they not become demagogic concerning social and pay matters or settle petty living matters which are the business of the administrative social services?

[Answer] The unions are not free of this threat. The only advice to be given is to adopt a feeling of reality and undertake what is essential and at the same time possible. That is why the trade unions cannot shun affairs concerning production because their concern over these matters determines how effectively they perform their defense function.

Other barriers may also arise during the building of the new trade union movement. For example, one cannot neglect the knowledge of some of the management and supervisory staff, people who became accustomed last year to a comfortable life without unions and self-management bodies. Under reform conditions, however, an intelligent manager could in his own interest establish good and partnerlike cooperation with the unions.

[Question] Many doubts have been created by the recent Council of Ministers decision to transfer the assets of the former factory organizations to the new unions. The way this decision was made has caused reservations, including as to whether it is merited: Why have workers who do not belong to trade unions at present been denied the right to take advantage of their membership dues which were often paid over many years?

[Answer] The new unions' founding committees made many demands that factory assets be thawed before 1 January so that the trade unions could have at least a modest material foundation on which to commence their activity. This was the stance taken by the representatives of these committees at the November meeting with the Social Consultative Commission. Besides, the funds involved are not large, equal to one month's membership dues collected throughout the country.

However, as far as funds and fixed assets are concerned--houses, various buildings and equipment left behind by chief administrations and union head offices--these will be transferred to the new unions untouched when the appropriate union structures arise, after these bodies have been consulted, of

course. Right now, the government is administering these assets and will even bear the considerable costs of maintaining them. Making use of this materials base should not give rise to conflicts. Working people are resting in vacation homes and sanatoriums regardless of their union membership.

[Question] And the last question: Mr Minister, do you expect that the new unions will achieve greater support from the workforces than today?

[Answer] Why, this is an inevitable process. People live in difficult conditions today. There is a lot of injustice and harm in daily life. For this reason alone workers need the unions so that someone can defend their rights and interests. Organizing oneself into trade unions is the natural interest of the workers' class, stronger than the absurd attempts at boycotting and stronger than today's grudges and warnings. I am convinced that the new unions will slowly unite the workforces, that they will grow firm and that this will happen calmly, without any pressure. A natural matter is and will be for the trade union activists to gain new supporters. All those who have involved themselves with the idea of a new trade union movement can obviously not wait with arms folded. The first steps being taken by the activists of the new unions are full of vigor and confidence in success. However, we cannot--and no such phenomenon can be observed in any case--artificially speed up this natural process, even though strong trade unions which really represent the opinions and interests of the workers' class are needed both by the workers' class and by the socialist state.

CSO: 2600/309

ELBLAG PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Party Plenum

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 4 Nov 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by: b]

[Text] The PZPR Provincial Committee met in a plenary session in Elblag yesterday, in order to make an assessment of the extent of implementation, in that region, of tasks ensuing from a resolution of the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The session was attended by, among others, Central Committee members Stefan Walter and Stanislaw Slawek, as well as by Central Review Commission members Antoni Galecki and Julian Turko, and also by the governor, colonel Ryszard Urlinski.

The deliberations were chaired by first secretary of PZPR Provincial Committee, Jerzy Prusiecki. In his opening remarks he stated, among other things, that their purpose was not only to verify the implementation of old objectives but also to establish new ones. Thus, while assessing the effects of actions undertaken heretofore, and emphasizing the unquestionable achievements of party echelons and organizations with regard to the creation of a proper political climate and the preservation of an atmosphere of calm and work, which favors gradual improvement in management effectiveness, in the province, we should also focus our attention on areas of party work where the results are still not satisfactory.

The opening report for the discussion was read by the Provincial Committee secretary, Leszek Witkiewicz. He noted that implementation of the objectives outlined in the resolution of the Seventh Plenum of PZPR Central Committee had been initiated in the Elblag province by a plenary session of the Provincial Committee in March [1982]. At that session, we assessed the condition of the provincial party organization as well as its strength and finances; furthermore, we charted the directions of action and established the forms and methods of practical implementation of approved agreements. However, there are many factors that determine the quality of operation of party organizations and echelons as well as their organizational effectiveness. One of these factors is, for example, proper selection and preparation of the aktiv, particularly of persons who perform party leadership functions. It is these persons who, to a large extent, influence the organization of

political and ideological-educational as well as propaganda work. Frequently, selection of the personnel of the leadership aktiv used to take place in a highly emotional atmosphere of cadre changes. Consequently, some members of the newly constituted aktiv lacked necessary experience, and some activists lacked organizational abilities; at times, those were people with social-democratic views, who criticized vociferously but did not know the statute and the principles of democratic centralism. Hence a need arose to make cadre changes.

At present, out of 41 first secretaries of basic echelons, only 14 have been serving since their previous term of office, and 13 have been serving for only a few months. These new people, who more frequently come directly from among the work forces, also have to be properly trained for positions of responsibility. This is done with the aid of, among others, various training programs, activities of regional centers of party work, and an improved system of transmittal of intraparty information in the province.

While describing the recent achievements in the work of the party echelon and organization, L. Witkiewicz at the same time pointed out still occurring shortcomings which result from, among other things, still insufficient fulfillment of statutory obligations by some organizations and, in some matters, by local echelons. This concerns, among other things, the frequency of meetings, as well as preparing and conducting them; it also concerns inactivity of members and arrears in payment of membership dues. Only 60 percent of the basic party organizations [POP] have assigned individual tasks to their members. Importance is not always given to ideological-educational work, attention being focused excessively on economic and social matters.

The Secretary of the Provincial Committee described the social and political situation in the region and the efforts to stabilize it, particularly after the street demonstrations in Elblag in May [1982]. He drew attention to the negative impact that market shortages and other problems of everyday life have on people. He pointed, among other things, to attempts to sow social discord, particularly by foreign centers of [political] diversion; he also pointed to manifestations of social pathology, to unjustified increases in the prices of many articles, and to the still not completely successful campaign against profiteering, waste, and indolence.

While discussing the region's industrial production results for the 3 quarters of the current year, L. Witkiewicz emphasized that these results put the Elblag province in the first place in our country. But this is due only to the efforts of the work of the employees of only some, though important, plants, such as the ZAMECH General Swierczewski Mechanical Plant [in Elblag], the Cellulose-Paper plant in Kwidzyn, the Gdansk Sugar Mills, the RENOMA and Buczek Shoe Cooperatives, the WARMIA plant in Orneta, and the MEBLOS Furniture Plant in Kwidzyn.

On the other hand, in this period many plants also producing for the [domestic] market not only failed to meet their current commitments but also reduced deliveries of their products as compared with the previous year. This applies, for example, to the ZALEW Fish Processing Cooperative in Tolkmicko, the DELTA

Cooperative in Malbork, the Processed Products Plant [ZWP] in Elblag, the Provincial Fruit and Vegetable Processed Products Plant [WZPOW] in Kwidzyn, and the PROKOM Enterprise in Orneta. The situation in the construction industry continues to be bad, particularly in housing construction. In agriculture of particular concern is, among other things, the decrease in the cattle population and the reduction in the number of hogs being raised.

The existing shortcomings result both from causes of an undoubtedly objective nature that reflect management effectiveness or lack of it, and from causes of a subjective nature. These are also visible in the work of some plant party organizations and echelons.

The process of self-purging of the Elblag province party organization is continuing. During nine months of the current year, 3,031 persons were dismissed and 117 expelled from the party. But, at the same time, new candidates and members are being accepted, though their number is still not too large. The party is gaining strength and consolidating its ranks. In many organizations and echelons, numerous needs of the work forces and milieus are being largely met. Many party members are engaged in social work, actively participating in the formation and activities of Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth [OKON], of which there are almost 180 in our province; they are also active in plant social committees.

At present--said L. Witkiewicz--we need, more than ever, direct contacts with the work forces, where the battle for the formation of new trade unions is being fought. Up to the present time, 222 initiative groups have been formed in our province; their total membership is over 4,600 persons. The greatest number of them exist in Pieniezno, Sztum, and the gminas of Braniewo, Kwidzyn, Elblag, Stary Dzierzgon, and Malbork. In some plants and social-professional milieus, initiative groups have already appointed founding committees and formed organizational, program, and statute commissions. Such is the situation in, among others, the ZAMECH [Mechanical Plant] and in the Elblag Automotive Repair Shops [EZNS].

Two rather essential areas of the activity of party echelons and organizations in the Elblag province have been deliberately not included in the report of the executive body of the Provincial Committee, namely, the process of implementation of the economic reform and the problems of the young generation. The Provincial Committee intends to examine and assess these two problem areas separately.

In an interesting discussion, many matters were referred to. Henryk Dombrowski discussed the organizational activities being initiated by the Provisional Provincial Executive Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [TWRW PRON] in Elblag; he also affirmed that more and more inhabitants of the province, who have genuine authority in their milieus and who want to aid national understanding through their attitude and activity, are joining Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth [OKON]. Recently, 26 new OKON initiative groups have been formed, including 14 in industrial plants. Adolf Jankowski described the political and economic situation in the Agricultural Industry Plant in Czernino, where he works. He said that

prior to 13 December 1981 almost all of the 120 employees had belonged to "Solidarity", but that now 60 persons formed a group that has initiated the founding of a new trade union. The activity of these persons has aroused great interest among the remaining members of the work force. Every fourth employee at the plant belongs to the party. The atmosphere [at the plant] is calm and favors productive work. The previous fiscal year closed there with a profit amounting to 30 million zlotys. This is proof that all the plant employees are committed [to the goal of increasing production].

Stanislaw Kowalski presented the results of the activity of the Provincial Party Control Commission [WKKP] and of local Party Control Commissions [KKP] in the region. He called attention to the need to overcome passive attitudes, to determinedly combat manifestations of negligence, sluggishness, and red tape, as well as lack of a sense of responsibility and, in particular, disregard for the party's statutory requirements. He discussed the importance of the economic reform and of active participation of party organizations in it. We must not, he said, foster a conviction that during the economic reform it is possible to work less and to earn more.

