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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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28 September 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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EFFICIENT USE OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT URGED

Rear Services Chief Interview

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 17, 1983 (signed to press 18 Apr 83) p 3

[Interview with Lt Gen Joachim Goldbach, deputy minister for national defense and chief, rear services (date and place of interview not provided):  
"Good Military Personnel Are Good Economists"]



Goldbach

[Text] [Question] Comrade Lieutenant General! You recently took part in the 2d general military-economic conference of the motor fuel and lubricants service of the NVA and the Border Troops of the GDR. From a military-economic point of view, what would you say about the standards we have achieved in our utilization of motor fuels and lubricants ?

[Answer] As is well known, our modern-day armed forces have attained such a high level of military technology that they have a rather substantial need of motor fuels and lubricants and there is no branch of service and no technical division which can do without them.

Under the circumstances, the fuel and lubricant services of all units and commands are called upon to carry out military-economic tasks of some magnitude so as to insure and enhance combat effectiveness and combat readiness.

Thus, when we speak of socialist management of fuels and lubricants—which includes the economical use of public property—we are referring above all to well thought-out combat, training and maintenance schemes as well as fuel-saving driving methods. But we are also referring to constant efforts to reduce losses through storage, transportation, loading and unloading; to assure complete exploitation of the utility value of lubricants and the conscientious collection and return of used lubricants and anti-freeze.

If one stops to think about how many tanks, armored personnel carriers, trucks, airplanes, helicopters, ships and boats as well as generators require both fuel and lubricants, one will realize that there is a need for a great many mobile and stationary filling stations as well as pumping and pipeline systems and other complicated and expensive fuel and lubrication equipment to provide for the needs of this technology as well as for storing, refilling and transporting the fuels and lubricants. The members of the fuel and lubricant service are called upon to do the best possible job of care and maintenance of this equipment and to put it to efficient use.

At this point, let me summarize what was said at the conference:

In all the fields I have briefly touched upon we have already achieved quite remarkable results. Thus, high priority is given on a great many command levels to efforts aimed at achieving the most efficient and economical use of fuels and lubricants. The efforts by the party and armed forces leadership to make use of available means as efficiently as possible so as to achieve a high state of combat effectiveness and to make use of the means provided by society in the interest of maximum protection of socialism coupled with maximum efficiency did not succeed automatically. Success has been due to the work of the chiefs, the commanding officers as well as the party organizations and the other social forces.

Let me just mention two examples of what has been achieved. A telling statistic in the motor vehicle field is the number of kilometers driven per ton of fuel. In 1979, the NVA and the Border Troops of the GDR used one ton of carburetor fuel for every 5,225 kilometers. By 1981, that figure had climbed by about 300 kilometers to 5,513 kilometers. Put another way, we drove several million more kilometers on the same amount of fuel in 1981 than in 1979.

And here if the second example: by cutting down on the on-the-ground running time of aircraft and helicopters; by towing aircraft and by cutting down on particularly fuel-intensive flights 2.3 percent of the aircraft fuel made available in 1982 was saved.

But the guidelines underscored by the general secretary of the central committee of our party in his address before the first Kreis secretaries--to use the available means sparingly, to add to them carefully and to make efficient use of them--must serve as our constant starting point to an even greater extent in the future in all command decisions that are made and must exert an even greater influence on the military-economic thoughts and deeds of all members of the armed forces and all civilian employees.

[Question] What role does competitive performance play in all this, would you say ?

[Answer] Every member of the armed forces, of the Border Troops and every civilian employee decides in his specific field how efficiently the available equipment and the available time are being used and what savings can be made in the use of electrical energy, fuels and lubricants, spare parts and expendable supplies. As a rule, every member of the armed forces and every civilian employee will already have collected some experience on how to achieve efficiency and economy.

Our education system has provided him with polytechnical data and skills and most conscripts have already worked in a factory. Many of them have a car of their own. Thus, they know a good deal about how to economize. This fact serves as an important basis for including them in the time-tested mass initiatives of socialist competition such as "I am driving the most economical kilometer" or "outstanding military driver" or "tank of outstanding quality." These mass initiatives are a source of great economic gain. And it can grow even further, if superior individual results in well organized competitions are given greater publicity. Comrade Erich Honecker made a particular point of this in his abovementioned address. The idea was not in the least to come up with flashy statistics, he stressed, but to point up and generalize the experiences of the high achievers and thereby to enhance the rate of overall development.

In my view, we must make even greater use of the possibilities of competition among individual fighting men and among the different units given the special conditions under which the army operates. There is nothing that keeps us from running competitions within the context of training presentations and exchanges of information which deal with such matters as to how the same amount of fuel is to be used under the same utilization conditions and the same technical parameters. Under actual operating conditions, as we know, we still run into major discrepancies. We would also be able to publicize these findings better, if we made better use of the meetings held by commanders, leaders and functionaries and disseminated information more quickly and at less administrative cost. I am thinking in this connection of information on how to move equipment out of garages without turning on the motor prior to actual use or

how to save large amounts of carburetor fuel by drawing more current from stationary grids and by drastically cutting down on the use of generators at radar installations. But we could also be thinking on how to optimize transport space of units on their way to the training grounds or how to make more use of training equipment and simulators instead of combat equipment under training conditions. In other words, there are a great many ways for us to run competitions and to publicize our efforts. I would, in fact, ask the commanders to make more use of army newspapers to help spread the good news.

[Question] Would you say that thinking and acting along military-economic lines is restricted to the rear services alone ?

[Answer] Everyone—whether he is a commander, a political worker or a specialist—will agree with me when I say that there is no aspect of day-to-day military life that does not involve economizing in one way or another. As a consequence, everyone—no matter at what level—has both the opportunity and the obligation to exert an influence through his own actions on military-economic resources and procedures. But one should not make this whole business any more complicated than it is. We need only look at one day in our military lives to see how many possibilities there are. The best daily schedule will be of no use, for example, if we do not keep to it and carry it out in full. Only if we think our plans through and coordinate them from top to bottom and if we work out a well-constructed training program, will we be able to achieve our training goals with the least effort and the best result. In other words, cost effectiveness thinking is a matter of concern for everyone and one's own personal attitude toward thrift represents one small part of the program to save on materials and individual punctuality is tied in with the overall concept of saving time.

If we look at this important aspect of our everyday military life a little more closely, we will discover that the guidance and operation of military-economic procedures does not just involve the management of objects and in fact goes far beyond mere organizational work. For this reason, thinking and acting along military-economic lines which we are calling for and promoting wherever we can is first of all a matter of thinking and acting along political lines. And this very fact places a great responsibility upon us—commanders, political workers, party, trade union and FDJ organizations—which we must increasingly shoulder.

There is one more thing I would want to add. Talking about thinking and acting along military-economic lines, about cost effectiveness and thrift is nothing really new. As early as in 1918, at the 5th All-Russian Soviet Congress, the call went out to build up the Red workers and peasants army in such a way that it would deliver the greatest gain with the least expenditure of men and materiel. In 1920, V I Lenin put forward the following general theory: "The defense of the soil of the Soviet republic calls for the greatest economy of strength and the most productive use of the labors of the people," he said. In evaluating the experiences of the Great Patriotic War, Soviet military

leader, Marshal Zhukov, said: "The goal of gaining victory with the least loss of men materiel is one of the most important principles to pass on to commanders in training."

The increased use of concepts such as "cost effectiveness," "performance," "thrift," "losses," "questions of time" and "fuel use" as well as other military-economic terminology in assessing leadership qualities fully complies with present and future demands. The slogan coined by Col Dieckmann, the commander of the "Hermann Matern" fighter air wing, "no fuel use without an increase in combat effectiveness" must make the rounds even more and in fact essentially applies to a great many other aspects of our military-economic efforts.

[Question] Comrade Lieutenant General ! VOLKSARMEE would like to thank you for granting us this interview.

#### Deputy Defense Minister Article

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 25, 1983 (signed to press 13 Jun 83) p 3

[Article by Col Gen Werner Fleissner, deputy minister for national defense and chief, ordnance and equipment: "Modern Military Technology Is Mastered by Man"]

[Text] Modern combat is characterized among other things by great troop mobility, the great spatial extension of operations and the mass commitment of complex military equipment. Also characteristic are the combined efforts of different branches of service and special forces as well as coordinated action by a multiplicity of weapons of great destructive force. All this, of course, calls for a highly accomplished command of the military equipment. And this in turn places concrete demands on the officers, non-commissioned officers and enlisted men responsible for such equipment. And it places demands above all on the commanding officers as well as on the party and FDJ organizations.

All our information and education work must be directed toward making the individual soldier aware of the fact that operating such technology which has been entrusted to him by society for the protection of socialism calls for political understanding of the political mission of the NVA and the Border Troops of the GDR.

The constant enhancement of combat readiness, however, depends on how familiar each soldier is with the ordnance and the combat equipment and how well each soldier and each combat collective are able to make use of the equipment so that its combat potential is maximized. Technical training plays a decisive role in this. It helps familiarize the soldier with the technology. It develops capabilities and skills which are essential, if the soldier is to make proper use of the technology. It familiarizes him with the structure and effectiveness of the technology, its proper use, care and maintenance and gives him an opportunity to learn adequate practical skills.

## Taking the Systems Character of Modern Technology into Account

That is why the entire technical training program must be organized and conducted in such a way that optimal results can be attained. Our starting point is the basic demand that the capabilities of man—that is to say those of the operators and the technical personnel—must keep pace with the rapid advances of military technology. Thanks to our socialist education system and the results of the first training semester of 1982/83 we can base our expectations on a steady rise in the technical know-how of our soldiers, non-commissioned officers and officers.

We now have well prepared young people at our disposal who have enjoyed both a good education and good training and who are willing and able to master the technology. This also creates the necessary precondition for the further expansion of the man-technology relationship. This takes place under the conditions of military service—particularly within the context of collective activities on complexes and automated weapons systems. It is connected with enormous and steadily increasing demands on understanding and technical know-how, on the moral qualities and the discipline of the members of the armed forces.

Since modern-day technology has more and more acquired a systems character—which is to say that the weapon, the carrier as well as the reconnaissance and guidance systems tend to constitute a unit—the actual fulfillment of a combat mission increasingly depends on the ability and readiness of the combat collective and, for that matter, of every individual member of it. The men must be able to rely completely on each other: the pilot on the technician; the tank commander on the driver. The whole crew must work together as one man and every crew member must be able to take every other crew member's place. This applies equally to the fulfillment of the combat mission and the constant state of readiness of the technology.

## Increasing Demand for Sense of Responsibility

These requirements make it clear that according to the principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory of war and the armed forces man who masters the technology is assigned the appropriate role in modern combat. It is man who decides on the proper use of the technology and on how it can best be applied in a particular combat situation. He thus exerts a major influence on the successful use of it and that is why his acquiring a sense of greater responsibility is becoming more and more important.

It is equally clear that the qualitative characteristics of combat technology are constantly growing in view of the advances of science and technology and their impact on military affairs. This places greater demands on the level of mastery over the technology both in using it and in caring for and maintaining it. All these are elements which can help achieve a higher quality of repair and maintenance performance in the armed forces.

In the absence of the appropriate level of technical maintenance; of the proper use of equipment according to regulations and of outstanding military order it will not be possible to master combat technology today or in the future. That is why all specialists are called upon to display a great sense of responsibility as well as the necessary know-how and constant high-quality work in their particular field. And it is equally important to see to it that uniform principles of military leadership, of military-technological procedure and technical training are implemented at all command levels. Technical combat readiness and, in turn, success in combat operations will depend on all of these to a large extent.

Those members of the armed forces who operate the technology have a direct impact on the course and the success of potential combat operations in that they guarantee the technical combat readiness of their technology and are in a position to exhaust the performance parameters with optimal results.

#### Economical Action in the Interest of Combat Readiness

Those members of the armed forces and civilian employees who operate and maintain our weapons systems are specifically called upon to meet the well-known requirement according to which every military man must at the same time be a good economist. The realization of the party's economic strategy for the eighties does not exclude the area of national defense. It calls on us to do full justice to the economic laws in the overall process of our military-economic efforts and to act in accordance with their demands.

The law of the economy of time plays an important role in this regard, since we look upon it as a general standard of efficiency, of the optimal utilization of the labor force and the reduction of working time. In this sense, every delay and every disregard of the time factor will in the final analysis lead to a loss of efficiency and thus to a decline in the growth of combat effectiveness. For this reason, the members of the armed forces, of the Border Troops of the GDR and the civilian employees are called upon to provide creative cooperation so that a maximum increase in combat effectiveness and combat readiness based on the means provided by our state for national defense can be achieved.

We must tell ourselves in every instance that economy as well as thinking and acting along economical lines do not simply mean saving on material and financial resources and/or making sparing use of them. These precepts have a far more profound meaning than that.