Ryszard Mojecki described the work of the basic party organizations [POP] in the gminas of Stary Targ, asserting that during meetings the inhabitants point, among other things, to lack of LP gas and of shoes but that they, on the other hand, also express their appreciation of the results of the ZULAWY-82 soldiers' action. Antoni Furchel shared with the participants his comments on numerous talks which he had held in various industrial plants and milieus. He stated, among other things, that the party aktiv is not always able to talk convincingly to the workforces, and that some activists lack arguments to convince their [political] adversaries and that they seem helpless. He urged that committed activists be appropriately honored. Mieczyslaw Krupinski drew attention to the need to constantly notice the role of the so-called lower party membership and to listen to views of PZPR rank-and-file members as well as views of remaining ordinary citizens. He also observed that people notice the party and its activity but that the party needs to maintain regular contact with them. Zdzislaw Skowron said that the activity of the party organizations in the ZAMECH plant is still insufficient, that some members still fear to speak openly, e.g., about the incorrect attitude of their superiors, that the myth of the omnipotence of the plant administration is taking hold of the people's minds, and decisions made by the administration are not consulted about and suggestions of the basic party organizations [POP] are not taken into consideration. He demanded that important central [administration] decisions be honestly consulted about. Antoni Szczerkowski informed that party organizations in some milieus are slow to eliminate wrongdoing and are unable to effectively deal with indifference or antipathy. He drew attention to the high cost of private construction which places it beyond the reach of ordinary people. Waldemar Switadowski focused his presentation on the matter of methods of party work; he spoke, among other things, about the need for good preparation of meetings and conferences, and also for preciseness of presentations.

The governor, colonel Ryszard Urlinski, commented in his speech on remarks directed to the administration. He briefly discussed the [domestic] market

situation, and he pointed to problems of an objective nature in meeting the needs and expectations of the province's inhabitants.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the plenum adopted a resolution defining the tasks of the provincial party organization which ensue from further implementation of the resolutions of the Seventh Plenum of [PZPR] Central Committee and from the current socio-political and economic situation of the province.

Executive Board Meeting

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 5-6-7 Nov 82 p 2

[Article by: b]

[Text] A meeting of the Executive Board of the [PZPR] Provincial Committee was held in Elblag yesterday. At the beginning, the participants were informed about the socio-political situation in the Elblag province. This was followed by a discussion of the assessment of the effects of the action of plant groups which examine costs and prices. In addition to the provincial group and the group which is attached to the basic echelon in Orneta, 74 groups totaling 510 persons are active in industrial plants. Nearly in all the plants the activity of the groups focuses on examining the calculation of prices of products and services. Any complaints and suggestions are handled in a routine manner.

Due to the initiative of these groups, there has been a decrease in prices of some products, namely, those manufactured by the SPOLEM Provincial Consumers' Cooperative and by the SAMOPOMOC CHLOPSKA Gmina Cooperative in Susz, firewood from the Susz state forest, and rebuilt generators and starters in the Kwidzyn State Machinery Center [POM]. In the J. Marchlewski Wood Industry Cooperative in Elblag, corrections have been made in the prices of upholstery products and furniture. In the Provincial Union of Agricultural Cooperatives, prices of a number of products have been lowered, e.g., by 2 zlotys for a jelly donut, and by 1.5 zloty for a bottle of "Florida" mineral water.

The Executive Board recommended continuation and development of the activity of the groups, with particular emphasis on the problem of quality of products, effectiveness of labor utilization, and reduction of cost of materials.

Next, the Board examined a report concerning cases of misdemeanor during the martial law period which had been handled by specially appointed judicial bodies. According to this report, over 7,300 cases had been disposed of during the first half of the current year, i.e., 76 percent more than in the same period of 1981.

In addition, the Executive Board heard a report on the functioning of the text system in the Elblag province. It also examined an assessment of the implementation of the resolutions and motions of the 1981 Provincial Report and Election Conference in the area of ideological education work.

Board Meeting on Social-Political Situation

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 3-5 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by: al]

[Text] A meeting of the executive board of the PZPR Provincial Committee was held on Thursday. At the beginning, the board heard a report on the social-political situation in the Elblag province. Next, the board examined a report on plant incentive systems which are to stimulate increases in labor productivity, savings on raw materials, other materials, and energy, as well as increases in product quality. A growth trend has predominated in the industry of the Elblag province since August [1982]. Meanwhile, wages have remained at a lower level than the national average.

Incentive wage systems have been introduced in all the industrial plants of the Elblag province. In most cases they are of an emergency type. In different plants there are different systems. Piece and bonus work systems predominate. All these systems have brought about an increase in labor productivity. However, as yet they have not resulted in any significant increases on production quality and savings of materials and energy. The main elements of the incentive system are based on bonuses. Consideration is given to such factors as labor productivity, work discipline, and absenteeism.

Incentive systems based on piece-work, and partly on day-task work and on work paid by the day, are operative in the construction industry. In this industry, bonuses and awards are given for the implementation of precisely defined material tasks.

At the conclusion of its meeting, the board accepted materials for a plenary session of the PZPR Provincial Committee which will be devoted to tasks which the provincial party organization will face in its implementation of the resolutions of the Tenth Plenum of PZPR Central Committee.

Plenum on Agriculture, Tasks

Gdansk WIECZOR WYBRZEZA in Polish 10-12 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by: enk]

[Text] The plenum of the PZPR Provincial Committee, which met in Elblag yesterday, examined the tasks which the provincial party organization will face in its implementation of the resolutions of the Tenth Plenum of PZPR Central Committee. The meeting was chaired by Jerzy Prusiecki, first secretary of the Provincial Committee, and was attended by: Wacław Kulczynski, deputy director of the Economic Section of the PZPR Central Committee; Franciszek Socha, chairman of the Provincial Committee of the United Peasant Party [WK ZSL]; Kazimierz Murawski, secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Democratic Party [WK SD]; and by Ryszard Szkolnicki, chairman of the Provisional Provincial Executive Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [TWRW PRON]. Also present were directors of the province's

key industrial plants. The agenda of the meeting was expanded to include problems of agriculture, in consideration of the role of this branch in the economy of the Elblag province.

The discussion was preceded by an introductory report, read by Tadeusz Osko, secretary of the Provincial Committee. The results obtained by the province's industry during eleven months of the current year confirm stabilization of favorable trends in production and in labor productivity, which places them in the first ranks of domestic industries. On the other hand, there is a negative phenomenon of high profits of the enterprises, due mainly to drastic increases in prices. The province's construction industry continues to be in a deep recession.

This year, production results of the region's agriculture, which utilizes a major part of the Vistula Delta, were slightly better than last year. However, they are still far from results that can be obtained on these fertile farmlands.

A key problem at present, the Provincial Committee's secretary affirmed, is careful preparation of socioeconomic plans for the years 1983-1985. Another important task is continued implementation of the economic reform. Of particular concern is closer linkage of wage increases with increases in labor productivity.

The Elblag governor, colonel Ryszard Urlinski, then presented an extensive report on the objectives of the socioeconomic development of the Elblag province in the years 1983-1985. Agriculture will receive half of the investment funds which are available to the Provincial Office. Out of this allotment, as much as 66 percent is to be earmarked for land reclamation projects. In housing construction, the objective is to construct almost 10,000 new apartments in 1983-1985. The educational system will be augmented by the new elementary schools in Sztutowo, Kwidzyn, and Elblag. Construction of the Provincial Hospital in Elblag will continue, and construction of a Regional Hospital in Kwidzyn will be initiated.

Fourteen persons took part in the discussion. They spoke, among other things, of the mechanical way in which some party organizations treat the economic reform; they also spoke about arbitrary increases in contract prices, about the condition of the province's agriculture, and about the implementation of the economic reform in trade.

At the close of the meeting, a resolution was adopted, in which the PZPR Provincial Committee urges everyone to actively participate in the implementation of the resolutions of the Tenth Plenum of the Central Committee.

Plenum on Stabilization of Economy

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 10-12 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by: b]

[Text] The Plenum of PZPR Provincial Committee, which met in Elblag yesterday, examined the tasks which the provincial party organization will face in its implementation of the resolutions of the Tenth Plenum of the Central Committee. The meeting was chaired by Jerzy Prusiecki, first secretary of the Provincial Committee, and was attended by: Wacław Kulczynski, deputy director of the Economic Section of PZPR Central Committee; Franciszek Socha, chairman of the Provincial Committee of the United Peasant Party [WK ZSL]; Kazimierz Murawski, secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Democratic Party [WK SD]; and by Ryszard Szkolnicki, chairman of the Provisional Provincial Executive Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [TWRW PRON]. Also present were directors of the province's key industrial plants. The agenda of the meeting was expanded to include problems of agriculture, in consideration of the role of this branch in the economy of the Elblag province.

The discussion was preceded by an introductory report, read by Tadeusz Osko, secretary of the Provincial Committee. He brought the attention of the participants to the fact that, for the second time within a short period, problems of agriculture were going to be discussed at a plenary meeting of the party's Provincial Committee in Elblag. This was being done, he said, not only because of the importance of the resolutions of the Tenth Plenum of the Central Committee but also because our country's economic situation had a direct impact on our country's sociopolitical climate. The Provincial Committee secretary then stated that while speaking about the Tenth Plenum of the Central Committee one could not fail to mention a resolution of an earlier plenum, the seventh, which had been devoted to similar matters. Acting in the spirit of the resolutions of that particular plenary session, many party organizations in enterprises in Elblag province have engaged and continue to engage in many worthwhile activities which are aimed at stabilizing the production rate and increasing production effectiveness.

The results obtained by the province's industry during eleven months of the current year confirm the stabilization of favorable trends in production and in labor productivity, which places them in the first rank of domestic industries. On the other hand, there is a negative phenomenon of high profits, which are due chiefly to drastic increases in prices.

The province's construction industry continues to be in a deep recession. This year's plans, whose targets have been set relatively low, are in considerable danger. This situation is caused by, among other things, the lack of the industry's own civil engineering enterprise which would provide, in advance, community facilities for areas designed for new housing construction.

This year, production results of the province's agriculture, which utilizes a major part of the Vistula Delta, have been slightly better than last year. However, they are still far from what can be obtained on these exceptionally fertile farmlands. The basic cause of this situation has been, for many years, insufficient land reclamation and failure to build midfield roads.

At the present time, the Provincial Committee secretary stated, the key problem is careful preparation of socioeconomic plans for the years 1983-1985. Another important task is continued implementation of the economic reform and, in particular, of the modifications which were recently introduced in it. Of particular concern is closer linkage of wage increases with increases in labor productivity. Moreover, close attention should be paid to the calculation of production costs. Likewise, the party's actions must continue to be directed toward solution of problems which determine improvement in [domestic] market supply.

In the task of solving economic problems, party organizations should enlist the help of employee self-governments, new trade unions which are being formed, and technical and economic organizations which operate in enterprises.

The governor of the Elblag Province, colonel Ryszard Urlinski, then presented an extensive report on the objectives of the socioeconomic development of the Elblag Province in the years 1983-1985. Recently we published in our paper a detailed presentation of these objectives, but we will return to them again shortly. Now, only in the form of a reminder, we point out that agriculture will be allotted half of the investment funds which are available to the Provincial Office. On the other hand, as much as 66 percent of this allotment is to be earmarked for land reclamation projects. There are also plans to increase plant crops and to intensify cow breeding. In housing construction, the targets for 1983-1985 are to construct almost 10,000 new apartments, including over 4,800 within the scope of cooperative housing. In the same period, private construction is likely to total over 1,300 single-family homes. The educational system will be augmented by the new elementary schools in Sztutowo, Kwidzyn, and Elblag. Construction of the Provincial Hospital in Elblag will continue, and construction of a regional hospital in Kwidzyn will be initiated. Funds will be provided for the implementation of construction of an outpatient center in Orneto and medical centers in Gronowo, Prabuty, Susz, and Sadlinki. Additional funds will be earmarked for public assistance.

Fourteen comrades took part in the discussion. Here are the main points that were made by individual speakers.

[Wojciech Kowalczyk, secretary of the City Committee in Elblag:]

In our society there is a conviction that the economic reform should, in and of itself, bring about an improvement in the [economic] situation. Few people perceive the reform as a system that is to compel them to do better work. This is precisely the reason for the continued discrepancy between labor productivity and wage increases. Party organizations frequently treat the reform in a purely mechanical fashion.

[Franciszek Hilze, first secretary of the basic party organization of the MAWENT Malbork Fan Factory:]

Due to reductions in investments, demand for fans decreased. Consequently, we added agricultural equipment to our production program. Irregular

deliveries of motors have caused an increase in the number of unfinished production processes. The wage structure takes into account the new incentive elements. Our order file for 1983 is already complete.

[Stanislaw Lewon, first secretary of the City-Gmina Committee in Tolkmicko:]

Many plants charge virtually black-market prices for their products. Persons who raise prices should be held accountable for their actions. Contract prices should be valid only with regard to goods which are easily obtainable in the [domestic] market.

[Mieczyslaw Krupinski, driver for the State Automotive Transportation:]

Representatives of the central authorities participate only rarely in Provincial Committee plenums in Elblag. [Sejm] deputies from Elblag province have not been too active for a long time.

The speaker also mentioned some problems of cattle breeding and those pertaining to the condition of agriculture in the Elblag province.

[Janusz Leszczynski, director of TRUSO Clothing Industry Plant in Elblag:]

At the beginning of December, our plant had already completed the year's production plan, calculated according to the most objective indicator--in prices of manufacturing clothes. New incentive systems, consistently implemented, have resulted in a very large increase in labor productivity and, proportionately, in wages.

[Ryszard Zima, foreman on the "Dworek" State Farm:]

Allocation of funds to farm production is still too slow. The same applies to protective clothing and rubber boots. Prices of many articles continue to fluctuate wildly.

[Ryszard Szkolnicki, chairman of the Provisional Provincial Council of the Patriotic Front for National Rebirth:]

Improvement in management efficiency is crucial for the betterment of our socioeconomic life as a whole. We have to improve the quality of planning unit plans must be correlated with provincial and central plans.

[Henryk Diffenbach, director of the ZULAWY State Farm Enterprise:]

The present level of farm production in the [Vistula] Delta is the same as 20 years ago. The 1962 resolution of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers [KERM], concerning modernization of agriculture in this region, had little effect. Then the situation worsened because of reduction of funds and lack of processing capacity in the area of land reclamation, construction of farm roads and housing for employees of state farms. It is necessary to begin to implement, as soon as possible, the 1979 government resolution concerning the Delta, which so far has remained a document on paper.

[Roman Watkowski, director of a branch of the National Bank of Poland:]

In a majority of enterprises, wages do not provide incentives. Profits are obtained through arbitrary price increases. Implementation of investments is slow.

[Antoni Galecki, member of the PZPR Central Review Commission:]

High prices of industrial products result in increases in the prices of farm products. Equal treatment of all the sectors of agriculture must be applied in practice. Party organizations must participate more effectively in the solution of the economic problems of plants.

[Henryka Budniak, director of a branch of the Bank of Food Economy:]

Private farmers continue to sell more and more of their products to the state. They negotiate credits for machinery and equipment, rarely for construction of new farm buildings. The economic situation of state farms continues to be difficult, and is likely to worsen during the current fiscal year.

Jerzy Lawicki, an employee of the Provincial Consumers' Cooperative [WSS] in Paslek, stated that the Food Wholesale Enterprise had begun its activity by considerably raising wages. Now these wages are much higher than in the SPOLEM Provincial Food Enterprise. He affirmed that no one would benefit through this type of "reform" of trade.

[Michal Oliwiecki, chairman of the Provincial Service Cooperative:]

In seeking profits, we forget the social aspect [of our work]. In our province there has been a decrease in the number of service centers and in service employment. We have to put a stop to this as rapidly as possible. A proposal has been made to create a fund for the development of services. The economic and financial system in this area must be stable and active.

[Jozef Zajac, chairman of the Provincial Union of Dairy Cooperatives:]

The considerable wage increase in the dairy industry stems from the fact that previously the wages in this industry were exceptionally low despite the three-shift work schedules which also included off-work Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays. Prices of dairy products have increased, but, in spite of this, the dairy industry is 50 percent subsidized. The raw material alone for the production of 1 kg butter costs 368 zlotys.

Wladyslaw Bekier, director of the Trade Division of the Provincial Office, then reported on the prospects of supplying the trade enterprise of the Elblag province during the pre-holiday period.

After the discussion, Wacław Kulczynski expressed his views on the main problems which had been raised.

At the conclusion of this point on the agenda, the plenum adopted a resolution in which the PZPR Provincial Committee urges party members as well as political parties and social organizations, and also all the inhabitants of the Elblag province, to participate actively in the implementation of the tasks ensuing from the resolutions of the Tenth Plenum of the Central Committee.

The second point on the agenda consisted in the presentation of an analysis of the activity of members and deputy members of the Provincial Committee. Additional members were also elected to the Provincial Committee.

9577

CSO: 2600/235

WORKERS DISCUSS PROBLEMS WITH DEPUTY PREMIER OBODOWSKI

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Nov 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by Krystyna Kostrzewa]

[Text] "If you know how to improve the economy in your factory, branch, voivodship or country; if you have a proposal to make the economic reform better; if you have a proposal to diminish the severity of the economic crisis now and to hasten their destruction in the next few years and if you see the possibility of improving the conditions of life and work, then take part in the meeting with Janusz Obodowski, chairman of the Planning Commission in the Council of Ministers."

A leaflet with the above words appeared in five factories--Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, coal mine "Katowice," railroad junction at Kutno, 22 July Sugar Plant and the Karol Swierczewski [Precision Products] Plant in Warsaw. Not long ago the deputy premier was visiting those factories and work areas and now he has invited workers there to his office. The leaflet states: "A lot of problems have to be discussed more rigorously. The government wants the opportunity to use the opinions of a broad range of society to overcome the crisis. Even those most controversial opinions can be used for correct decision making and policy implementation." For the second time this month in a room at the Council of Ministers on Krakowskie Przedmiescie in Warsaw there was a meeting face-to-face with a social delegation and a member of the Politburo. At the beginning of November, there was a meeting between Vice Premier M. Rakowski and 100 authors of letters to the government. On 28 November, 80 workers from those five factories went to a meeting with Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski. These people responded to an invitation from URM and went to Warsaw. Among the guests, most were factory workers. The meeting lasted 7 hours. Not all of the participants revealed their names, so we cannot print their names along side their thoughts below. What did the guests discuss? This is a short report that we can call "Economic Reform's Lack of Effects."

Here in the Swierczewski factory, we do not have enough raw materials. We do not have any metallurgic products. Next year if we want to keep our plans we have to have \$3 million.

In many factories the necessary supply of raw materials is very bad. Supply has to be the first step to realize the new economic program. Production in the factories is halted by the central planning of the distribution of raw materials. For many factories, the orders for supplies of raw materials and components are three times higher than necessary because one knows that he will never receive all that is needed. This practice was and remains. A fiction has been created. One other thing--hard currency. We have to save because hard currency is hard to acquire. But sometimes for \$1000 during a short period, we can have production valued at thousands of dollars. We have to deal with the complexity of the import-export issue, with economic calculation and with common sense.

The chain of cooperation is cracking. During the economic reform, the cracks have become deeper and the chain almost does not exist any longer. For many factories working on the final processes in the shipyard, their production is no longer profitable. Did anybody think about that problem? Is anybody thinking about the effect of self-governments on the needs of other industrial plants?