The aim is to make efficient and rational use of technology as well as of material and financial resources, the full utilization and/or exploitation of available time in the interests of a constant high state of readiness of the technology and in our training programs. This also calls for proper operation based on thorough know-how and information and coupled with the unconditional will to give one's all for the protection of socialism. One more requirement is high-quality maintenance and repair of the technology in order to insure a high state of combat readiness under all conditions.

## Forging Ahead through Exemplary Work

There are many examples of outstanding work performed on the technology. Most of our soldiers and non-commissioned officers do everything they can to insure combat readiness of the ordnance and technology entrusted to them. In the truest sense of the word, they feel responsible for it. Commanding officers as well as party and FDJ organizations can build on this and help develop creativity and the will to performance among the members of the armed forces.

Competitions among crews and operators have proven successful as have a variety of workshops devoted to technical questions whose aim it is to acquire maximum mastery of the technology, of its proper use, repair and maintenance. Additional possibilities could be opened up by expanding the "superior quality technology" movement.

The inventors' and innovators' movement has a special role to play. It intensifies the technical understanding of our comrades and inspires them to creative thinking and reflection. This particular movement has reached a high level of performance both in the NVA and the Border Troops of the GDR as evidenced by the great number of innovative proposals and excellent results this year. This represents a major potential that should be put to maximum use both today and in the future. The activities of the innovators should focus on those areas where the greatest possible increase in combat effectiveness and combat readiness might be expected. This applies in particular to

- the intensification of combat and technical training through the creation of new training equipment such as trainers and simulators the importance of which is constantly increasing;
- the improvement of repair and maintenance technologies, particularly in the field of organizational repair;
- energy-saving measures as well as measures to conserve fuels and lubricants, materials, spare parts and financial and other resources;
- the optimization of cost effectiveness ratios in the solution of all military, military-technological and military-economic tasks.

Unfortunately, there are still some instances, however, of premature breakdowns due to improper operation and insufficient familiarity with the technology and ordnance or simply due to insufficient discipline and order in handling the equipment. This has an adverse effect on combat effectiveness and combat readiness. In addition, it raises the need for greater economic expenditures and results in the use of supplementary personnel and resources for repair purposes.

### Make an Effort to Be the Best Man

We must therefore direct the following call to all our comrades who are active in the field of military technology; to all commanding officers and their deputies for ordnance and technology; to all technical officers, specialists and operators: such occurrences—even if they are the exception rather than the rule—must be combated energetically and dealt with in all seriousness.

To make myself perfectly clear: Utilization of combat technology in accordance with service regulations and military standards calls for a high level of awareness and a clear sense of responsibility on the part of each individual. The state of combat readiness as well as the operational readiness of the technology and the level of technological repair and maintenance depend on the readiness of our personnel to fulfill the class mission of our armed forces. The first condition to be met in order to achieve this is:

Learn diligently and practice untiringly! Try to emulate the best of us!  
Make an effort to be one of the best yourself!

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# ARTICLE EXAMINES DEBATE OVER NATIONALISM

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Aug 83 p 9

[Article by Zsigmond Pal Pach: "About National Awareness Today; Old and New Nationalism; History and the Current Debates"]

[Text] After antecedents stretching far into the past and with the epoch of bourgeois transformation and the unfolding of the capitalist order, national awareness became one of the "reigning ideals" of European history, a powerful ideological factor of socio-political movements. From the beginning this was a complex phenomenon of many components but in its chief aspects it constituted one of the ideological foundations for social progress, for rising out of feudal relationships, for modernization.

The imperialist stage of capitalist development, the first and second world wars and the decades since have represented new stages in the history of national awareness also. If even earlier it involved various tendencies--a patriotic-democratic trend serving social progress and united with it and a nationalist-chauvinist trend of antipathy toward other nations, a current of self-satisfaction obscuring the class contradictions within the nation; and if these contradictory trends were sometimes mixed together in a unique way--in recent decades, in our present age, the equation has become even more complex and requires even more careful analysis.

What are the chief determinants of the present state of affairs? Out of the many elements we can describe only three of them briefly here.

The first is interdependent with the fact that during the second world war virtually the entire world knew and suffered the crimes and blows of fascism, the most aggressive, inhuman form of nationalism--together with the peoples of those countries from which these distorted ideals took their destructive path. It follows from this that after the war more than one country was faced with a unique awareness duality. On the one hand the deeply absorbed corruption of nationalism continued to have an effect, continued to infect, not in a narrow sphere and not always hidden. On the other hand, in the German lands among others--in both German states if in an essentially different political context--a fairly strong counter-effect appeared in social strata awakening to bitter sobriety from the stupefying opium. They grew disgusted with that ideology which had rained serious suffering on their own nation together with

other peoples, there was an alarmed turning from nationalism--indeed, to a certain extent, from the national idea in general. In part this disgust and disillusionment swerved as a soil for a general questioning of national values (of the nation as a social value category) and for the spread of "supranational," cosmopolitan views in some western European countries--which, in any case, corresponded to the "Atlantic" interests; the economic and ideological spread of the strongest capitalist power.

The second determining factor is no less important, and it is interdependent with the struggle against fascism. Faced with Hitler's aggression and conquest there was a revival of the traditions, emotions and ideals of national independence, progressive patriotism and noble patriotic zeal which carried forward and deepened the faith in them and gave strength to those anti-fascist resistance and freedom fighters throughout Europe who opposed terror and oppression and took up arms for the liberation of their homelands. Similarly, the memory of the defensive struggles and national uprisings of Russian history and the past examples of Russian-Soviet patriotism encouraged the Soviet people when, meeting the national task of the present, they not only won their homeland back from the conqueror but also fulfilled their internationalist mission. They also liberated other peoples of eastern and central Europe from the rule of fascism. Thereafter, with the end of the war, this historic circumstance could give new impetus to the strengthening of the progressive currents of national awareness, to democratic patriotism, and to the development of a socialist national awareness.

Finally, we must refer to those changes of great import which have taken place in recent decades in the "third world." The successes of the liberating struggle against fascism, the breaking of a series of countries out of the world system of capitalism, the formation of the socialist community--all this increased many times the impetus of the liberation struggles opposed to imperialism even in the colonies. The collapse of the capitalist colonial empires proceeded at an accelerating pace, a significant part of the liberated peoples appearing in their place have now entered the epoch of becoming nations, have begun to take the path of national development, to develop the various trends of national awareness, the progressive and contradictory ones as well. We must take these developments into account all the more because in a world which is sharply divided but still linked by a thousand strands they naturally can have and do have an effect on the social and national processes of the developed capitalist and socialist countries as well.

It would be interesting to compare the factors and phases in the domestic development of national awareness in past decades with the general development, more precisely with the awareness processes taking place in other European--socialist and capitalist--countries. In addition to significant unique features we might find a good number of similar, more or less general, common aspects.

The soiling of national awareness was considerable in Hungary also before and during the second world war; thus action against nationalism, forcing back and overcoming its many forms, was an indispensable and priority awareness condition for rising from the catastrophe of the war, for democratic renewal and

for the socialist transformation. This ideological struggle began quickly and it entered a new--more understanding and more convincing--phase after 1956, in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the norms of patriotism and internationalism. Everyone who does not shut his eyes to it sees the undoubted results of this--together with the political, social and economic achievements of a Hungary progressing on the path of socialism.

The development of national awareness has not, of course, been straightforward or free of contradictions in our country. We can note, for instance, that in some cases the rejection of nationalism and the indignant condemnation, based on profound principled and moral foundations, of its nation-destroying effect proceeded from the viewpoint of general humanism or that of an entirely praiseworthy, but abstract internationalism. And it must be stressed that in our country too this, along with many other historical and political circumstances, has contributed to making people less receptive to national values, to making them turn away from the national idea as such and contest its topicality today. It is known, moreover, that our ideological struggle against bourgeois nationalism has not been free of dogmatism and small-mindedness that measured our historical and cultural heritage with a niggardly yardstick, made significant historical figures and processes drab and truncated and unjustifiably excluded national values.

A narrow and abstract outlook also manifested itself in the fact that for a fairly long time we polemicized not primarily, but virtually exclusively, with Hungarian nationalism and did not consider--could not consider--the "interference phenomenon" that is so specifically characteristic of the national-nationality issue; notably the fact the domestic symptoms cannot be construed and treated in isolation from those beyond our borders, because they are closely interrelated.

Last but not least: the development of national awareness also means that the progress that has been attained cannot be regarded as final, as progress applicable once and for all, because some acute development in the international situation, for instance--and the past decades have not been lacking in these--can bring to the surface again views that are believed to be gone, sentiments that are believed to have ceased, and doubts that are believed to have been dispelled.

These and similar problems of the development of our national awareness have turned into more than one sharp discussion in our intellectual life as well as historical, literary, and publicized polemics. Even if they were not devoid of nervous overtones leaning toward subjectivism, overall these periodically briskly reemerging discussions, which have ebbed and flowed, have had a positive impact and have been instrumental in clarifying views and alleviating sore spots.

Nowadays we seem to have landed in another wave of discussions.

Perhaps I am not mistaken if I perceive the mainstream of the "new wave" this time as also being positive and progressive. It restores forgotten or disregarded historical, scientific, and artistic values to their proper place; corrects overcautious approaches which suspect nationalism in patriotism, and builds cultural relations with Hungarians living beyond our borders.

Such comprehensive, central themes of social science research as a systematic disclosure and processing of our historical and cultural traditions and memories or the study of national awareness and the national-nationality question, making professional use of current historical sources and sociological surveys, strengthen this trend. This is served by a long list of detailed research themes--those, for example, which had as their goal a full explication of the democratic aspirations astir at the beginning of the 20th century, the work of Ervin Szabo, Oszkar Jaszi and Zsigmond Kunfi, or a portrayal in all its complexity of the cultural-ideological life of the 1920's and 1930's. These studies show a good bit more broadly and richly than was known earlier the intellectual accomplishments of early Hungarian progressives and the valuable antecedents of our present concept of the nation, nor do they avoid a recognition of the contributions to national self-awareness of, for example, such a conservative historian as Gyula Szekfu, who came from such a distance.

Coinciding with this positive, progressive trend are those scientific and literary publications which forge a link with Hungarians living in neighboring countries or farther away--those mother tongue conferences and joint professional meetings which try to create, maintain, and preserve from neglect links with Hungarians of many types scattered around our globe--with economists, librarians and physicians among others--in the worthy programs of the World Federation of Hungarians.

And I could continue the list of facts and aspirations which serve a healthy development and strengthening of Hungarian national awareness.

Of course, besides the sunrays that glisten and the pure foam that ripples on the crests of the wave, there is also the sand and mud that swirl up from the hazy depths of the riverbed or here and there from its untended shores.

If we consider these less attractive elements of the new wave of discussion--and we can hardly afford not to--we can, generally speaking, also discover in them a revival of outdated views which tend to raise the concept of national awareness to a level above history and to disregard the scientific conclusion that has been verified many times over that the national idea is not a permanent and immutable value, but is, itself, a product of historical and social development.

Not infrequently can we perceive a lack or deficiency of historical outlook in recent articles and publications devoted to national awareness and the past, beginning with ancient history--where, astonishingly, we have been able to witness a rehash of chimerical theories on origin far beyond scientific boundaries--all the way to modern times. As far as the period between the two world wars is concerned, for instance, it is the order of the day to lavishly embellish the portraits of leading and middle-level politicians by taking some of their conduct of affairs and statements out of the overall context of their concepts and practice. (And it is small consolation that similar proud theories and bold reappraisals find a wider echo elsewhere.)

However, this is not the place to go into detail about all this.

Still, we cannot fail to mention even here the staggering expositions that are not averse to explicitly foisting actual problems of national-nationality life onto socialism and alleging that, behind nationalist phenomena, "there lies... the law: the not thoroughly thought-out system of ideas and practice of socialism." We cannot fail to mention the contemplations that do not make the vestiges of old nationalism and those of its symptoms which reproduce themselves even under socialist conditions a subject of study, but offhandedly regard "socialist chauvinism" as the law.

It is difficult to find in these expositions an desire to make a principled analysis and objective inquiry. To be sure, we do not have to be Marxists to realize--and this is a truism of the middle-class social sciences as well--that if nationalism is a "law" anywhere, then it is precisely in capitalism. During its ascending phase the bourgeoisie inevitably produces the ideology of nationalism and, as its major tendency, an upward, progressive trend of nationalism. The bourgeoisie's historical change of course inevitably brings the other feature--nationalistic-chauvinistic trends--to the fore.

After this, there is no reason to be surprised by the fact that the expression of ideas closely linked to the above holds that the national-nationality issue can be treated fairly only "if one succeeds in returning to democracy in this central European area," if one succeeds in "participating in the great work of redemocratization."