Under any small pretext, factories stop the production of products needed by other factories that produce in Poland. Very often they say that they do not have enough hard currency to buy raw materials. We have to create something like "cooperation import" whereby a few factories use hard hard currency for the same finished product. But there is something else too. The factories' products are somehow destroyed. There is something wrong with the economic reform because so many factories produce good quality products for export, but products for the domestic market are bad.

We know that some craftsmen and factory workers can make very good products. They do it sometimes for individual orders. Generally, however, such products have to be purchased with dollars. And those products appear rarely on the shelves.

Success of the reform depends upon the increase of work productivity. We workers at the 22 July Plant are constantly reminded of this. And how are we to increase productivity if raw materials are always lacking? Even the domestic ones. At this time in many plants people are called in to work on Saturday even though they have nothing to do during the weekdays.

Reduce administration because in fact there have been only sham movements up to now. Association was eliminated and replaced by the unions.

Waste does not fit in with the reform. I work at the "Katowice" mine, which is now 166 years old. I constantly hear about increasing coal production. Why always increase it? Why is there never any talk about good management of coal? It is a known fact that we in Poland waste 7-8 percent of our coal. This is the same amount mined in eight mines.

What will the government do to maintain the high level of coal mining after martial law ends? Will it be maintained through the power of Resolution 199 and will the miners at last be able to purchase something with their special savings books? With their hard earned money they can buy furniture for 300,000 zlotys or...fishing poles.

The railroad is falling apart. It is going but no one knows where. It can fall into an abyss. This is threatening our railroad. And an increase in coal production will mean nothing without the railroad.

Reform means proper management and good organization. If the director does not keep up either because he does not want to or cannot--and there are such types--then let him go. He should be changed if he does not go himself. There are a lot of young, energetic people looking at the future who are waiting in the wings to take over the director's position and manage better.

If we want to have a better future, then let's build up trust in the authorities and the government. Who must build it? The authorities themselves; e.g., the local authorities. But they are not doing it. For example, the Gdansk circle constructed many homes in an unequipped area. They are standing empty because who can live without water or lights? This is the management of the area authorities. And I do not know when I shall get an apartment.

In my opinion, the mistake was introducing reforms during martial law and the deep crisis. It was not so much an economic, but a political decision. Much bad has come of it. For the average guy every day, the effect of the reform is set price!

The plants think about their small interests and profits at the cheapest costs. This is placed on society, which also is divided into "interest groups." Society differs socially and materially. There is no social justice. Sometime when these conflicts come again to the surface, of course there will be reasons for a new explosion.

I have selected only some responses. The sense is more important than the literal words. The reform took a long time to come about. It did not come about without answers. Here are a few words on the subject by Deputy Premier Obodowski.

Deputy Premier: "The reform was and is an urgent necessity, a condition for getting out of the crisis and a way of showing society some perspectives for changes for the better. And it is not something that will not bring effects. We have thought deeply about whether or not to introduce reform during a period of such crazy difficulties. It was not a hasty decision. The experts supported reform. There is already a small increase in production among several sections and the first effects of the pay increases. Shortcomings have to be removed. The bases of the reform have been corrected. A little patience is needed. Many of the reform's negatives are born in the plants. And after all, you workers are the managers of the plants and should feel for the reform. Reform in our conditions is really throwing oneself into deep water. But we have not drowned nor will we drown."

Concern about the development of production, reform, leading the country out of the crisis and a better life dictated the guests' discussion with Deputy Premier Obodowski. This created a mood that can be called "Poland in a World Context."

Poland's share in the international division of labor is miserable and too small. Today we sell primarily raw materials and coal. And where are the other industrial products that give satisfaction and the feeling of national pride?

Through human sacrifice and hard work were born the Polish People's Republic and her industry. Thirty-seven years of hard work and what are the effects? We offer primarily raw materials to foreign markets, and it cannot remain like this. If the country is supposed to develop further and get out of the crisis, then today we must buy licensing arrangements. We have to take advantage of them to a greater degree than in the past. I am talking about licensing that goes beyond development. We have had irrelevant licensing arrangements; e.g., tractors. But the relevant arrangements, like the Fiat 126, were not developed quickly enough. Today the Fiat 126 is increasingly an antiquated product. And our engineers are leaving industry to work in the vegetable trade.

I would like to know about Poland's membership in the International Monetary Fund. There is no more talk about it. We could profit a little from it.

Will we get out of the crisis through our own strengths or is it possible at all? We must, it is true, because no one will do it for us. International relations with the western countries, with the U.S. at the head, have established sanctions against us. It is necessary to look for stronger contacts with the socialist camp. The most important of our interests is cooperation with the Soviet Union, which society does not understand. In difficult moments, Western propaganda led us to think that the army would come in from the East; instead, the borders were opened with economic aid.

Wider than before. I would like then to inquire as to the actual state of Poland's relations with the Soviet Union and how they will influence the problem of getting out of the crisis.

There should be open discussions and writings about relations with the Soviet Union because there is much prejudice and gossip among the people. The truth about goods exchange with the Soviet Union is a simple matter, and its effects cannot be judged solely on the basis of one or two goods. People do not see these things.

And there is a great deal of fear that we shall fall further into debt. This time we shall become indebted to the socialist countries. No debt is a good thing, even to friends.

To these issues, Deputy Premier Obodowski responded as follows: "Agreed, there are many myths and much gossip about Polish-Soviet relations. This is a matter of history and simplifications. Agreed, it is necessary to remove this gossip

from our life, among others through open discussion of issues. Poland has no future without the further development of economic relations with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp. During the past 2 years, aid from the USSR has contributed considerably to easing the crisis. The entire world--observe this--wishes to trade with the Soviet Union. The president of the United States also could not hold out long with his sanctions against this power because it was unprofitable for him. Our cooperation with our eastern neighbor--I confirm this with all my responsibility--is highly beneficial. The profitability of foreign cooperation is not measured with one good but in the general balance. This is very beneficial for us. We pay the Soviet Union much less than the world price for imported raw materials and other materials.

Another emotional subject came up, which we can call "Motivation to Work and Action."

Here are several viewpoints shortened for reasons of space:

The decline in the quality of industrial products, weak discipline and productivity--all can be attributed to the lack of motivation for good work. In addition, salaries are not tied to individual output and are exceptionally low as compared to the costs of living for a working family.

From the first to the first, a worker does not have enough money from his salary. There are many days through which he has to live without money. At the same time, there are those in Poland who earn millions, against which the government does nothing. The leasehold in a beer bar earns millions from only opening bottles of beer, which are produced by somebody else.

The more money in the market, the higher the inflation. And already work is becoming unprofitable. What is the government planning to do to limit inflation?

Will we be able to withdraw in even a portion of our rationing coupons next year? The control does not permit motivation.

Who specifically is responsible for guaranteeing the goods? Trade sells as much as the producers give and the administration distributes as much as it can. But who is concerned about the amount and the increase of production? The lack of basic goods, control, lines--everything degrades the Polish society. This situation is already too long. Morally we are dejected. In this situation, a new conflict is not difficult.

One should add credibility to the process of getting out of the crisis. The means were supposed to have been a Draconian price increase, which did not happen. Not much happened to social feeling. Thus, it is necessary to employ more competent and thought out methods. And define the time when the effects will take place; otherwise trust and motivation will be difficult to acquire.

We conduct ineffective pricing experiments on our society. This is unethical and inhumane. The government has an obligation to society, not just society to the government. The government bases its existence on the pretext of self-dependence and self-government of the factories. The government gives those factories all the difficult tasks.

If getting out of the crisis requires a "play of prices," then we have to give somebody the responsibility.

Chaos exists in the entire price system: regulation prices, conventional, official, etc. The prices are so high that the workers have the right to ask about an increase in income, because how can they live?

Who in the factory has the power to increase prices? Maybe we the workers? Motivation for work is when the worker can make money and is happy. In our country there are only problems and troubles. How can a worker be happy when he sees so many injustices in incomes and other issues?

There is an example from the shipyards. There is a shortage of people and productivity. And even then a verification of the workers is conducted.

A bad atmosphere was created in Poland by the miners and their high incomes. But nobody remembers that coal miners have to work on Saturdays and Sundays because Poland is sitting on coal. We are very patriotic and have a sense of duty. We do not want privileges but this is what we own for our hard work.

We railroad machinists have a very good income; sometimes more than coal miners for heavy and responsible work. We work nonstop for 16 hours. What is so much money needed for when we cannot buy anything? We are not cooking tea or meals in the locomotives. Everything we have to have with us--we cannot even buy a thermos for tea.

Under discussion is a new project of income. This system should belong to the plant. This issue under discussion is already not real because it does not guarantee a necessity for today's workers' families. The incomes are fixed on how much one can buy for an hour or whole day of work. The lazy and dishonest should be removed from work, but the hard-working, productive and honest should be payed well.

This phase of the problem also was discussed with Deputy Premier Obodowski. This was his summary: "The government will not interfere in the system and the income level at the workplaces; this is the matter of the factories. The government has to observe the principle of social justice for incomes and to establish minimum and maximum wages--in one word make a frame for income but not a system.

"The main reason of government and its goals is to increase production for the domestic market. The government is not draining the workers' money. The prices have to rise moderately and reasonably. We will fight very high prices. High prices will not be profitable for those who have established them. There is a

crisis and the situation is extremely difficult. We have to choose because everything is impossible to remedy in such a short time. We have promised nothing. This government has promised nothing, but we want to meet the difficult problems."

Rather Than a Summary

At the Sunday meeting, the workers discussed with Deputy Premier Obodowski a lot of problems. They discussed problems such as the social protection of the workers, aid for children, retirement, environmental issues, work safety and life. Somebody strongly criticized bureaucrats and others--whoever has money or presents can arrange anything. A poor person cannot arrange anything, and the majority is now poor.

During the meeting, there was no lack of tension or sharp exchanges of thoughts and words. Here is an example:

A young man from the Lenin shipyard (one of many who spoke): Solidarity has committed numerous mistakes, but it raised the energy of society. The manner by which martial law was introduced eliminated our chances of getting out of the crisis through use of that energy. Who today will lead society? The human factor plays the most important role in social change, and we have wasted it.