However, one can only, "return" to something that has once existed. "To redemocratize" means to recreate a previous democratic state.

It is, however, precisely one of the specific and unfortunate features of the historical destiny of the central European area that such a democratic state--and particularly with regard to the nationality issue--has never existed here.

The only sure way out of the difficulties and problems of the present is to move forward, a series of modest, sober, calm steps, steps forward. Larger or smaller steps in the development of socialist democracy, building the economy, forming social awareness.

These steps do not promise quick, spectacular success overnight; they do promise diligent effort day by day. Only they can be pledges of the peace and future of Hungary and of Central Eastern Europe.

CSO: 2500/422

KISZ CC HOLDS MEETING ON FUTURE TASKS

Budapest IFJU KOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 7/8, 1983 p 11

[Article, no author given: "The KISZ Central Committee Held a Meeting"]

[Text] KISZ'S Central Committee held a meeting on 25 May 1983. Tibor Baranyai, the MSZMP Central Committee's department head participated in the meeting. First secretary Gyorgy Fejti informed the Central Committee about the MSZMP Central Committee meeting held on 12/13 April 1983. The body expressed its agreement with the party central committee's situation evaluation and with the program defined in the document. It considers mobilizing the KISZ membership and the entire Hungarian youth for implementing the resolution to be a task of outstanding importance. The resolution of KISZ's 10th congress as well as the working program adopted at the May session which contains the new tasks deriving the MSZMP Central Committee's resolution, continue to be the foundations of this work.

KISZ's important task is to participate in developing the party's youth policy concept for the 1980s, and relying on the last decade's experiences develop a clear and well founded position for the directions of continued growth. The Central Committee's goal in this respect is that new generations would stand up in favor of our socialist ideals and our party's policies, and to improve our youth's intellectual, moral, and physical readiness.

The Central Committee considers it necessary for the KISZ to accept a greater role in the future in the work that serves to further the economic reform. An important task in this respect is to awaken as many young people as possible to the fact that the present more difficult situation and the more complicated circumstances of progress are at the same time also creating the opportunity to test ourselves, to stand our ground in an exceptional situation, and for professional and human understanding. The KISZ should foster such a modification of the social policy institutional system which would make it possible to compensate for the continuation of differences which exist in the social and financial situations of families, and which would even out the opportunities for establishing a family and creating an independent home. The KISZ continues to represent youth's interests and wants to make it more effective; it will ensure greater publicity in the future for its work and efforts in this direction.

The Central Committee alerted the KISZ organizations to pay greater attention to the everyday questions which affect and occupy youth, and to the problems of people who live in their environment. The KISZ must accept a greater role in working with the endangered young people and in helping people who are old, sick and left alone.

One of the most important tasks of the next time period is to renew the content, style, and methods of our work of shaping people's awareness. Greater attention must be paid to the moral upbringing of youth and to strengthening order, the need for discipline, and for the responsibility young people feel for themselves and for each other. Further efforts are needed to shape the way young people view history and the national awareness of socialist content. A definite position must be taken against manifestations of nationalism. Also, we must continue to improve the way the youth federation is being directed and the way choices are made, and to modernize its work style. Attention to the characteristics of the various youth strata and age groups, and implementing their efforts are decisive elements in this. The KISZ organizations must accept a more active role in carrying out their important task that derives from their calling, in raising the party's future members.

Presented by secretary Jenő Kovács, the body discussed the experiences of the peace movement work conducted among youth and defined KISZ's further tasks. It concluded that the peace events our youth has organized in recent times again proved that our youth feels a responsibility for socialist achievements, for ensuring the conditions of peaceful constructive work, and supports our country's peace policy. The Central Committee called attention to the fact that the U.S.A. and NATO have for 38 years now been hindering the creation of balance based on equality and equal safety by developing more and more new weapons, producing them and deploying them. The KISZ supports those initiatives in the domestic and international youth movements which want to establish equal security at lower than the present levels of armed forces and armaments. It therefore supports the disarmament proposals of the government of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Soviet Union and of the other countries of the Warsaw Pact.

The Central Committee assigned it as a task for the KISZ organizations to become the leader in youth's peace movement actions, lead the masses of youth, provide opportunities for youth to express their desire for peace, provide them with guidance in the complicated questions concerning the battle which is going on to preserve peace and promote disarmament, and help them identify with the goals of our socialist peace policy. In the course of the peace movement work the KISZ does among youth, it will be working to strengthen the political and organizational unity of our country's peace movement. It will also be supporting the actions of youth groups, volunteer associations, peace circles, peace clubs and participants of debate forums, who hold in honor our country's defense interests and alliance obligations, and who responsibly serve the cause of peace. At the same time

it will oppose all efforts which aim to divide and thus weaken the peace movement. In the international arena the KISZ continues to be ready for dialog and cooperates with all youth organizations--regardless of political, ideological or religious attachments--which are ready to act in order to avoid war and to preserve peace.

In debating the points on the agenda, comments were contributed by Janos Gonci, Attila Horvath, Sandor Szoradi and by Barna Sarkadi Nagy, secretary general of the National Peace Council.

8584

CSO: 2500/417

# KING STEPHEN CELEBRATED ON CONSTITUTION DAY

## Play Draws Tens of Thousands

Budapest ESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 Aug 83 p 2

[Article by Lajos Fodor: "Stephen the King, Historical Musical Celebrated by Tens of Thousands"]

[Text] I went to the city park hill to see "Stephen the King" as a fan, but I did so with more anxiety than hope. I went there knowing that in this business they do not have three possible outcomes; a "tie" in art is considered to be the most disgraceful kind of failure for it is an indication of indifference. There were more than ten thousand of us present. The crowd of curious spectators grew larger every night. For an hour the loudspeakers kept telling people that they would hold three more performances for those who have not been able to get tickets.

On the hill "historical fires" kept flaring up everywhere. Special effects engineer Bela Gotz mounted replicas of ruins of round-arched Romanesque church doors among the metal scaffoldings and built a huge illuminating cross inside the wire casing. The actors came out wearing mostly modern, or seemingly modern costumes, and Stephen was dressed in white pants by costume designer Eموke Csegey. The opponents, those holding back progress, were wearing animal skins and leopardskin-like tops over their modern rocker-jeans. Smoke pouring out of blast engines, enormous light beams, laser- and fireworks--everything that pop groups who have lost their appeal dream about with hope.

The loudspeakers were blaring a Beethoven overture with guitars and jazz drums joining in at the end. In the prologue, young people were confronted with the following historical question: somebody will have to act tomorrow, whom would you choose? Some will have to abandon their positions, their power and lose their lives--who should those be? This was followed by some Gregorian rock, performed by the chorus of priests and the converted Stephen. This archaic piety was suddenly interrupted by profit-seeking turncoats, the products of historical change. Just like music-hall singers in church! The unyielding defenders of ancient customs, beliefs and morals were fighting using ordinary pop-music motives...And 10,000 people were listening more and more intensely. This is the wonder of art about which Hevesi wrote: ordinary things become refined in the hands of a poet.

But who is the poet that is doing this here and now? Is it Miklos Boldizsar, with his music-centered action sequences, and his illusion and legend-cleansing historical displays? Is it Brody with his lyrics that affect our emotions and turn everything into reality? Is it Szorenyi, whose music has gone beyond its past "boldness" by becoming even more daring in its mass appeal? Or is it Gabor Koltay, whose blend of special effects was a combination of old revues, modern electronics and traditionalistic dances?

However we may look at it, when taken together all these ancient themes represent something very new, all these platitudes combined constitute something very original and all this coarseness blended together feels very refined. The poet, therefore, is all the people together who have helped to turn this into reality. Including, of course, choreographer Ferenc Novak, who brought some of the finest elements into the production, including folklore and the ballad-dramaturgy, the monumental space-formations and the suggestions of symbolism. With one signal of the hand, one lifting of the arm the Mezősegyéd csárdás and the Transdanubian ring dance turns into rock and roll, and Turkish-style movements form an historical bond between shamanist practices and the world of pop music. The solution for staging the quartering of chieftain Koppany could only have been worked out by a folkdancer, just as it took a folkdancer to come up with the play's most poetic battle scene, using the simplicity of the children's game, "King, send us a soldier!".

Also radically original and daring was the casting. Stephen, the ruler who firmly broke with the past took on a brooding lyrical character in the person of László Pelsöczy. (Singing voice: Miklos Varga.) He was portrayed as an historical figure who had a clearheaded understanding of what had to be done, and who was perhaps the most instrumental in ensuring that our nomadic ancestors and their descendants did not suffer the fate of national destruction. His opposite, the wild and passionate Koppany was played by the rock singer and outstanding acting talent Gyula Viki. He was pictured as a boisterous warrior full of patriotism and thirsting for freedom, whose magic fantasies drove him to his death. The chief rebels were all rock singers: Gyula "Bill" Deák played the shaman, and Fero Nagy from the Beatrice group rendered a captivating portrayal of Torda.

Kati Berek gave an excellent interpretation of another key personality, Sarolta, who was Stephen's iron-handed mother. Still another figure worth mentioning is Asztrik the priest, whose part was sung by composer Máté Viktor. The most theatrical-type characters in the play were the corrupt Hungarians: Sándor Szakácsi, Sándor Soros and Peter Balázs, and Koppany's wives led by one of the great discoveries of this art form, Ildikó Huvosvolgyi.

It would be too numerous to list the names of all those who have contributed to the staging of the most captivating and most successful Hungarian production in recent memory. It is a fact, however, that what they have created is an important stage, a major impetus in the revival of music on stage that had begun with the musicals of Gershwin and Bernstein--it is a step toward the creation of a new kind of opera.

## Realpolitician King Stephen

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 20 Aug 83 p 7

[Article by Antal Bartha: "King Stephen, the Realpolitician"]

[Text] Our king, Stephen I was canonized by the Roman Catholic Church. Can we determine from the perspective of nine centuries how our first ruler bore the burdens of his triumphs? During his reign many centuries of traditions and customs were violated and condemned to death, which among Hungarians who considered themselves as "begotten sons" of their forefathers caused worry, in many of them resentment and it even led several of them to take sword and shield action. What vanished, and the things that were reinterpreted in the wake of Stephen's actions were not just ecstatic visions of shamans but real values. However, without the ancient bond that had held the Hungarians together and without their many centuries of history there would have never been a Saint Stephen to attack the ancient organizations and customs, without whose work, in turn, only historians would be pondering today about those Hungarians whom the Horatian scientist-statesman Djahani referred to as a Turkic-type people.

### Worthy of Respect

Originally the word "szent," or "sanctus" in old Latin, which came to us by way of the Slavs meant "Worthy of respect" or "sacred." Its parallel in terms of meaning is our word "egy" adopted from our pre-settlement Turkish relations which originally had meant "salutary" or "salvation-bringing." The word "sanctus" conformed to the tenets of the Latin-using Catholic religion, whereas the word "egy" from our pagan times was, in a unique way, universally adopted by every Hungarian denomination of the Christian faith. Our word "egyház" [The Church] has become deeply rooted in our language, and its one-time meaning "szent" was also applied to living persons of great prominence, for in addition to its special ecclesiastical meaning it was also thought to have a worldly application. Saint Stephen, Emeric and Gellert are all symbols of the international reputation our country has enjoyed since the end of the 11th century. The Roman Catholic Church today continues, with commendable determination, to foster the sacred cult of King Stephen, which at the same time has also meant the fostering of our state's nine centuries of reputation. It is all the more deserving and necessary to surround our "worthy-of-respect" and "sacred" Saint Stephen, whose name has been known and respected by the entire civilized world, with unqualified recognition.

Our King Saint Ladislav had learned from a letter from Gregory VII: the universal Church considers it desirable to have Hungarian saints. It was an ancient custom in Szekesfehervar to hold annual royal assizes between 15-20 August which were attended by large crowds. In 1083, Ladislav found this occasion to be the most appropriate to begin fulfilling the papal request. He had his great predecessor's coffin opened and his earthly remains exalted. Ladislav was led by political considerations, for by this time had had completed the strengthening of Stephen's state once and for all and by initiating

his canonization he was placing a symbolic crown on his own work. The knight king also understood the international significance of his action. By the time of his reign there had been still only a few people east of the Rhine who had earned such a distinguished honor from the universal Church. Three canonizations in Hungary, all in the same year, tremendously strengthened the international reputation of Ladislav's reign.

#### Devoutness and Firmness

In his life and in his state-organizing efforts, King Stephen had applied the teachings of religion with deep conviction and considered the Church to be an institution of support. When examining his biography, however, it takes kind goodwill to find any omens or miracles. What catches our eyes instead is the firmness, and when it became necessary ruthlessness of his actions. In the year of his exaltation, the traditions that had evolved around him were still filled with realistic memories of his personality and government. It is true, that in the second half of the 11th century, following the decades of commotion, Stephen's order and sternness already seemed ideal. The traditions that had portrayed him as both a religious and secular ruler were obliterated by time, his correspondence became lost and his diplomas were later recopied and forged.