Deputy Premier: Do you have a prescription?

Guest: I am not the deputy premier.

Deputy Premier: Can you give us an example of how Solidarity took advantage of the people's energy?

Guest: It mobilized society.

Deputy Premier: For what? (silence)

Deputy Premier: For strikes. It caused a loss of production and chaos. A threatening situation. Sir, unfortunately, there are no examples of how Solidarity had a positive program tied to implementation.

There were many questions posed during the meeting, but there were not many conclusions. Interesting evaluations also were made. The host of the session, Janusz Obodowski, answered all questions and doubts. None of the evaluations nor proposals went without comment. The guests shared their own experiences and doubts. Such was the look of the first such session at URM.

Another characteristic of the session was its sincerity and openness. It was a partnership. Not only the host of the session, Deputy Premier J. Obodowski also was its participant. It would be difficult to avoid such fashionable themes today, with the society on one side of the fence and the government on the other. The theme was uniform--the good of Poland, despite the different opinions.

The deputy premier also did not hide the fact that the government places a high regard on such sessions with the people and their opinions and evaluations. Face-to-face meetings can bring much profit. It was in essence one of the best forms of consultation for the government--society. It was a good way to build mutual trust.

9807

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PEACE GROUP LEADER SPEAKS ON 1983 PLANS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Ryszard Tyrluk, secretary general, All-Polish Peace Committee [OKP] by Ludwik Arendt]

[Text] (P) Unfortunately, the past year has brought a further increase in international tensions and a sharpening of the arms race, which has entered the dangerous stage of new technological standards. This is what Ryszard Tyrluk, secretary general of the All-Polish Peace Committee told a PAP reporter.

[Ryszard Tyrluk] This is the latest challenge to peace, a challenge that not only does not prevent a possible conflict from erupting, but above all worsens the political climate of East-West relations and increases the threat of a new catastrophe.

The politics of sharpening tensions has caused an increase in antiwar and antiarmaments attitudes. A peace movement that has an unprecedented scale and scope has arisen. This movement unites people holding different political and ideological views and having different religious beliefs, occupations and ages. They are joined together by the awareness that we must not permit the occurrence of nuclear war, a war that under present conditions would be worldwide, threatening the extinction of civilization.

The social protest against the danger of war has been expressed in numerous demonstrations, including a New York demonstration of more than one million people that included representatives from practically all countries of the world. A great peace march was also held with a route that led from the Scandinavian states through several Soviet cities to Vienna. Massive peace demonstrations were also organized in Great Britain and the FRG.

All of these activities, which were organized by the SRP [World Peace Council] and were also undertaken by the peace movement in Poland, were accompanied by the awareness that the placement of new American medium-range missiles on the territories of a number of West European states has been announced for the end of 1983. This would have extremely negative consequences for the development of the political and military situation on our continent. Hence

the unflagging campaigns of the peace movement--meetings, protests, petitions, and pressuring governments, all of which depart from previous western "scare tactics" of stepping up arms. At the same time, people are becoming more and more convinced of the absolute necessity of defending a policy of international detente, of reaching the turning point in disarmament talks between the USSR and the United States and of maintaining dialogue and cooperation.

[Question] Please say a few words on the subject of peace campaigns projected for 1983.

[Answer] If the situation does not change radically, this year will abound in continued international meetings and demonstrations of various sorts organized by the social peace movement. Undoubtedly, primary emphasis will be placed on the worldwide meeting "On Behalf of Peace and Life; Against Nuclear Weaponry" to be held in Prague from 15-19 June 1983. This major conference will be preceded by a campaign with the short, but telling title "On Peace and Life." There will be another important meeting of people of good will from 6-9 February 1983 in Vienna. This conference will survey the initiatives for averting the threat of war in Europe.

Documents passed in the capital of the CSRS by the Political Consultative Committee of the States-Parties of the Warsaw Pact are of tremendous importance in the continued struggle for peace. These documents confront many demands and expectations of mass peace movements both in Europe and the United States. It is worthwhile to note the statement made in the Prague declaration that the powers of peace are more powerful than the powers of war. Everything depends upon their cohesiveness and the directedness of their activities toward a specific purpose.

The Warsaw Pact proposals addressed to the NATO states regarding the concluding of an agreement concerning the mutual nonutilization of military force and the maintaining of peaceful relations, as well as the readiness of the USSR to agree not to be the first to strike show that the demands of progressive public opinion are being heard.

As in previous years, in 1983 Polish representatives will take part actively in all international campaigns for strengthening peace.

[Question] What activities will be held on a national scale?

[Answer] We wish to give much greater attention than in the past to informational-explanatory activities concerning the dangers emanating from the escalation in armaments. Incidentally, I should like to note both the appeal of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Sejm on 21 July 1982 and the OKP document from 19 July 1982 challenging social organizations and movements to undertake broad-scale activities for peace. The activities organized, for example, by the youth and women's movements are of special merit.

In the context of recent events in Poland and surrounding these events we have observed that some of our young citizens show a serious lack of

political awareness, especially in their understanding of the very negative consequences to Poland of all attempts to create instability and sharpen tensions in Europe. That is why we find it essential to approach the public with objective information in this area.

We hope that the publishing houses will give their readers access to the wealth of literature already available on the subject, and that the mass media will publicize this subject even more extensively than in the past.

8536

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DIFFERENT CONCEPTS OF NATIONAL 'REBIRTH' DISCUSSED

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish No 29, 17 Oct 82 p 5

[Article by Henryk Urbanowski, deputy editor-in-chief of WALKA MLODYCH:
"The People Will Decide;" passages enclosed in slantlines printed in
boldface]

[Text] /Nobody should have any doubts that the PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth) and the OKON's [Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth] are children of the period of martial law and that there were persons in it who did not hesitate to give their own names, faces, and signatures to support the decisions of 12 December of last year [1981]. The conviction that these decisions saved the country from catastrophe, as well as the desire to act in the cause of rebirth are the factors which bind them together. It can be boldly asserted, however, that already the understanding of the contents which are concealed under the concept of "Rebirth" is quite diversified among these people./

While investigating this new sociopolitical structure from its beginnings, I became convinced of this most emphatically during the second session of the commission initiating the creation of the PRON National Provisional Council [TRK], held on 2 October of the current year [1982] and broadened to include representatives of the Voivodships /provinces/. Accumulated there, just like in a bean pod, were diverse, at times even contradictory concepts and opinions in the discussions; nor were they devoid of sharp polemics.* On the whole, after all, I will be treating these discussion accents subsequently because calm judgement points out the perception that/, even among persons of good will,/ to reach an understanding in today's Poland is not an easy process and also because many of the participants in the discussions have simply suspended judgement on the daily press for its "coloring up" the relations of the first session, which was held on 15 September. Unfairly so, to be sure, because

* A full stenographic account of the discussions has been printed in the section Rzeczpospolita, on 6 October of this year [1982].

journalists were not allowed into the hall where the deliberations were held at that time, and the arrangement of the information we owed exclusively to PAP [Polish Press Agency].

The first question, the most fundamental one, to which I tried to find an answer during the sometimes stormy deliberations was the following one:

/What is and what should be/ the movement for national rebirth? Furthermore, the mere newness of this movement ensures that there is still far to go before uniformity of opinion is attained. Of the two extreme positions, one emphasizes the PRON as a movement of specific initiatives, of acts which are direct and do not avoid the most detailed matters, the proverbial intervention in the matter of the disorder, the bus-stops, the hours of milk deliveries, etc. The other, in contrast, sees the PRON (the OKON's and the other ON's -- there is a great differentiation among the local names) as platforms for pluralistic discussions among the communists, populists, democrats, and the christian left wing concerning the most important matters in our country. Interestingly, this concept was presented by the ChSS [Christian Social Association] leader from Tarnow, Janusz Kuczek. The PRON should be careful not to polemicize against such a posing of the matter. And hence, according to some, it should not replace already functioning institutions which are specifically responsible for specific matters and which have the greatest impact on them. According to others it should not be just a routine "talk-shop" (General/Franciszek Skibinski/) nor a facade or a 'representative show-case' (the definition given by Professor /Szniew Siatkowski/ from Krakow).

An observer of this discussion could not have any doubts, however, that everyone who spoke out was yearning that the structure of the PRON and the persons taking part in it could exert an influence on the specific decisions taken by the various elements of the state authority, that they could impress their own specific, expressive mark on our social and political life. Not everybody, therefore, shared the optimism contained in the statement from the Krosnienki Voivodship nor that whereby in certain cities and municipal districts of the Elblaski Voivodship the PRON leaders requested that a secretariats of party levels and ZSL members be set up. In the feeling of most of the participants in the discussion the general trouble with the PRON lies in its lack of executive-type rights, for example, in relation to administration, as well as its unclear status with regard to the National Unity Front [FJN]. Furthermore, diverse evaluations of the Front were expressed; according to some, its institution has already become obsolete and has long grown insensitive, according to others, it has a fine-looking quality and many splendid figures, who, in addition, have taken part in creating the OKON's and, here and there, are predominant in them.

In turn, Tadeusz Marian Gelewski, and SD expert from Olsztyn, stood for the basic rights of those who would like to eliminate the Front and the constitutional foundation of its operation.