His life-work, however, is well known to us, and for us it is a synthesis of everyday simplicity, adherence to principles, a respect for values and political intuition which we call the art of governing. It is an art, because it means selecting the only correct option from a choice of several appealing alternatives. The rebellious Koppany and Ajtony, together with their followers had to pay with their lives for their defiance. He had also ordered his maternal uncle, Gyula to be brought to his court from Transylvania so that he could keep an eye on him. Koppany and Vazul were Stephen's blood relatives on the paternal side, yet they both had tried to take his life. (Even in his death Koppany served as an admonition that showed the power of the new morals and laws.) Vazul's tragic fate was another example of the harshness of Stephanian order. Even one of his later chroniclers who tried to foster the Vazul line's reputation, referred to Vazul as a careless and foolish person, even though for 255 years all Hungarian kings came from among his descendents. It was Vazul's grandson, King Ladislav, who had Stephen elevated to sainthood. Family feuds and personal animosities were put aside in the interest of government.

During the first decade of the 11th century the country was transformed: masters and servants were not Stephen's inventions, but he was the one who defined their relationship in the form of written law. The size of one's estate determined the extent of his authority, thus Stephen became the most powerful landowner in the country. He placed overseers in his royal castles to keep an eye on the people of the *megyes*, on servant and master alike. It was Stephen who had organized the basic units of our administrative system, the "*varmegyes*."

## Foreign Relations

In the Church he found support for his government, he included the bishops in the royal council and authorized the Church to administer the punishment for certain crimes. In the monasteries he had established and patronized, Stephen had invited monks who in addition to disseminating religion were also teaching people more advanced knowledge about farming. The Church was given unlimited authority over controlling the lives of the people, and compulsory church attendance was prescribed by law. In the schools set up in the friaries and episcopal sees young people were preparing for the priesthood, which at the time offered the only opportunity for pursuing an intellectual career. Domestic Latin-language literature also began to try its wings, and the monastery and episcopal libraries were encouraging people to follow the examples. The Roman Church used Latin, the language of "international" communications, and in addition to its teachings, its hierarchy, organization and financial resources were also developed on an international scale.

The Latin language and the "international" ties of the Church offered an opportunity for developing broad diplomatic and cultural contacts. Stephen was in regular correspondence with the leading personalities of the church reform movement who were objecting to the secularization of the Church, and who advocated the exclusive jurisdiction of the Holy see in matters pertaining to pontifical appointments and inductions and were protesting against the secular impropriation of church property. King Stephen warmly agreed with them in religious questions, however in organizational, induction and power-related matters he was prudent. He was happily willing to open up a road across his safe country for the pilgrimizing faithful on their way to the Holy Land. He provided for their needs but he also punished immoderation. He personally questioned all educated pilgrims about their experiences and tidings. He did this in an age when overcoming distances was still an enormous undertaking, and when peoples of neighboring countries believed incredible rumors about each other. Stephen's curiosity and methods are an indication that he possessed a vast knowledge about cultural and diplomatic matters.

The universal character of the Church was also a source of problems and difficulties for the country. Stephen reserved the right to appoint and induct bishops and used flexible policies to ward off perilous consequences which might have stemmed from the fact that his first pontiffs and abbots could not be selected from among the people of his country.

King Stephen's religious zeal did not eclipse his political clearheadedness and he took firm diplomatic steps in order to protect the independence of his country. He felt, and it was clear to him from the border quarrels that were beginning to flare up, that Conrad II, the Holy Roman emperor was determined to use arms in order to force him to pledge allegiance to him. The Hungarian king, however, used the dual method of arms and diplomacy forcing the emperor to retreat, and extended the country's defensive buffer zone, the "gyepelve" [the strip of land beyond the march-land], to include the Vienna-basin.

### His Legacy

King Stephen summed up his governing experiences in writing, and prepared some admonishments for his son (who, however, became the victim of an accident at a young age). It was not left up to his successors to adhere to his admonishments. "For it shall be difficult in this region to preserve your kingdom if you choose not to follow the course of earlier kings. What Greek would try to govern the Latins in a Greek manner, and what Latin would try to govern the Greeks in a Latin manner? None would!"

The direct heirs of his kingdom, Peter and Aba Samuel were talented people, but they did not understand the art of government, thus attesting to the fact that it is not even easy for a Latin to govern Latins in a Latin manner.

9379

CSO: 2500/433

TEXT OF LAW ON MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 38, 19 Jul 83 pp 517-520 Item 172

[Law of 14 July 1983, on The Office of the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Scope of Activity of Its Subordinate Agencies]

[Text] Article 1.1. The Minister of Internal Affairs is the chief agent of state administration in the area of the protection of state security and public order, and also protection against unlawful attempts on human life and health and society's material and cultural assets.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs, in his frame of reference, maintains the public rule of law and cooperates with other state agencies in the protection of civil laws and freedoms.

Article 2.1. The scope of activity of the Minister of Internal Affairs includes the following matters:

- 1) protection of state security, including the fight against espionage, terrorism, diversion and sabotage and other actions aimed at the structural principles of the constitution of the Polish People's Republic, as well as coordination of action in the protection of state and official secrets and control of international traffic;
- 2) protection of life, health and property of citizens and public properties from lawless attempts at violating these properties;
- 3) protection of public order, including maintenance of law and order in public places, means of public transport and also road safety;
- 4) the fight against other crimes and violations and initiation and organization of action to prevent the causes and conditions favorable for perpetration of these crimes and violations, and cooperation in this area with the respective state agencies and cooperative and public organizations;
- 5) protection of national borders, including organization of border traffic and ensuring inviolability of border signs and installations;
- 6) public administration matters defined in legal statutes on associations, regulations of public gatherings, insignia and uniforms, mainte-

nance of actuarial records and proofs of personal identification, Polish citizenship, aliens, civil records, weapons, ammunition and explosives, and other regulations; and

7) mobilization-organizational and defense matters of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and execution of other functions in the area flowing from the regulations on the universal duty of defense of the Polish People's Republic.

2. The scope of functions of the Minister of Internal Affairs also includes:

1) general supervision of fire protection and cooperation in eliminating the consequences of natural calamities and other hazardous events;

2) supervision of the committees on matters of law violation and provision of recommendations on the adjudicative policies on matter of law infraction; and

3) supervision of the Volunteer Reserve Citizens Militia and Industrial Guard Services and other special armed protection units in areas defined in the specific pertinent regulations.

3. The Council of Ministers defines, by way of directives, the individual terms of reference of the Minister of Internal Affairs.

4. The Council of Ministers issues the organizational statutes of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Article 3. The Minister of Internal Affairs defines the lines of activity of his subordinate agencies and organizational units and also sets forth the direction of implementation of the social-administrative functions executed by regional state administration agencies and provides assistance to them.

Article 4. The Minister of Internal Affairs defines and updates the methods and forms of investigative, preventive and detective activity in order to fight crime and law violations, as well as other actions and phenomena jeopardizing state security and public order.

Article 5.1. The Minister of Internal Affairs carries out his functions through the Security Service, Citizens Militia, subordinate armed units and fire brigades.

2. Protection of state, security and public order are the basic functions of the Security Service and Citizens Militia.

3. The functions and organization of subordinate armed units are defined by special regulations.

4. The regional agents of the Minister of Internal Affairs in the scope defined in Sect. 2 are:

- 1) chiefs of provincial [voivodship] offices of internal affairs; and
- 2) chiefs of district, city and city-district offices of internal affairs and commanders of the Citizens Militia, commissariats and stations.

5. Chiefs of offices and commanders of Citizens Militia mentioned in Sect. 4 discharge their duties with the aid of their subordinate offices, commissariat and posts.

6. The Minister of Internal Affairs defines the scope of action and organization of agencies mentioned in Sect. 4, and in regard to chiefs of district offices of internal affairs--also regional scope of their activity and also their units subordinated them.

Article 6.1. Officers of the Security Service and Citizens Militia for investigating, preventing and exposing crimes and violations, as well as other actions jeopardizing the security of the state or public order, carry out the following activities: operative-investigative, prosecutorial-investigative and legal-administrative.

2. Officers of the Security Service and Citizens Militia also carry out activities ordered by courts and prosecutorial agencies in areas defined in respective regulations.

3. Procedural powers of officers of the Citizens Militia following from provisions of the Code of Criminal Proceedings and provisions of the Code of Proceedings on Matters of Law Infraction extend also to officers of the Security Service.

Article 7.1. Officers of the Security Service and Citizens Militia discharging the actions mentioned in Art. 6 in particular have the authority to:

- 1) verifying proofs of identification or establishing individuals' identities in other ways;
- 2) detaining individuals--during the course of actions and in instances defined in the provisions of the Code of Criminal Proceedings;
- 3) detaining individuals violating or threatening public law and order;
- 4) searching individuals and premises--during the course of those functions defined in individual regulations;
- 5) performing personal inspection and inspection of the contents of luggage, as well as inspection of freights, imports and terminals and on vehicles of air, road, rail and water transport in case of existing suspicion of a crime or act jeopardizing state security or public order; and

6) demanding necessary assistance from leaders of state institutions and socialized economy units, building superintendents and managers, and village heads, and also members of the Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens Militia, as well as approaching in cases of emergency any citizen for immediate assistance.

2. The principles and courses of action mentioned in Sect. 1, clauses 3 and 5, are defined, by way of directives, by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Article 8.1. In cases of danger to state security or disruption of the public order and insubordination to orders of agencies of the Security Service and Citizen's Militia issued on the basis of law, officers of these agencies may use the following means of direct enforcement:

- 1) physical and technical means serving to overpower or escort individuals or to stop vehicles;
- 2) police rubber clubs, as well as chemical and water cannon as a means of overpowering individuals;
- 3) service dogs; and
- 4) projectiles.

2. In cases defined in Sect. 1, only means of direct enforcement may be used that correspond to the needs of the existing situation and which are necessary to attain subordination to orders issued.

3. The Minister of Internal Affairs, by way of directives, defines specifically the instances or conditions and methods of using the means of direct enforcement mentioned in Sect. 1.

Article 9.1. If the means of direct enforcement mentioned in Article 8, Section 1, are insufficient, officers of the Security Service and Citizens Militia have the power to use firearms:

- 1) to repel direct illegal attempts on their own lives or that of another person;
- 2) to prevent or repel attempts on governmental entities and important public facilities;
- 3) to prevent or repel attempts on public properties of substantial value;
- 4) against an individual who was called upon to immediately forfeit arms or dangerous implements and failed to comply with this demand, and whose behavior indicates a direct intention of using the weapon or dangerous implement against a person;

5) against a person trying to take weapons by force from an officer of the Security Service or Citizens Militia, army serviceman or other individual authorized to carry arms;

6) to prevent or repel direct attack on an escort guarding persons, money or valuables;

7) in pursuit of a perpetrator of an attempt defined in clauses 1-6;

8) in pursuit of an individual suspected of perpetrating a dangerous crime and especially suspected of terrorism, espionage, diversion, murder, arson or robbery;

9) to frustrate an attempt at escape by an individual sentenced to imprisonment or an individual detained temporarily;

10) in cases when an escorted dangerous criminal has made an unmistakable attempt at escape; and

11) to frustrate illegal crossing of the state borders under conditions in which border patrol agencies are authorized to use firearms, in accordance with the binding provisions on protection of national borders.

2. In actions of the units and subunits of the Citizens Militia operating as groups, the use of firearms is allowed only upon an order by the group leader.

3. The use of firearms should be done in a manner inflicting the least possible damage to the individual against whom the firearm is used and may not be aimed at taking that person's life and should not jeopardize the life or health of other persons.

4. The Minister of Internal Affairs, by way of directives, defines in detail the conditions and methods of action in the use of firearms and principles of the use of firearms by units mentioned in Sect. 2.

Article 10.1. In instances of threats to state security or disruption of public order, particularly through causing

1) general danger to life, health or freedom of citizens;

2) immediate threat of danger to public individuals or personal property on a large scale;

3) risk of danger to objects important for state security and also objects and installations important to the national economy; and

4) direct threat to or occupation of buildings of government administration and political or public organizations,

the Minister of Internal Affairs, to ensure state security or restore public order, may order the intervention of armed groups of units or subunits of the Citizens Militia.

2. In cases mentioned in Sect. 1, when the use of armed groups of units or subunits of the Citizens Militia proves insufficient, detachments of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic can be used for support --on the basis of a decision by the National Defense Committee.

3. The Council of Ministers, by way of directive, defines the principles of the use of armed units and subunits mentioned in Sects. 1 and 2.

Article 11.1. In instances mentioned in Article 10, Sect. 1, outfits of the Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens Militia or formations or organizations created for protection of public order or property can also be used.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs may provide members of the Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens Militia or formations or organizations mentioned in Sect. 1 with means of direct enforcement and in the case of need also firearms.

3. The Council of Ministers, by way of directive, defines the specific principles for the use of the units of the Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens Militia and formations and organizations mentioned in Sect. 1, as well as the principles for the use of means of direct enforcement and firearms by members (workers) of these units, formations and organizations.

Article 12.1. Officers of the Security Service and Citizens Militia may use, free of charge, in cases of emergency, vehicles or other belongings of units of socialized economy or state institutions or individual citizens if this is necessary for carrying out their service duties or for saving life or health of people or preventing damage to valuable property.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs, by way of directive, defines the principles for using vehicles or other objects mentioned in Article 1, and the procedures for reimbursement of damages that may be incurred as a result.

Article 13.1. Citizens may present claims to the Minister of Internal Affairs and his subordinate agencies following the principles and procedures defined in the specific regulations if, as a result of the use of means of direct enforcement, including firearms, they have suffered damage to their health or property or the loss of their next of kin.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs and subordinate agencies have the right to lay claims to and obtain recompense from those officers through whose fault the damage to person or property mentioned in Sect. 1 has occurred.

3. The scope of claims, mentioned in Sect. 2, is defined, by way of directive, by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Article 14.1. In order to prevent the danger of perpetration of crimes against the political structure, security and defense of the Polish People's Republic and the crime of murder, the Minister of Internal Affairs, on approval by the General Prosecutor of the Polish People's Republic, may order the use of technical means for recording of incriminating evidence.

2. The Council of Ministers defines the principles of the use and types of technical means mentioned in Sect. 1.

Article 15.1. The Security Service and the Citizens Militia may use assistance of citizens in discharging their functions in the area of state security and public order.

2. In the case of loss of life or damage to health by persons mentioned in Sect. 1, or damage to property of these persons, they are entitled to indemnity according to principles defined by the Council of Ministers by way of directive.

Article 16.1. The chiefs and commanders mentioned in Article 5, Sect. 4, upon requests from respective people's councils and agencies thereof, provide reports and information concerning the evaluation of the state of public order.

2. Reports and information mentioned in Sect. 1 do not include information constituting state or official secrets.

Article 17.1. The Minister of Internal Affairs and his subordinate agencies, in discharging their duties, operate jointly with agencies of state administration and cooperative and public organizations.

2. The Security Service and Citizens Militia operate jointly in implementing assignments in the area of state defense and security with military agencies and other agencies defined in specific directives.

3. The Security Service and Citizens Militia may cooperate in implementing their assignments with security and public order agencies of other states on the basis of international understandings and agreements.

Article 18.1. Organizational government units render assistance during the course of their activities to the Security Service and Citizens Militia in discharge of their duties.

2. Upon recommendations of the Minister of Internal Affairs or agencies subordinated to or supervised by him, organizational state units are obliged to meet the requirements of these agencies as regards investigation, production, services and delivery of technical facilities indispensable for discharge of their functions; in regard to state enterprises, this area is governed by provisions of Article 54 of the Law of 25 October 1981 on state enterprises (DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 122, No. 24 of 1982; Item 289, No. 45 of 1983, and Item 165, No. 36).

Article 19. The Minister of Internal Affairs organizes in the area of protection of state security and public order cooperation of the agencies of state administration, government organization units and joint action of agencies subordinated to him with cooperative and public organizations.

Article 20. The provisions of the law on the service of officers of the Citizens Militia and pensions for officers of the Citizens Militia and their families, as well as disability compensation to which they are entitled in the case of accidents and diseases occurring in connection with their service in the Citizen's Militia apply equally to officers of the Security Service.

Article 21. The law of 31 Jan 1959 on the service of officers of the Citizens Militia (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1973, No. 23, Item 136; 1974, No. 44, Item 264; and 1983, No. 16, Item 79) following Article 102 is to include 102a, reading:

"Article 102a. 1. Persons who, according to regulations on universal duty of defense of the Polish People's Republic:

- 1) serve in armed units subordinated to the Minister of Internal Affairs;
- 2) have been given organizational-mobilization assignments to units of the Citizens Militia (Reserve Detachments of the Citizens Militia) and are serving in them,

enjoy, in the scope of assignments performed by them, the powers of officers of the Citizens Militia.

2. The specific powers and duties of individuals mentioned in Sect. 1 are defined by the Minister of Internal Affairs."

Article 22. Voided hereby are:

- 1) the decree of 7 Dec 1954 on head agencies of the state administration in the area of internal affairs and state security (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1954, No. 54, Item 269; 1956, No. 41, Item 188; and 1974, No. 54, Item 241, and No. 14, Item 85),
- 2) the decree of 21 Jan 1955 on organization and scope of activity of the Citizens Militia (DZIENNIK USTAW, No. 46, Item 311 of 1974; No. 14, Item 85, and No. 16, Item 981, 1975).
- 3) law of 13 Nov 1956 on the change of principal organizations and organs of public administration in the area of public security (DZIENNIK USTAW, No. 54, Item 241).

Article 23. This law becomes effective on the day of its promulgation.

Chairman of the State Council: H. Jablonski

Secretary of the State Council: J. Szymanek

9922

CSO: 2600/1236

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Implementation of Party Tasks

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 8 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Halina Mamok: "What Are You Doing, Comrade?"]

[Text] "What party task does the director have?" I am asking Comrade Elzbieta Dobrowolska, first secretary of OOP at the mining industry school [ZSG], during a talk with comrades from the Bobrek mine in Bytom.

"The transplantation of party policy onto the ground of instructional and educational activities of the school." This answer is an example of a typical mistake made by party organizations. The formulated task is too general, not to mention that the duty defined in it is the duty of each party member in a school environment, irrespective of whether he is a director or a teacher. Similarly the expression "at once" so eagerly used, and not only in matters of the realization of party tasks, does not belong to the elements best mobilizing people for the execution of systematic party work.

I chose this particular example at the beginning not out of malice, but because it shows a certain mechanism. The allotment of tasks to party members and the checking on their realization does not unfortunately belong to the strong side of the work of party organizations. After all when we go into this problem with a wider group it turns out that a school director has a very specific task and the time period is clearly defined. Only a few months ago he assumed his duties, and his party duty is the introduction of a just atmosphere, assuring the full realization of instruction and educational tasks, within the educational group. September is the deadline for the evaluation of the completion of this task.

"Earlier we made a mistake, using standard party tasks," Comrade Henryk Kaminski, lecturer of the KX [Works' Committee] is looking for the reason for the weakness in employing this instrument. For here probably come the burdening

pattern and the smoothness of the formulation, in which the clear purpose, which should be served by the task, is blurred. This is lodged in the mentality.

"With the purpose of realizing its own fundamental functions and duties the party organization charges all its members and candidates with clearly defined party tasks and systematically evaluates their realization," says the PZPR statute.

The function of party tasks is then the mobilization of the whole organization for a systematic realization of the party program in a specific environment. Their purpose, coming from the party resolution, must answer the needs of the environment. The task ought to be adapted to individual possibilities and the predispositions of the comrade who receives it.

Supposedly simple, it turns out however in practice the fundamental difficulty actually is accurately defining the tasks.

"We are continually without a formula," says Comrade Ryszard Bauer, "on how to resolve this problem. We started to set the matters of party tasks in order in February of this year. The enforcement branches of the OOP received a deadline of the end of May for specifying all individual tasks for their comrades. The situation is different depending on the organization. It is not necessary to hide that there are quite a few comrades who do not have specified tasks. The theme of the September KZ plenum will be the evaluation of the allocation, and the allocation and the realization of tasks in OOP. Each enforcement branch of the OOP has the duty of keeping documentation in the form of individual charts of party tasks. Their contents and the manner of notation ought to be a clear reflection of the work of departmental organizations in this realm. Earlier we did not even have such a system of control."

First experiences show that those tasks which party members define for themselves in consultation with the enforcement branch of their own OOP, are best realized. The majority of the tasks concern social and communal problems of the environment. Such an observation of his own activity was made by, among others, Comrade Marian Kasza, first secretary of the OOP mining shaft departments. A few comrades brought to the attention of the enforcement branch of OOP the unfavorable mutual relations between people which express themselves in conflicts between functioning workers and those who were sent to the department after accidents which damaged their health. Most often the misunderstandings concern payment matters which were caused by a lack of information and unfamiliarity with rules. The comrades intended to prevent these irritations. The fulfillment of this task simply depends on getting interested in and coming to an understanding with a person, sometimes demanding an explanation from a manager. The measure of its realization is the smaller number of complaints and interventions in the mining administration. This however does not solve the party problems within OOP. Many comrades still do not have specified tasks, and the basic difficulty, which the enforcement branch faces, is such a formulation of the tasks that would not duplicate the professional duties of the party member.

A sure indication of how to avoid this could be a task undertaken by Comrade Ruta Porada of the OOP administration. As a result of working for many years in the legal advisory department, she noticed that many women have difficulties in demanding their right to alimony. Not being familiar with the legal rules, they do not know where or how to find help. The legal advisor is only there during certain hours, and besides this these are often embarrassing matters for women, connected with family conflicts, and it is always easier for a woman to understand a woman. That is why Comrade Porada decided to use her own professional experience to help women having this type of problem. This exceeds her professional duties. The party task which she undertook dictated simply a wider, partylike, sensitive outlook on matters which she meets within her professional work. The matter does not consist only of giving out legal information, but also of giving a sympathetic hearing to an embittered woman, and sometimes helping in writing a citation to court, prompting other possibilities for help.

Being led by similar circumstances, though in a somewhat different dimension, the OOP enforcement branch formulated tasks for those comrades who in the administration are in charge of apartment buildings. Daily they are in contact with people who are often embittered and upset because housing matters are after all among the most difficult. Often from specific matters come political discussions, burdening the party with the blame for the lack of fulfillment of the duties of some particular people. The party task of the comrades is not easy to take, in such situations, an active attitude, as benefits a party member. This is an occasion for straightening out many stereotypical ways of thinking, and requires straightforward argumentation and explanation of the conditions in which one has to realize social tasks nowadays, sometimes intervening in a human affair.

I am not giving these examples in order only to enumerate them. They show attempts at finding a method for the competent formulation of party tasks, and they indicate how to place them within the needs of the environment, of the activity of the party organization and the personal interests of party members.

The accuracy of the selection of party tasks for comrades, who by virtue of their interests act in sports organizations, was confirmed by the rebirth of different forms of school sports in the area, and by the liveliness resulting from this activity of the work of the community center, which has been limping in recent years.

The tasks given to Comrade Alojzy Burczyk, activist in the factory's stamp-collecting circle, also correspond with individual interests. The KZ enforcement branch put him under the obligation of organizing an exhibition of postage stamps depicting personages and events from the history of the workers' movement. From his own initiative, Comrade Zbigniew Szaja, ZSG teacher, organized at elementary school No 54 in Miechowie, a district of which he is a native, a strong scout troop and draws youth from the mining industry school for instructional work with younger colleagues. There are more such examples. And this is good because this direction of activity of party members is emphasized by the PZPR statute stating that: "The fulfillment of the function on the recommendation of the party in organs of state leadership, self-government, and trade union and social organizations is an especially important party task."

When, however, I ask about the squaring of accounts of the comrades with this type of task, I hear that this ensues at the moment of the appearance of signs of the weakening of activity of social organizations. However, a systematic evaluation ought to prevent such situations. Besides, this can serve to enrich the forms of activity and the discussing of the party position, to which the party member is obliged. Moreover its positive result, presented at the party meeting, is an extremely important moment in social activity of satisfaction and mobilization toward further work.

Listening to the reflections of comrades at the Bobrek mine on their experiences in using the instrument of party tasks, I noticed still another problem. Individual tasks are rarely reached for in the ideological activization of party members, or shaping their organization skills in party work. I think that it is worthwhile to more widely propose a method which was accepted in OOP 17.

"In the form of party tasks," says Slawomir Pierz, first secretary of OOP, "we put party members in charge of successive meetings of OOP. This mobilizes them to study party documents, improves the skill of argumentation, teaches fundamental organizational skills, eventually favors overcoming shyness in public appearances, and also introduces a healthy element of competition among comrades, not to mention that a person is more interested in what is happening in OOP if he is himself involved in the preparation of the meeting, and not only, as is often the case, sits through it."

Another obligation of the comrades in this same OOP is the presentation at party meetings of the more interesting of the publications in the party press, discussing them and simply encouraging others to read them.

It is difficult not to admit that comrades in the Bobrek mine have actively undertaken the problem of learning the skill of using the extremely important instrument, which are individual tasks in party work. This is still a stage of learning which--to be honest--many organizations, as in the past, are not doing.