No less controversial was the discussion waged around the problem of the movement's internal organization. There was a failure in the vote postulating the imposition of an external unity. This was a sign that certain social and

political organizations are demanding the adoption of key representation in the election of the movement's directorial councils (for example, Pax and the youth organizations in Krakow). The predominant opinion, however, was that the PRON, since it is a coalition of diverse patriotic orientations, should not be an organization of organizations and rather needs to have specific, active, flesh-and-blood persons. It is not important where they come from as long as they act in accordance with the declaration of 20 July 1982. The discussions dealing with this matter, as it seems, will last for quite some time yet, but the initial factor will be to acquire specificity, and this will assuredly derive from the works of the two conceptual-program groups which sounded their calls on 2 October. It is difficult, therefore, to make an anticipatory judgement today as to the future form of the PRON, but it may be asserted that it will attain the maximum goals which it has set itself by remaining a loosely organized movement, creating unlimited possibilities for local specifics and tone-color. In the final analysis, the degree of activity on the part of the individual units of this movement will be decided by the people functioning within them. On how many will be energetic, and how many will treat these matters as incidental or secondary. One may also anticipate without risk of error such a form of the PRON in the future whereby the specific operation will be carried out by the basic unit, but, more frequently, a higher subject of discussion will be this movement's life style. May it be meritorious. Its elements already took place during the council sessions of 2 October, when /Jan Dobraczynski/ -- the leader of the commission initiating the creation of the TRK -- announced three postulates directed at the state authorities, namely: that the state authorities should be willing to re-analyze and implement the principle of a greater participation, than has been the case up to now, of nonparty-members in the state administrative system, for a new "attempt" at releasing the internees, and that the state authorities be willing to change their attitude to one of magnanimity toward all those persons who have concealed themselves, even though they have declared themselves to the authorities.

An appeal regarding these matters was undertaken by several speakers; consideration was also given to the results of the planned decisions with respect to plant unions. This matter was also the subject of a speech by Deputy Premier /M. F. Rakowski/, adducing various arguments "pro," while the crowning one he made was the "historical errors of 'Solidarity,' depending upon the organization and nondiscontinuance, aside from appeals, of illegal, underground activity."

Of course, there /was no lack of attention given to the topic of 'youth'/, and nearly everyone who spoke out did not fail to mention that the appearance of a respectable whole is old age and that there were positively too few young people in the PRON. Yet, besides stating this fact, nobody went further. There was no proposal at least to request a couple of young persons or to co-opt them, thereby making an extremely easy gesture with some kind of symbolic accent. It also seems that not all those who had assembled here were aware that access to the PRON had already been previously proclaimed by the youth organizations, whereas the ZSMP had done this even prior to the first session of the commission initiating the creation of the TKR. Nonetheless, the problem is an urgent one, and it seems that the persons closest to solving it

were those discussants who declared, in general, that broader support by society for the PRON will ensue not after the declarations themselves but after observing the specific effects of its activity. This consideration pertains most to young people. But, indeed, what is to be done with those who are afraid of having young people in the PRON? Every one of the discussants disclosed such facts as well. Could it be that these people were counting on some kinds of splendors, honors, and profits and have already dug themselves into positions so as not to allow any competitors? Are there not too many persons attached to this movement who have "written out blank checks" to every administrative team, as /Professor Siatkowski/ asserts? But we have presented this type of opinion by young persons on more than one occasion in our columns. Nevertheless, opportunists of every stripe and color have themselves remained in the PRON: Do the young people want to be a broom which will scatter them to the winds once and for all? Time will tell.

2384

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BARBU DISCUSSES LITERARY TALENTS OF CONTEMPORARIES

Iasi CRONICA in Romanian 29 Oct 82 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Eugen Barbu: "Generosity Toward the Work of Contemporaries Does Credit to the Person Who Is Able To Rise Above His Pride," by Zaharia Sangeorzan]

[Text] Question: Dear Comrade Eugen Barbu, you are, par excellence, a polemical spirit, open to the confrontations of ideas and the aesthetic and...moral campaigns which the review SAPTAMINA is always ready to host. What is bothering you these days in literary criticism?

Answer: Partisan criticism. I know how to be nasty because I am a troublesome type. But it is unallowable for me to hate books! I have never denied the talent of some writers who were contemporaries of mine, even if they were bitter enemies. That is something which people who are still living do not do. I had only sporadic exchanges of fire with Marin Preda, because he would not allow a writer to have the same renown as he. I think that he was relieved when Petru Dumitru fled abroad. I believe that Dumitru was the best prose writer of the post-war period. Despite the humors of the "moncher" [monk], I cannot deny that "Morometii" [The Moromet Family] is a masterpiece. (I am speaking about the first volume where the author should have stopped.) I am not saying anything about "Delirul" [Delirium], "Marele singuratic" [The Great Solitary One] and, especially, the unfortunate "Cel mai iubit dintre paminteni" [The Most Beloved of the Earthlings] so that I will not be suspected of who knows what. Generosity toward the work of contemporaries does credit to the person who is able to rise above his pride. It is not necessary that you write masterpieces endlessly! The great Matei Caragiale has a work which is small in size, but beautiful!

Question: Are you in agreement with the hierarchy of values which Romanian criticism has set (or is setting) today?

Answer: No, but this is not important! I am thinking about what will happen with critics who, today, are mad about second-hand writers and who praise others whom we will not hear about anymore in the very end. Does Manolescu believe that a Cartarescu is a greater poet than Nichita Stanescu? No! He is being partisan! Does Eugen Simion believe that Paul Goergescu is a greater novelist than Paul Anghel? No! He is being partisan! And so on; but this is a matter which concerns them....

Question: Do you believe that there are writers who still do not receive a critical treatment in accordance with the value of their works?

Answer: Yes. Ion Lancranjan. I am not saying that his style, which is somewhat rough, can be pleasing to everyone. But did Rebreanu write like Ionel Teodoreanu. The subject matter of his novels, which have great drama and real, painful sincerity, is contrasted with the small anecdotes of Augustin Buzura, who is not untalented, but is not what he is said to be. Augustin Buzura loses by listening to the sirens of some publications, And this is the shame because Buzura could write lasting works.

Question: On 5 October 1982, Zahria Stancu would have been 80 years old. What are your memories of this writer? What do you believe will remain from his work?

Answer: The man was charming but he made literary policy which was not in accordance with my views. He seems to me to be the principal person responsible for the situation in our literature today when an invasion of false poets and false prose writers, surrounded by, alas, an opportunistic criticism, have created the cramped atmosphere in which we struggle. He bought some writers; he did not teach them to make their way by themselves, making beggars out of them. It is not only a question of the children of the Literary Fund, who do not write but who live on the 2- and 3-percent taxes paid by the hard-working writers. This is not honest! Of his works, I believe that "Descult" [Bare-foot] will survive. When it is recited it seems to me to be chanted since it is more a poem in prose than a novel, as would be normal.

Question: What do you like in the work of Geo Bogza? Please draw a portrait of the man and the writer.

Answer: "Moartea lui Iacob Onisia" [The Death of Iacob Onisia], a great short story, and the reports about tanners and petroleum workers which made Geo Bogza a great reporter. "Cartea Oltului" [The Book of the Olt]?, you will ask me. It refers to "The Book of the Nile" by Ludwig, for those who read not only translations (I am speaking about the central idea), which does not seem to be a fault in my opinion, but too much has been written about the originality of this book! As a poet, I cannot say that "Poemul invectiva" [The Poem Invective] is anything other than an unartistic invective. In this field, either you are Arghezi or you go off and go to bed! You will read the portrait of the man in my "Memorile" [Memoris] and I ask you to believe me that he deserves it....

Question: You live poetry, its immortal song which brightens our life and lifts our spirits. But how do you view the "professional" verse-makers who have invaded the reviews with slogans and lack of talent?

Answer: The invasion of "rhyme-makers" disturbs me, just as it does everyone else. They are of two categories: those who believe that if you state that you love the Fatherland you are automatically talented and those who write whatever comes out of their mouth and therefore, they are producing prose, just like Jourdain. Extermination activity in both channels is absolutely

necessary because the method of penetrating publishing houses and reviews has been patented: All together, children, into the sanctuary of poetry because the guards have been sleeping for a long time!

Question: The talent of Ioan Alexandru should not be questioned. What is your opinion in regard to the change which took place in him, in my opinion, after the publication of the volume "Infernul discutabil" [The Debatable Inferno]?

Answer: The case of Ioan Alexandru is more complicated. I agree with you that the Blaga tinge in his early volumes has disappeared, being replaced by a monody which I understand. Indeed, "Imnele" [The Hymns] of Ioan Alexandru will be, in the final analysis, a type of chansons de geste in Byzantine style. I believe that a certain monotony of versification give them their charm. Refined by the author in time, they will constitute, nevertheless, an important corpus in his works. I believe that Ioan Alexandru is one of our great poets!

Question: You have had almost a "program" of polemics with Radio "Free Europe." Do you believe that this radio station, which is so hostile to our culture of today, ever uses the truth?

Answer: What is true in Radio "Free Europe?" If you have it, read the book by Ierunca entitled "Romaneste" [Romanian] (why?) and you will see what was written there about Arghezi, Calinescu and other great Romanian writers by this political opportunist who praises you only if you beg. The same gentleman who insults me each week from Paris had a rather good opinion about "Groapa" [The Pit] [by Barbu]. Since I "have surrendered to the communists" I am a literary jellyfish! As for the audience, I do not believe that honest people can believe the cock-and-bull stories which Radio "Free Europe" broadcasts daily. According to the clique over there, Romania must not have existed for some time! You insult Popper and then you stand side by side with him; you make Corlaciuc out to be worth 2 cents and then you give him the microphone, presenting him as the eighth wonder of the world! What kind of credit can you give to these individuals? They tell us that we have sold out to communism! Yes, we admit this! But who have they sold out to? They do not bark for nothing! For some adventurers to have a political idea in which you believe seems to be an aberration! I have written some books about the environment in which I lived, out of indignation. Beyond the picturesque, "Groapa" is a political manifesto, for anyone who knows how to read! "Princepele" [The Prince] criticizes Stalinism, in a veiled manner. I would like to ask Ierunca and those over there: have they forgotten to read; do they know Romanian only when they want to? The subject does not deserve any further discussion from us.

Question: You have written a book about Goethe. What is your opinion about the translation of Faust in the version by Stefan Aug. Doinas?

Answer: I prefer Blaga; he was a poet.

Question: The review SAPTAMANIA analyzes, through its commentaries, the verses and novels of some of today's writers. You do not approve of their

giving excess praise? Do not the critical opinions about Augustin Buzura or Nicolae Breban seem excessively subjective to you, and not in harmony with the real value of the work?