From what I have heard in the talks many shortcomings can be seen in this respect. The most important shortcoming, I think, is the haphazard nature, both in the procedure for their allocation and in the designation of the purposes which should be served. In the total of the tasks allocated to party members, there must be seen a range of tasks formulated in the party resolutions. The individual task is simply the most detailed substantiation of a resolution, made according to the possibility of each of the comrades. This is why fundamental criterion in evaluating the allocation and realization of tasks is the degree to which the OOP realizes party resolutions, which is in effect the program of the party. I think that this indication will help the comrades in further setting in order the question of party tasks, especially since the publication after each CC plenum of the procedures for the realization of the resolutions has become customary.

## Full Political Responsibility Assumed by Party

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 8 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by bp: "We Are Entering new Stage in Life of our Country and Party Activity"]

[Text] With the lifting of martial law the administrative stages and party organizations have taken full responsibility for the whole of the situation in their territory. The urgent obligation, then, of party cells is the assurance of a safe passage to conditions for normal functioning of social-economic life. The intensive activities connected with this must be undertaken as early as this month. Before the administrative stages and party organizations stand, both in August and in the coming months ahead, special tasks resulting from their statutory duties, the resolutions of the ninth extraordinary party congress, CC plenary deliberations, and from their own resolutions. A consultation held last Saturday of secretaries of district party committees in Krakow, of the KF PZPR of the Lenin steelworks plant, of city-gmina committees, of managers of regional party work centers of the Krakow municipal voivodship, and of KK [Krakow committee] PZPR political workers was devoted to these problems. The meeting was conducted by CC deputy member, first secretary of the KK PZPR, Jozef Gajewicz. The KK secretary Jan Czepiel was present.

Kazimierz Gron, manager of the KK organization division, spoke on the topic of the present political-social situation in the country. He also presented duties resulting from this situation for the administrative stages and party organizations. He delivered information on the subject of the most important directions of action laid out by the CC PZPR political office during its recent meetings. He called attention to the positive process of political and social stabilization taking place, which enabled in a short time the lifting of martial law. The party has achieved a great deal in rebuilding ties with the working class and with the society, through, as Comrade Gron stated, "respecting the will of the working class in its aspirations for removing mistakes made in the previous years, creating conditions for a socialist renewal and strengthening socialism."

The increase of aggressiveness, extensive execution of the ninth extraordinary party congress' resolutions, and the realization of the lines of fighting, understanding and renewal are, however, necessary. A great need arises for a wide dissemination of the basic fact in social awareness that the party fulfills the guiding and leading role, that is able to inspire and to develop activities, having the purpose of overcoming difficulties and problems of both a social and economic nature. This requires further organizational strengthening, consolidation of party ranks, and good party work. It is a matter of bringing non-party members into party activities, and it is a matter of ideological and political work with youth. The administrative stages and party organizations also have to fulfill great duties for the benefit of strengthening social law and order, social and professional discipline, the fight with arising social pathologies, especially through effective preventive actions, prevention, and also counteracting symptoms: social injustice, breaking law and order, excessive enrichment through dishonest means of certain individuals, speculation and bureaucracy.

The most important problems in the field of ideological, political and propagandistic work was presented by Henryk Szydlowski, manager of the KK PZPR ideological-educational work division. He concentrated on the basic problems concerning: strengthening the role of the working class in the building of socialism; the battle of the party for the defense of the spirit of the August agreements; party tasks in the new situation following the lifting of martial law; the problems of the economy as in the sphere of political activity. In these tasks are included, among others, the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance, the participation of the working class in PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] activity, workers' self-government, and trade unions. Concurrently Comrade Szydlowski emphasized that the lifting of martial law cannot be an occasion for the kindling of unrest, hatred, and counterrevolution by political opponents and enemies. In the case of such phenomena the leadership will effectively oppose them. The conditions for counteracting the breaking of laws have been shaped and will continue to be solidified.

The crucial economic matters were discussed by Tadeusz Nowicki, manager of the KK PZPR economic division, against the background of the evaluation of the realization of production tasks. In the Krakow municipal voivodship, in the first 6 months of this year, the value of the production sold amount to 165.2 billion zlotys, which is 53.4 percent of this year's plan for the enterprises. In comparison to the parallel period of last year this production was higher by 5.6 percent, but lower by 2.6 percent in relation to the results achieved by national industry. This is connected with the structure of Krakow's industry and with the higher participation in processing enterprises than is the average in the rest of the country. The economic relations in industry were still unfavorable in the period discussed. With an increase of products sold of 5.6 percent and with an increase in work efficiency of 9.4 percent, there came about an increase of salaries of 17.6 percent. This testifies to the continued weak financial discipline of enterprises and excessive payment for the increase of efficiency. The average monthly salary in the first half of the year in Krakow industry amounted to 14,143 zlotys while in the country as a whole it was 14,648 zlotys. One of the main reasons limiting the possibilities for a higher tempo of production increase was insufficiency of raw materials and materials, especially from import, and also the deficiency of employment of, most of all, workers directly involved with production.

The building industry in the first half of the year accomplished production worth 24 billion zlotys, that is, 22.1 percent higher than in the similar period of last year. Employment increased by 4 percent, work efficiency by 17.5 percent, and there was an increase of 31.3 percent in individual salaries. Admittedly economic relations in the building industry are somewhat better than in industry, but also still not satisfactory. The average monthly salary amounted to 12,627 zlotys, while the average in the country's building industry was 13,226 zlotys. The weak advancement of the accomplishments of the housing industry is alarming. Despite the fact that the results of the first half of the year amount to 1,477 apartments and are higher by 19.1 percent than those achieved in the first half of last year. This however constitutes only 36.5 percent of the tasks for this year's plan.

Comrade Nowicki presented the task of the administrative stage of party organization in the economic sphere. He said, among other things, that : "The

basic task of the party organizations is inspiring the administrations of enterprises and worker self-governments to thoroughly analyze economic relations formed in the first half of this year and the installation of such directions of financial policies in order for a further rise in pay to be based on a real increase in production and work efficiency. The need for speeding up the work toward the realization of the KK PZPR resolutions concerning the deepening of cooperation of the Krakow scientific circle with production and building industry enterprises was also very strongly emphasized. The speaker gave a lot of attention to the tasks of party organizations working for the creation of conditions for the development of market and export production.

Information concerning the course of the summer action of the leisure activities of children and young people was presented by Magdalena Wieclawska of the KK PZPR education and science division.

At the conclusion of the deliberations, Jozef Gajewicz rose to speak. He reminded the audience, among other things, of the tasks of the administrative stage and party organizations in the preparations and execution of the approaching party reporting-election campaign; of the necessity of the accomplishment of reviews of the programs of activity in all party cells, proposals and postulates submitted here together with the indispensibility of accounting for their realization; of the urgent need for making concrete plans for political, social and economic activities for the coming months based on a detailed, discerning analysis. He discussed the tasks standing before party organizations in connection with the initiation of economic reform and with the creation of a climate for developing worker self-government and rebuilding trade unions. He also spoke about the necessity of aggressive action and intensive development of the engaged attitudes of party members.

A settlement was undertaken in the matter of giving in the next months direct help to administrative stages and party organizations in Krakow and in the Krakow region by KK PZPR political workers.

#### Party Opposes All Irregularities

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 16 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by ew: "All Irregularities of our Life Will Be Fought by Party With all Severity"]

[Text] One of the most often-repeated postulates submitted by workers' circles is the restriction of speculation and all pathological phenomena appearing in our lives. As in every crisis period, as now, whole groups of people are found who, using the existing difficulties, endeavor to quickly grow rich and to achieve the possibility of high and unjustified profits. Of course, the best form of battle with speculation is full store shelves and honest competition among producers. For now however such a solution is not possible, but there is no, and there should not be, social acquiescence to the existing state.

How then, if not to liquidate, how to restrict the range of bribery, corruption and speculation in our voivodship? This was thought over yesterday at the meeting in the PZPR Krakow committee. At the meeting, which was conducted by KK first secretary Jozef Gajewicz, the president of the city of Krakow, Tadeusz Salwa, KK PZPR secretary, participated along with the directors of all institutions connected with the battle against the symptoms of social pathology and the defense of the interests of working people. "All the irregularities of our life which are awakening a well-founded opposition in the working class will be fought by the party and the institution appointed for this with all firmness and severity. Even though repeatedly running risks we must and will undertake these matters. That is precisely what the leading, but at the same time serving role of the party toward the society is all about," Jozef Gajewicz stated during yesterday's meeting. It was also settled that the press, radio and television will widely join the fight undertaken by the party and will act in a consistent and specific way to show specific people and also labor factories and institutions.

The results of the actions undertaken and their effectiveness will depend to a considerable degree on the atmosphere and social support for the work of institutions appointed to eliminate evil from our life. The voivodship leadership is counting on and expecting the support from all party organizations and the whole society. Public opinion and widely understood social control must also be joined to this fight. This lies in our common interest.

12432

CSO: 2600/1250

TEXT OF COUNCIL OF MINISTERS RESOLUTION ON PRESS SERVICE

Warsaw MONITOR POLSKI in Polish No 26, 5 Aug 83 pp 228-230 Item 141

[Text] Council of Ministers Resolution No 87, dated 18 July 1983, on Press Service in the State Administration

In order to more closely connect the more important activities of the state administration with public opinion, to create better conditions for the presentation and explanation of government policy, and to inform society about the activities of the organs of the state administration, and also to improve methods of reacting to press criticism and make better use of desiderata published in the mass media, the Council of Ministers resolves as follows:

Chapter 1. General Provisions.

§ 1. The primary and central organs of the state administration and the local organs of state administration of province rank, hereinafter called "organs of administration", are obliged to constantly present, explain and justify, by means of the mass media, the government's policy and to inform public opinion about its programs and its work.

Chapter 2. Press Service in the State Administration

§ 2.1. The organs of administration form the press service.

2. The press service of the organ of administration is comprised of: the press spokesman of the organ of administration and the workers employed in the organizational unit for press and information in the office of the organ of administration where such a unit is appointed by the applicable organ according to the procedure specified in separate regulations.

§ 3.1. The press service of the organ of administration, hereinafter called "press service", prepares proposals for the directions and principles of influencing public opinion, particularly pertaining to the press-information activities of the organ of administration, and cooperates in their implementation.

2. It is the task of the press service to:

1) present, explain and justify the government's policy,

- 2) present the socioeconomic situation in the field to which the activity of the organ of administration pertains,
- 3) present the position of the organ of administration in the more important matters lying within his scope of activity,
- 4) inform the mass media about programs, work, and results of the work of the organ of administration and provide journalists access to the information which this organ, and also the organizational units under him, possess.

3. The press service's tasks also include:

- 1) analyzing items published in the press on subjects relating to the organ's of administration scope of activity,
- 2) presenting the more important items published to the ministers and province governors or their deputies,
- 3) replying--within the limits of their authority--to press criticism and preparing replies as needed directly by the organ of administration,
- 4) preparing collective analyses of critical press items,
- 5) preparing items for publication which present the position of the organ of administration on ongoing press discussions,
- 6) controlling--with the authority of the organ of administration--proper utilization in the work of the office of this organ, suggestions contained in the press, radio and television, and informing the press, radio and television about the position of the organ of administration in relation to the opinions, proposals and demands presented in the mass media,
- 7) cooperating closely with the government publication RZECZPOSPOLITA and the Polish Press Agency.

§ 4. The press service executes the tasks specified in § 3 by:

- 1) transmitting communiques on the decisions, programs and more important activities of the organs of administration,
- 2) organizing press conferences,
- 3) presenting, in the editorial offices of the mass media, and justifying the actions of the organs of administration and suggesting the publication of appropriate items on these subjects,
- 4) holding group and individual informational and inspirational talks with journalists who concern themselves with the subjects within the scope of activity of the organ of administration,

5) facilitating journalists' contacts with the management cadre and specialists employed in the office of the organ of administration and the organizational units under him,

6) editing information bulletins,

7) preparing items for publication intended for the mass media propagating the policy of the organ of administration, his activity, and particularly the results.

§ 5. The Ministers of National Defense, Foreign Affairs, and Internal Affairs define the organization and principles of operation of the press service in the offices under them and in other organizational units.

### Chapter 3. Press Spokesman

§ 6. 1. The press spokesman for the ministers and province governors are appointed in the offices of these organs.

2. The minister or governor appoints the press spokesman, being guided by the general principles of cadre policy, after obtaining the opinion of the Government's Press Spokesman.

3. The press spokesman reports directly to the minister or the governor.

4. The ministers and governors define the detailed principles of activity and the tasks and duties of the press service.

5. The press spokesman is the superior of the other press service employees.

6. The press spokesman attends the meetings of the ministry council or of the central office, the governor and other collegiate organs appointed by the ministers or the governors, and also, in the conferences convened by these organs.

§ 7. The press spokesman:

1) represents the organ or administration and his interests in relation to the mass media,

2) within the limits of the authority granted to him, interprets and comments on the policy of the organ of administration, and makes announcements,

3) conducts press conferences,

4) assists the organizational units under the organ of administration in the area of press-information activity,

5) takes action aimed at properly utilizing items published in the press in the work of the organ of administration and his subordinate organizations and ensures that replies to press criticism are made,

6) within the limits of his authority specifies the range of information transmitted by the organ of administration to the mass media,

7) cooperates with the echelons and clubs of the Polish Journalists Society of the People's Republic.

#### Chapter 4. The Government's Press Spokesman

§ 8. 1. The government's press spokesman, in the rank of undersecretary of state, is appointed and dismissed by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

2. The government's press spokesman reports to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

3. The government's press spokesman functions within the organizational structure of the office of the Council of Ministers.

4. The government's press spokesman attends the meetings of the Council of Ministers and the organs of the government.

§ 9. The government's press spokesman, within the limits of his authority, defines the general courses of action of the press services.

§ 10. 1. It is the task of the government's press spokesman to present the government's policy, to influence public opinion, and to establish the cooperation of the organs of administration with the mass media.

2. The government's press spokesman, in particular:

1) presents and explains the government's position on matters of domestic and foreign policy,

2) interprets the policy of the government and its organs within the limits of the authority granted him, issues announcements or in another way speaks in behalf of the government,

3) informs public opinion about the government's activities and the socioeconomic situation in the state, and within the limits of the authority granted him, establishes the range of information on these subjects,

4) informs the mass media on the program and the work of the government, and the results of this work, and above all,

a) issues communiques on meetings, the more important laws and the decisions of the Council of Ministers and its organs,

b) reports on the official talks of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and the deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers with the representatives of other states and makes announcements about the proceedings and results of these talks,

c) replies to questions submitted by editors and journalists and comments on domestic and foreign events,

d) sends to the editorial offices of the press, radio and television, official texts intended for publication, reporting on the political situation and the country's socioeconomic situation, on the plans and programs of the government's work, and on its activities and its results,

5) presents to the domestic mass media, the government's requirements as to how the state's policy is to be reported and commented upon,

6) exerts its influence to ensure that the organs and administration, and their subordinate organizational units, react properly to items published in the press, and on radio and television, and in particular to press criticism and demands.

### 3. The Government's Press Spokesman:

1) informs the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and the government on the opinions and viewpoints expressed in the mass media, the initiatives that they are taking, the directions of the press criticism and the reaction by the state administration to the press demands and the published criticism,

2) ensures uniform presentation of the government's policy in the activities of the press spokesman of the organs of administration, inspires and controls their actions, organizes their cooperation with the mass media, exerts his influence on behalf of the avoidance of contradictions in reports and opinions which they send to the press, and makes sure that the national point of view is given priority,

3) provides the press spokesman of the organs of administration with information on policy, the more important work and plans of the government, and on the country's political and socioeconomic situation,

4) assists the press spokesmen of the organs of administration, especially by organizing periodic conferences for the purpose of exchanging experience, standardizing the program line, and also to give them the opinion of the journalists' community on their work,

5) in coordination with the organs of administration, inspects the activity of the press spokesmen of these organs directed at ensuring rapid and proper reaction to criticism by the mass media,

6) examines the press-information activity of the organs of administration and presents suggestions to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, the pertinent ministers and managers of the central offices, and the governors,

7) inspects the observance of regulations on making available to the mass media information and materials, and in particular the provisions of Council of Ministers Resolution No 19, dated 27 February 1978, in the matter of further improving the issuance of information to the mass media (MONITOR POLSKI No 5, Item 21).

§ 11. 1. The organ of administration is obliged, at the application of the Government's Press Spokesman, to give him the necessary explanations, or to make available to him the information and materials he needs to perform his tasks.

2. The organ of administration sends, at his own initiative, to the Government's Press Spokesman information of important national interest or information on subjects which are of current interest to public opinion.

§ 12. The Government's Press Spokesman performs his tasks through the Government Press Office under him.

§ 13. The Government Press Office is managed by a director in the rank of director general. The director of the Government Press Office is the assistant to the Government's Press Spokesman. The director of the Government Press Office is appointed and dismissed by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers at the proposal of the Government's Press Spokesman.

#### Chapter 5. The Press Spokesman for a Minister or a Governor

§ 14. 1. A minister's press spokesman may be a person who has, in accordance with the provisions in effect, the qualifications required for the position of an advisor to the minister, and in addition, insofar as possible, qualifications and experience as a journalist. The press spokesman is employed in the position of an advisor to the minister.

2. A governor's press spokesman may be a person who has the qualifications, according to the provisions in effect, for a position of a governor's press spokesman, and insofar as possible, qualifications and experience as a journalist. A governor's press spokesman is employed in a position equivalent to that of an assistant director (manager) of a department in the office of this organ.

#### Chapter 6. Concluding Provisions

§ 15. The provisions of the resolution pertaining to:

- 1) a minister--apply also to the manager of a central office,
- 2) a governor--apply also to the mayor of a city of province rank.

§ 16. § 4 in Council of Ministers Resolution No 19, dated 17 February 1978, in the matter of improving the issuance of information to the mass media (MONITOR POLSKI No 5, Item 21), is deleted.

§ 17. Council of Ministers Resolution No 139, dated 11 December 1980, on the matter of the scope and procedure of activity of the Government's Press Spokesman (MONITOR POLSKI No 31, Item 172), is no longer valid.

§ 18. The resolution becomes effective on the date of announcement.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers: General of the Army W. Jaruzelski

9295  
CSO: 2600/1285

DRAFT PRESS LAW CRITICIZED BY ONE OF ITS AUTHORS

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 25 Aug 83 p3

[Interview with Bogdan Michalski, director of the Institute of Journalism, Warsaw University, by Kazimierz Zglejszewski: "The Press Law: Two Sides of the Story". Time and place not given.]

[Text] [Question] The bill on the "press law" which you co-authored has not been unanimously accepted and has been viewed with much reservation within the journalism community.

[Answer] I too feel many reservations to the bill.

[Question] Indeed?

[Answer] The bill that came to the Sejm Speaker's staff on 4 July of this year is a different one from that presented to the government by the codification committee of the Ministry of Justice. I participated in this commission's work on a personal appointment first and then as a representative of the Journalists' Association of the Polish Peoples' Republic. I hope that during the work of the Sejm commission, recommendations developed by the journalists' community will be used along with those coming from press discussions and the proposals of social departments and organizations.

[Question] In your opinion, what parts of the bill are the most controversial?

[Answer] The greater part of the bill does not arouse any reservation but there are sections that have been differently regarded. For example, there is the matter of journalist professional secrecy. This is made illusory by the solutions proposed in the bill sent to the Sejm. It makes the present position even worse in my opinion. The same applies to the status of letters to editors. After all, this is one of the essential elements of professional secrecy and guarantees the readers' trust. Furthermore, there are government communiques and rectifications issued by the authorities which are not quantitatively restricted. In the light of the newest regulations on press spokesmen, this causes considerable apprehension that such regulations of the bill could be misused by some of the spokesmen of provincial administrations. According to information from the field that the Journalists' Association has received, many of these spokesmen are waiting for this opportunity since it will enable them to a broad presentation of the position taken by their administration. Perhaps

these fears are groundless but the problem does demand close examination.

[Question] Another controversial point is the bill's regulation of rectifications made by private individuals. The journals have been obliged to present them in volume as much as two times greater than the volume of the article that they address.

[Answer] I would defend this principle. Those persons that question it are not aware of how this is perceived at large. Namely, the double volume of rectifications may be addressed to all of the material but only when that concerns the rectified problem or it may refer to just the portion being rectified. One other thing must be remembered and that is that this should be a factual rectification of false or inaccurate news and not a forum for polemics. For that reason, it cannot be too long. Journalists should not be too worried that this will become an enormous field for polemics.

[Question] These are not unjustified fears. Editors are receiving 20-page letters in response to large commentaries.

[Answer] Rectifications must be distinguished from polemics and responses. If, for example, a commentary runs for 10 pages, then the rectified sections must be determined and the corresponding portions of letters must be brought into line with those. If, however, a reporter has written his material "from his head" without bothering to put together the appropriate information, and this has happened more than once, then the editors may and in my opinion should, although that is a theoretical possibility, print a 20-page rectification.

Every editor should become acquainted with the regulations on rectifications in order to know how to deal with persons presenting them since the legal protection of editors is considerable.

The new thing in the bill is "response". This is an element of the so-called system of polemics that exists in the Latin countries. Within the response, it is possible in a nonetheless limited amount of space to polemicize statements contained in a press article that infringe upon personal well-being.

[Question] The draft of a regulation on the responsibility of journalists to implement the editorial board's line has also been diversely assessed.

[Answer] I must say that in the bill presented to the Sejm, this matter was represented differently than in the last draft by the codification commission. It is a shame that the draft submitted to the Sejm deputies does not include the variations to the solutions for the matters under debate.

In the commission's draft, there was also included a regulation on the obligation to carry out the editorial board's line but it did include the reservation that it may not collide with the right to criticism, freedom of belief and creativity. The text of the criticized draft may produce doubts as to whether it is completely in agreement with constitutional guarantees of the freedom of belief and creativity.

[Question] In an interview in ZYCIE WARSZAWY (6-7 August 1983), the government press spokesman, Jerzy Urban, stated that "the right to one's own opinion and to

criticize has been in the bill under discussion guaranteed by many regulations and that it cannot be held in doubt. It must however, fall within the general line taken by the editorial board, the journalist's employer". He goes on to say that a journalist holding an opinion different than that of his editors "is not deprived of the right to practice his profession but should find employment with a publication whose editors have a program line closer to that of his own views".

[Answer] I doubt that this view is correct. The journalist may be loyal in relation to the general line of his publication but, at the same time, he may not be completely objective for certain reasons, especially where the terms of his employment are overstepped.

For example, let us assume that I have published material that is critical of the wages of academic workers. This is my guaranteed freedom of creation and the subject is not contrary to the editorial policy of the publication. After a while, though, the editor suggests that I write an article praising this wage system because he has promised this to the minister and says that it conforms to the paper's policy. In such a case, as it is viewed by the codification commission's bill that I co-authored, I will admit that the writer may refuse to produce such an article since it is an infringement of his right to criticize. On the other hand, a journalist cannot refuse to do so under the bill discussed by Urban. I do not know who authored this bill since he has not been revealed.

Here is another example: a Catholic journalist writes for the intervention department of a lay paper. He writes intervention commentaries and deals with matters according to his employment terms. At some point he receives an order from his chief editor to write an article supporting abortion...

There more examples of this sort that can be quoted. I suspect that not all of the bad consequences of this solution have not been considered in trying to bring about the maximum use of journalists. This solution has come to enjoy the name given it by journalists of "the dull bayonet doctrine".

Of course, there isn't any question of someone's right to present one's own opinion but these are very debatable matters. I myself am against this wording of the bill because I feel that it is very dangerous for the right to criticize. It can bring about a limitation to the independence of journalists. Furthermore, it is contrary to the third principle of the 1980 Mexican Declaration which was issued by the International Organization of Journalists and that Polish Association of Journalists is a member of that organization.

[Question] In the draft mentioned, Minister Urban criticized the concept of autonomous editorial boards which was presented by the leadership of the former Association of Polish Journalists. He stated that "the postulates of the Association of Polish Journalists are an effort to deprive the great organisms of social life of their press organs and instrument of contact and influence upon public opinion.

[Answer] There is nothing worse than banishing the Devil with Beelzebub. In the somewhat utopian concept of the Association of Polish Journalists which I did not believe in, the part played by the authorities was made to look too good. There can-

not be such a situation in which the chief editor rules, but does not govern even though he is legally responsible for the content of the paper. I am an opponent of excessive self-management but I am also an opponent of the concept of the chief editor as "autocrat", standing before God and history. Our experience has shown that an excess of authority leads to distortions and errors. A man is only a man and makes mistakes in whatever he does.

For that reason, the proportion between the strong authority of the chief editor that enables him to operate effectively and some element of participation of his staff of writers in making decisions must be carefully weighed. It is not enough to bring everything in for review by the chief editor. These matters cannot be dealt with as a group in the "press-law" since they should be regulated in a law on the journalists' profession. Certain conditions, however, have been established by article 28 of the bill, which deals with regulations and charters of editorial boards.

From among the existing doubts, I would like to signal still a matter under discussion among journalists working for plant papers -- the allegiance of plant radio and television facilities. Fears have been expressed that they are becoming the "loud-speaker" of the plant directors.