Answer: Not at all. Breban is better than Buzura. One senses the writer in him; but not in Buzura! Unfortunately, the first writer does not have a good knowledge of the language in which he is writing: at least now, later on, it has been corrected but to arrive at "Giga" and be declared a "great writer" seems to be incompatible! Contemporary prose writers do not bother me, on the contrary, I learn wherever I can, even from younger colleagues; it is no disgrace. But what has been happening for more than a decade with the "genies" who seem to be taken out of a bottle each week is scandalous! Great books do not grow in a literature like mushrooms. We have room for all; we should have a thousand great poets and a thousand great prose writers, but....

Question: Do you promote and launch young writers in the pages of the review? Which ones are you counting on?

Answer: Unfortunately, the harvest in recent years is poorer than it was for LUCEAFARUL. Among the young poets launched by SAPTAMINA, I would cite Cortez Consantinescu, Viorel Dinescu and, more recently, Petru Manolache, Elena Lupascu and Rodion Dragoi do not write badly either.

Question: The publication of "Istoria literaturii romane de la origini pina la prezent" [The History of Romanian Literature, from the Beginning to the Present] (Iosif Constantin Dragan and Al. Piru editions) remains an exceptional event for our culture. What good is G. Calinescu's "Istoria"....in the face of literary criticism and literary history today, and in the face of the new methods of analysis?

Answer: Calinescu's "Istoria" is the bible of our literary criticism and perhaps his greatest novel! Unfortunately, the press does not mention the real edition, the second one, of Dragan and jumps to the Piru edition! I do not understand such blindness.

Question: Please describe contemporary literary life with a critical, objective eye.

Answer: Literary life? Is this literary life?

Question: In a history of present-day Romanian literature what place would you give to the writer Eugen Barbu?

Answer: Let us let Time, the great judge, decide....

CSO: 2700/96

NEED TO RESPECT RIGHTS OF PEASANTS STRESSED

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 3 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Adrian Paunescu: "Some More About Peasants"]

[Text] In a social equation which is successful in harmonizing all terms, it is absolutely necessary that the relationships between these terms be permanently respected by each one of them. If our social equation today is workers plus peasants plus scholars equals the homeland, the relations between workers and peasants, the relations between workers and scholars, the relations between peasants and scholars and the relations between each one of these groups and the homeland are in each moment of reciprocal history. The consensus of the others is necessary for any one of us to live. This consensus is even more important when it is a matter of social categories or even social classes. If the peasants do not work the soil, the workers, in their turn, will not be able to work in factories and plants because they will not be able to live simply on the support of the peasant class for the welfare of the bakers. This is only one example. However, socio-economic interdependence represents a loyal sum total of reciprocities honored. These truths have existed in actual life for a long time but President Nicolae Ceausescu has given them principled expression, stating boldly that the possibility of the dictatorship of one class over the other classes is ruled out in socialist Romanian society today.

This idea has very profound consequences and it seems to me that we have not been sufficiently concerned with explaining these consequences. The older idea that this was a society of the dictatorship of the proletariat has given rise to a certain indifference on the part of some in regard to the fate of other social categories, in regard to the peasants, and, of course, even more so, in regard to the intellectuals. With the resolution, in a principled manner, through a brilliant historical initiative, of the problem of the socialist democracy and its incompatibility, now in the twilight of the second millinium, with any type of dictatorship and, therefore, also with the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is appropriate that we re-examine the internal trappings, the flowers of arguments which appear in the interim for the earlier situation, where the dictatorship of the proletariat was considered to be our most noble form of existence and when, for this reason, the role and the place of peasants and intellectuals were diminished accordingly.

It is not my intention to discuss the situation of the rights and duties of the peasants exclusively in the letter and spirit of existing laws. I say this because, in this regard, with the right conferred upon me by my status as a Romanian citizen and a Romanian Communist, I, personally, might believe that some improvements might be made in existing laws. But, out of strictness and out of a feeling of belonging to a civilized world, loaded with freedoms, I am subjecting myself to existing laws and discussing the matter only on the basis of these laws.

For example, there is no law in this country which gives some giants of agriculture in one country or another the right to violate regulations in force regarding the honoring of the work of peasants at the end of the respective year with the products and money they deserve. Many of the deficiencies which appear in the reaping of the fruits are due, in my opinion as a citizen, Communist, and journalist, to the failure of some giants of agriculture in the counties or at the central level to respect their obligations to the peasants. In order to be able to put into practice the idea of the peasant as a good worker of the land, an idea which the president of the country stressed on recent occasions, let us think for a moment about what would happen if, when the worker goes to get his compensation, he is told: we cannot give you your compensation; instead we are giving you a handshake and we will see about the compensation, but go to work. Please work with enthusiasm, set a norm for yourself and exceed it with all your soul.

Travelling through my country, I have discovered that this important problem of agriculture--and when I say important I say this so as not to say difficult--is receiving attention from many people but it is receiving less attention, it seems, from farmers. Regarded for too long a time as an appendage class, a class which, it appears, society can hardly wait to get rid of at the crisis of history, the peasants should be viewed today according to older laws which still exist and according to the predictions, which should become law, of President Nicolae Ceausescu about a new evaluation of the work of the peasant and his trade. As such they should be viewed in the required manner so they can reoccupy the key places in the development of Romania. The failure on the part of some people, who have in their hands the products of the labor of peasants, to honor their obligations to the peasants, on time and in accordance with regulations, would cause a serious, and an increasingly more serious, retreat of this class from the social scene.

I am saying these things not only out of love for the peasants, a class to whom I am dedicating my entire existence, but also out of ardent concern for the other social existences, the workers and the intellectuals. The workers and the intellectuals have the need to remain workers and intellectuals and they will be able to remain workers and intellectuals with the highest productivity only if the peasants become peasants with the highest productivity. Agriculture cannot be carried on in Romania with replacements for peasants. The cities will not be able to bear, endlessly, the onslaught of peasants who are not given the bakeries promised by the party leadership in the villages, or who, sometimes, are not given in time the rights which are due to them, in accordance with legal provisions. Anyone who does not

respect the rights of the peasants creates serious problems for workers and intellectuals and, I might say, for the party and the country.

All this represents a problem which should be thought about and acted upon in the name of our supreme obligation on the basic harmony of our social equation: workers plus peasants plus scholars equals the Romanian homeland.

CSO: 2700/103

SLOVENIAN SOURCE DISCUSSES NEW REGULATIONS FOR DRIVERS LICENSES

Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 22 Jan 83 p 5

[Article by Aleksa Brajovic, TANJUG correspondent]

[Excerpts] Bucharest, January--Romanians who want to have a driver's license will have to carefully reflect on the latest regulations in regard to traffic on public roads. The reasons for the stricter requirements for the issuance of drivers licenses were not explained but they supplement the 1966 decrees. They specify the requirements of age, state of health and theoretical and practical knowledge which must be met before a person can receive a driver's license.

They are in force, first of all, for drivers whose licenses are invalid or who have been driving without a license and are responsible for a serious accident and those who "violated good customs and disturbed public order." Also excluded from a driver's license are "people who do not perform useful social work and who live a parasitic existence."

Official statistical data show that in 10 years the number of private autos in Romania doubled but the number of traffic accidents has been decreasing for the past 3 years. Contributing to this were more stringent control measures, especially the "night filter," as they call the night control system here. According to the commander of the traffic police battalion in Bucharest, at night they discover the most drunken drivers, drivers without licenses and car thieves.

At night, drivers are also likely to leave the scene of an accident. The press wrote about the driver of a heavy truck who was drunk and hit a pedestrian, propelling him several meters off the road into the woods. Instead of helping him, he began to negotiate with him. He promised that he would take him to the hospital if he would make a statement saying that a tractor had hit him. The victim did not consent and the driver fled. When some people passing by stopped and attended to the victim and took him to the hospital, it was already too late and the man bled to death.

The police examined about 200 truck drivers and finally found the guilty party. He admitted everything.

Henceforth, a driver's license will be automatically revoked if it is established that the alcohol content of the driver's blood exceeds the allowable limits. Regulations on the temporary suspension of licenses have been made more severe and they have been made the same for non-professional and professional drivers. A driver's license can be suspended for a period of from 1 to 3 months if he drives under the influence of alcohol or with defective brakes, a defective steering wheel, etc., if he repeatedly parks in prohibited areas, if he does not obey traffic lights or if he crosses lanes, if he drives at night with high-beam headlights, or if he does not stop at traffic signals.

A driver may have his license suspended temporarily if he repeatedly exceeds the speed limit by 20 kilometers. According to the regulations, people riding in automobiles must fasten their seat belts, children younger than 12 years of age are not allowed to ride in the front seat, and motorcycle drivers and riders must wear helmets.

The decree also stipulates fines for violations. They have been doubled and now range from 100 to 2,500 lei; the highest fine is a bit higher than the average monthly wage.

The more rigorous examinations will also help to ensure the consistent conservation of gasoline.

CSO: 2800/127

BRIEFS

GRAHAM 'FESTIVAL' CALLED 'COLLECTIVE PSYCHOSIS'--Irinia Boldus (Deva) and Anton Irimescu (Brasov) have asked for some information about mystical delirium. This frenetic state, usually collective and brought about by excessive sounds and mechanics involving a great rhythmic movement of the participants' bodies, has a long history. The phenomenon has reappeared in our days in some hippy-type groups whose parareligious manifestations take the form of collective psychosis (for example, the festival in Dallas, organized by the preacher Billy Graham 10 years ago, under the sign of Jesus Christ, regarded as a superstar), in order to offer these youths who apparently had gone astray (and also those who allowed themselves to be captured by profane musical and choreographic quasidelight) a channel for the momentary directing of surplus energy, which, for different reasons, lacked a target. Some forms of prayer can attach themselves to the same thread, bringing about a vibration of all the muscles of the body of the believer, resulting in a mechanism combining superstition and mysticism. [Article by Victor Kernbach: "Truth and Legend--Responses to questions of readers"] [Excerpts] [Bucharest MAGAZIN in Romanian 8 Jan 83 p 9]

CSO: 2700/96

COMMUNIST CULTURAL WORKERS MEETING IN NOVI SAD

Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1449 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Excerpts] Novi Sad--More than 160 communists who work in the sphere of culture took part in today's consultative meeting in Novi Sad organized by the LC town committee presidium. The meeting discussed LC activity in the struggle against instances of nationalism and underestimation of the gains of the revolution, the democratization of cultural life, freedom of creativity, national equality and togetherness, and events connected with the play "Golubnjaca."

The introductory report, which was presented by Vera Banic-Caric, a member of the town committee, mentions that the culture of Novi Sad has always had and continues to have a worthy place and role in the context of the culture of Vojvodina as a multi-national and multi-lingual community which is traditionally open to all cultural values and trends at home and abroad.
[passage omitted]

In the development of relations in culture and its socialist self-management content, not insignificant results are being achieved, but there are also many contradictions and weaknesses, as well as actions of an opposition and hostile hue, and all these require open and resolute action on the part of communists and freedom from any form of passivity, neutralism, suppression of facts and coquetry. "It should be said that there are communists who play with sympathies and even plot, allegedly in favour of 'breadth' and some kind of morally vague, ideologically confused and bourgeois concept of 'democracy' and 'the public,' with exponents of ideologies opposed to the LC's," Vera Banic-Caric said.

Referring to how the drama "Golubnjaca" came to be on the stage of the Serbian National Theatre and everything accompanying this, Vera Banic-Caric pointed out that it was a question of a platform and of orchestrated involvement, mainly on the part of the same individuals and circles from the same organs, aimed at ensuring the support of Serbian National Theatre organs for placing the play in the repertory.

LC organs in Novi Sad, confronted with the fact that such a play was being staged by the Serbian National Theatre and that its message was being glossed over in public for unprincipled reasons, as well as the fact that the

privatization [as received] of the play was being used in broader activity by opposition and hostile forces, sought not that communists should ban the play in that theatre, but that there should be a critical political discussion on it, which was not permitted as a result of pressures. According to Vera Banic-Caric those who in a calculated way manipulated the procedure and the public have for weeks been criticizing the Novi Sad LC town committee loudly for "administrative interference," "the crude violation of constitutional principles," "an attack on the freedom of creativity" and so forth. There is no doubt that the deception of the public and some artists has succeeded, Vera Banic-Caric emphasizes. She went on to say that it is clear that one cannot hide the fact that the play "Golubnjaca" carries messages which encourage nationalistic hatred between Serbs and Croats, for it perpetuates this hatred and passes it on to the younger generation, and with a strong dose of anti-communism it seeks to underestimate our revolution. Thus "Golubnjaca" attacked the basic values on which Yugoslavia is founded as a community of equal nations and nationalities. The proof for this is demonstrated by the forces which have been favouring the play from the start and those who have rushed to "support" and "defend" the play as if they [were] going on a pilgrimage.

Hence the fact that those who made a public and mass display in connection with the play and the games connected with it were first and foremost well-known nationalists, as well as oppositionists of all kinds. It is clear that they rushed to demonstrate so publicly in order to show that it was their action. It would be a failure greater than any omissions already made in connection with placing the play in the repertory if the communists of Novi Sad were to fail to oppose this most resolutely, particularly since the moment when all this is occurring is exceptionally complex politically and it is a time when nationalistic tendencies are growing and rising.

We must ask ourselves, Vera Banic-Caric went on, who wants to create the impression that some strange, frightening, conservative oriented forces are active here, by using some press coverage on political, economic and cultural events in Novi Sad and Vojvodina.

The first participant in the discussion, Vitomir Sudarski, noted that in the LC there is techno-bureaucratic consciousness, hence the alliance with the exponents of the same consciousness in culture. Does not this then explain the question of why nationalism enters through the window, as well as many other hostile ideologies and policies, every time they have been kicked out through the door? [passage omitted]

Kalman Feher warns that recently we have been confronted with a strong invasion of nationalisms of all kinds, and this exerts pressure on self-management and revives statism, not only in sporadic forms, but increasingly as a method of setting up certain relations, and personal, group and various other centres of power. This is always done at the expense of self-management, and it is always an attack on brotherhood and unity. Kosta Todor also considers that recently nationalism of various kinds have been more aggressive than usual. It is essential that communists in particular close up any cracks which have been noticed in their behaviour and in the implementation of

adopted policy as soon as possible. Noting that he does not intend to defend Radulovic from himself, Pero Zubac said that the extent of "Gulubnjaca" is not a good play, and that the writer was thereby betraying his own good stories.

The meeting continues.

CSO: 2800/122

CROATIAN LC COMMISSION DISCUSSES PUBLISHING ACTIVITY

Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 12 Jan 83

[Excerpts] Zagreb--The Croat LC Central Committee Commission for Ideological Questions and Information today held a wide-ranging discussion on topical ideo-political questions of publishing activity, the periodical press and public organs. In a discussion which lasted several hours and will serve as a working preparation for the Croat LC Central Committee plenary session on ideological trends in society and the tasks of the LC, there was most discussion about books in general as an important element of social and cultural policy.

Much of value has been achieved in the sphere of publishing activity, but there is also quite a lot which is opposed to the basic orientations of society. The responsibility of publishing houses needs to be supplemented by society so that social interest and influence is more of a presence in publishing policy, and more efforts need to be made to ensure the training and activity of LC organizations and members in this sphere. This is all the more essential, as Dr Stipe Suvar, among others, stated in the discussion, since publishing activity and books in general have also become an "evident area of ideo-political struggle around the key questions of society with ever increasing influence on broad public opinion." [passage omitted]

Systematizing ideo-political tendencies which arise from positions opposed to the LC, Celestin Sardelic [executive secretary of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium) said that in some books "or when those books are published" there are theses which have explicit anti-communist messages. [passage omitted]

Summing up today's discussion, Josip Vrhovec judged that "much of value has been achieved in publishing activity, but there is still quite a lot of rubbish, too." The whole sense of the discussion in the Commission is to strengthen the responsibility of publishers, but also to ensure much more of an organized social effort in order to create the conditions for this sensitive sphere to carry out its socio-cultural function and to enable communists to eliminate everything that is negative. This will be discussed at the Central Committee plenum on ideological questions which is being prepared for the end of February.

Vrhovec pointed in particular to attempts--by means of theses about the alleged threat to freedom of creativity--at easing out society's influence or disputing the LC's "competence" to "interfere" in this sphere. It is a question of a small group of various anti-socialist forces which are active in a very organized and aggressive way and want to accuse organized socialist society and the LC of not being "adequate" to the needs of the moment. Calling for an ideological struggle against such attempts and for a clear definition of LC standpoints in public, Vrhovec said that the problem of the "silent majority" which behaves in an opportunistic way is significant for the organization of the ideological front of the LC, and there was quite a lot of discussion about this.

It is not quite logical, Vrhovec noted critically, to have such a great confrontation about "Golubnjaca" and not to have an aesthetic and socio-ideological analysis of its content, since the action of the play takes place precisely in Croatia. Saying that it has become clear to everyone what the question is, and that someone has extracted the basic contents and pointed out the casual link of the main characters, and emphasizing that it is not a question of adopting a position in relation to the conflicts surrounding "Golubnjaca," but rather of adopting views on the social message and content of the work itself, Vrhovec gave his view on the basis of reading the text of the play. I think, he said, that "Golubnjaca" has worrying social messages and if they are nationalistic, they are as much anti-Croatian as anti-Serbian, perhaps even more anti-Serbian. The action takes place in 1960, that is, in our time, and it portrays the total material, cultural, moral and spiritual degradation of a life, and not only in some isolated village. The intention is that this should be a general artistic message. We need, Vrhovec said, to give the public the opportunity of deciding themselves and understanding the essence of this through specific quotations from and analysis of the text.

Vrhovec also referred to the granting of the "Sedam sekretara SKOJ-a" [seven secretaries of the Federation of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia] award to the collection of poems entitled "Topli Obrok" ["Hot Meal"] and the occasion for this was the announcement of the standpoint of the Zagreb City Committee of the Croat Socialist Youth Federation at its session yesterday stating that "the collection had been awarded and not the poem." Saying that the poem in dispute was an extreme expression of decadence, Vrhovec judged that the Zagreb youth presidium, instead of entering into self-criticism, had embarked upon an unprincipled struggle of proof, and had also reproached the newspaper MLADOST, which had pointed out the problem by publishing the poem in dispute. If we are taking something from abroad as avant-garde, then we should take that which is good and progressive, and not such poems, which are nevertheless granted the "Sedam sekretara SKOJ-a" award.

CSO: 2800/122

BRIEFS

CROATIAN PERSONNEL APPOINTMENTS--In a meeting held on 11 January 1983, the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Croatia made the following personnel appointments: Ljudevit Hrgovan, a sociopolitical worker from Vrbovec township, was named undersecretary in the republican Secretariat for Justice and General Administration. Ivo Jelavic, a member of the republican Committee for Agriculture and Forestry; Slavko Mikic, a member of the republican Committee for Energy, Industry, Mining and Handicrafts; Dr Vjenceslav Bakulic, a member of the republican Committee for Health and Social Welfare; Dragutin Djurovic, an adviser in the republican Secretariat for National Defense; Pero Radmanovic, a secretary in the General Association for the Agriculture, Food and Tobacco Industry and Waterpower Engineering of Croatia; Josip Sudec, secretary in the General Association for Trade of Croatia; and Djordje Buric, Assembly delegate of the General Association for Industry, Production and Metal Processing of Croatia, were appointed members of the Office for Material Reserves of the Council of the Republic. [Text] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jan 83 DELEGATSKI VJESNIK Supplement p 12]

CSO: 2800/125

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