I have not knowingly mentioned numerous positive solutions, for example the regulations on the Press Council. What we are concerned with, after all, is bringing attention to the debatability of some of the proposals of the bill presented to the Sejm. It is through criticism and the friction of different views that we must prepare a bill so that the first normative act in Poland, the press law, be the best.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

12261

CSO: 2600/1247

CATHOLIC WEEKLY INTERVIEWS MEMBER OF SYNOD OF BISHOPS

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 32, 7 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Archbishop Jozef Tomko, secretary general of the Synod of Bishops, by Jerzy Turowicz, in Krakow, date not specified]

[Text] Archbishop Jozef Tomko, the Rome-based Slovak who is the secretary general of the Synod of Bishops visited Poland recently on the occasion of the 900th anniversary of the canonization of Saint Andrzej Swierad in Tropie, in Tarnow Diocese. During his stay in Krakow, archbishop Tomko paid a visit to the editorial office of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY which provided an opportunity for a lengthier conversation.

[Question] Monsignor, you took part in the celebrations in honor of Saint Andrzej Swierad in Tropie. Would you care to state what the significance of this celebration was?

[Answer] First of all, I would say that this was a return to the roots, to the common roots of your people and our Slovak people. These roots are not only of a religious nature, but are cultural and popular as well. They are the roots of spiritual and cultural commonality, of tradition, the roots which are intertwined. This is why I said in Tropie that the mountains did not present an obstacle, as they do not present it now, because the spirit cannot be bound. This is a beautiful matter--to recall that there was a saint, born here in Poland who grew up here and later went to Slovakia. It is not clear what the reasons for this were. It may have been his liking for the old Slavic liturgy. But there were other bonds as well. In that time, what did faith stand for? Faith brought peoples together, bound them with ties of brotherhood and also was a cultural factor transcending all the divisions recorded in history, which after all were often artificial. The devices of thought and spirit overcame these divisions. Now we must discover these roots of ours, these tools of common thought.

Therefore, it is beautiful that one Swierad--for us, Svorad--comes to Nitra and leads the life of a hermit together with his disciple Benedict, most probably a Slovak, because the boy came from that area. They live together but they maintain a bond with Tropie which was to last for centuries. The bond might seem to be a purely material one. Every year Saint Swierad sends

to Tropie several casks of sacramental wine from the monastery of Saint Hippolytus on Mount Zabor near Nitra. The wine comes from the Zabor vineyard which Saint Swierad, according to tradition, planted himself. This custom was preserved for centuries. It was noted in monastery books as late as the 17th century. There is a deep mysticism in it, which tells us so much. Swierad emanates holiness in Poland and then moves on to Slovakia. Meanwhile, the fruit of his labors in the Zabor vineyard returns to Poland to serve the Eucharistic Offering as food for the soul, as the blood of Christ. What a mysterious exchange that is!

The very image of the saint tells us that sainthood can arise here as well, that sanctity does not belong to a different world and is not restricted to a particular area. Holiness is life in strict accordance with the truths of the faith. All of us are called upon for holiness. We must live according to the faith, we must profess it everywhere, on the job or in school. Faith is the most valuable treasure--it saved our peoples in the most difficult moments of history. It helped us to survive various invasions by the Tatars or the Turks.

Faith is creative--it is the force which unites with a spiritual bond. It was exactly this that I wanted to express in Tropie. It seems to me that this was very well received by those assembled there. The unity of faith is something that runs incredibly deep. In the mystical body of Christ we can influence and help each other while being apart by prayer, by life of mercy and life of faith. The Polish people in Tropie understood it very well. There I used a metaphor borrowed from the gospel, saying: Today, give us some of your olive oil, because sometimes it seems that our oil lamps are already going out. The people applauded: they understood what the olive oil stood for, that it was the olive oil of spirit and faith.

It was beautiful to see this common young folk react in this way. I felt that this was a genuine dialogue. The nature of our roots was revealed in this dialogue, at the level of the people's receptiveness. I said later: Remember that we are united, that it is not only the mountains or Dunajec here in front of us that bind us together. It is something much greater, greater than the similarity of languages--it is the affinity of hearts, of what shapes the heart of man and causes it to grow.

I was very glad to see the response of my audience, of these people, and to observe their intelligence and intuition in the matters of spirit and the mysterious bond which constitutes the reality of the Mystical Body. These people understood the reality. This was my most beautiful experience in Tropie, on the Polish Dunajec.

[Question] Monsignor, in changing the subject, I would like to ask you about the functions of the Synod of Bishops, of which you are the secretary general, having taken over from Cardinal Rubin.

[Answer] What is the Synod of Bishops? How was it formed? It is a new and young institution derived from the climate of the [Second Vatican] Council, in the collegial atmosphere experienced and to some extent rediscovered as the reality

of the church, an ancient reality but thus far left somewhat in the shade. It is a manifestation of solidarity among bishops, shepherds, which is rooted in the community of the faithful, all the faithful. In the episcopate, this community is expressed in a particular way as collegial action. Feeling this at the council was a beautiful experience. Everybody was satisfied with this new experience, especially Paul VI. A search was undertaken for further action, for ways to continue collegiate activity around the Pope in order that the fruits of the council could be experienced and communicated as was the case when the council was in session. It is difficult to assemble over 3,000 bishops from all over the world in Rome. This can be done once, maybe twice in a century. However, the benefits of collegiate activity, its vivacity, required more frequent meetings. Besides, today the church lives at a very quick pace, very rapid changes occur. A fairly common stand should be taken on these changes the world over. How can this be accomplished? Hence, the idea was born of assembling in Rome, periodically and not too infrequently, the representation of all the bishops, of all episcopates of the world, rather than all bishops. Therefore, now every three years about 200 bishops elected and delegated from all over the world from all countries, all national conferences of bishops, assemble in Rome. This is the Synod.

They assemble in order to consider and discuss some current problem which is acute from the pastoral point of view and requires a joint stand to be taken. In its nature the Synod is for consultation and advice. It must offer counsel to the pope, point out which direction of pastoral activity should be taken in the global scope. However, the character of the Synod is consultative in only a certain sense. It can also be deliberative, which means that the Synod can make decisions binding for the entire Church if the pope grants such powers to the Synod. If normally the activity of the Synod is consultative, it is still more than a mere consultation. If the bishops from all over the world arrive at the same conclusions with regard to pastoral approaches and the activity of the Church as a whole, then for the pope, who is the pillar of unity and strives for nothing else than exactly this unity, the results of the deliberations of the Synod are more than counsel from a theological or ecclesiastic point of view. His Holiness himself confirmed this in a speech in April of this year.

Therefore, this collegial activity of bishops together with papal primacy are experienced in the spirit of service to the Church. This is increasingly well understood. Thus, the Synods, i.e. particular sessions of the Synod, have become a mighty impulse for the pastoral work of the entire Church. A session of the Synod lasts a month. A selected narrow topic is discussed in order to arrive at joint conclusions, to work out general guidelines. However, the Synod does not live for this month alone. Collegiate activity is apparent in the very method of selecting a topic for discussion. This method itself is collegial. As soon as a session of the Synod ends, we begin consulting all conferences of bishops, which suggest various topics. In the course of preparations for the upcoming Synod, we received 186 topical suggestions. We managed to combine them in 10 or 11 topical groups. Among those, two groups assumed primary importance. Two tendencies were represented, one of ecclesiastic nature and the other rather spiritual, sacramental. However, even all the

ecclesiastic aspects leaned towards the spiritual aspect of Church as a mystery. Thus, various topics were similar: the soul of the Church, the nature of internal, sacramental life, the word of God and so on. Thus a certain trend, a tendency towards the spiritual became apparent. At a certain moment in the course of this search, the problem of atonement and reconciliation was brought to light, which ties in with the issue of peace, the issue of spiritual roots of peace. It was becoming clear that this is an issue of primary importance. In this way, the topic of the upcoming Synod was selected through this large-scale consultation. Certainly, the fact that the sacrament of atonement in many countries is, to a degree, undergoing a crisis, was an influence.

After the topic has been selected, two documents are successively elaborated. The first one, called "Lineamenta" aims at fashioning the scope of the topic and bringing out reflections. It is distributed to all local churches, which in their turn respond with suggestions and reactions. On the basis of the latter, a second document is elaborated, a working document which will be the point of departure for the discussion of the Synod.

Thus, we are having to deal with the constant flow in two directions between the "center" and "periphery," i.e., local churches. When bishops assemble for the Synod they bring along experiences from the life of the faith in their communities, they deliberate on the basis of theology and the gospel and then the results of their proceedings are communicated back to local churches. This is collegiate activity as a community, as communication among various segments of the Church. The Synod experienced in that way has indeed become a dynamic factor for the Church. Like the heart pumping blood to the entire organism, the Synod absorbs the experience of the periphery in the center, smoulders it in the fire of community, collegial action, reinforces it by the authority of papal primacy and returns it to all local churches. This is what the Synod is about.

Question In Monsignor's opinion, what is the significance of the topic selected for the upcoming synod--reconciliation and atonement--for what we might call the entire gospel strategy in the present situation of the Church?

Answer We are dealing here with two aspects of this topic. One of them is permanent and independent of the moment in history.

Christianity is the religion of atonement. Atonement is needed since there was a sin. Therefore, atonement presupposes a sinful man who must be delivered. A man who has not sinned requires neither deliverance nor redemption, thus he does not need atonement and the sacrament of atonement. Are there such people? What is the situation of a person today? In our time, in communities beginning with the family and to global, planetary communities tensions are proliferating immensely. This needs to be said after World War II and in view of the threat of unleashing World War III, a nuclear war, and thus the possibility of suicide of the entire human race. Furthermore, there are divisions into blocs, divisions into hemispheres, North versus South. In the West, there are many science fiction movies on star wars playing. All of this testifies to the growing tensions.

In view of this situation, the Church poses a question: Who is responsible for it? Everyone says: Not me. My first reaction is exactly this: Not me! Maybe someone else. Maybe society. We are increasingly becoming personalists, we protect our freedom. However, when this freedom amounts (should amount), to our own responsibility, we do not accept it. And yet we carry these tensions. The division runs inside of us. The struggle between virtue and vice goes on deep down. Why? Because freedom is rooted in the heart, but freedom means the opportunity to choose virtue. However, it also means the opportunity to choose evil. As Paul Ricoeur says, the choice of evil in the face of God is sin. Therefore, the root of sin is in the heart of man. This is to embrace not only the sin in history, the original sin, but my own sin as well. By my own sin, I cause ferment and division in my own self, I choose evil, I partake in evil and originate moral and social evil in my community, since every sin is a social evil, it has its social dimension. We Christians understand this better in light of the doctrine of the Mystical Body. Sin is the poison which penetrates from me into the entire organism of the Mystical Body, into the organism of the entire Church. By sinning, I make the situation worse, I counteract the redemption of the Mystical Body. Thus, this social dimension is deep inside me, it is incorporated in every good or evil deed. Hence my personal responsibility to God and society.

Therefore it is necessary to oppose sin; this is exactly the mission of the Church. How does the Church act? This opposition is not as much a deed of man as it is a consequence of the guidance of God called love. It is God who calls man to reconcile, first of all with himself in his inner world. Man responds to this call by reformation of the heart, by atonement. Thus, God offers atonement to man as a sign, in a perceptible, apparent fashion, in the sacrament of atonement. Nonetheless, as I already mentioned this sacrament is in crisis today. Why? Various culture-related reasons can be a factor. The science and psychology of today talk about various kinds of determinism... Surely, various determinants of human actions do apply; this cannot be denied. However, what ultimately counts is the freedom of man, the freedom of choice. Thus, ultimately, man bears the responsibility. When man is reformed, when he embarks on the road of return, he also begins to make his contribution to the spiritual renewal of society on an ethical plane. We can and even should reform and improve the social structures in which we live. However, if no renewed spirit abides in these structures, the same man will go astray again. In the first place, it is man that must be reformed and renewed in his soul and in his heart. Confession alone will certainly not suffice. It is required that man live and act at peace with his conscience, according to the laws of God, that he act also in the community where he lives, giving of himself his positive contribution to the betterment and spiritual renewal. This is an outline of the upcoming Synod which will center on the problem of reformation as spiritual renewal, as the point of departure and foundation of spiritual renewal in the scope of society as well.

Question Monsignor, you are a Slovak, a member of the people which is very close to us. You know our language, however, you are in Poland for the first time and for just several days so far. What impressions will you take home with you from this short visit in our country?

Answer What are my impressions? Even when I move about in your country, I feel at home. And I feel still more so, when I talk to people, because I find the same heart, I find the same folk traditions that we have in our country. Finally, I find great spiritual treasures, the richness of faith, which is called traditional, but it is so in the most positive sense. This closeness, affinity also struck me in the sphere of art. I discovered that spiritual continuity transcends boundaries. What binds us together most powerfully and profoundly is to be found in the common faith, in the forms it assumes and in the very religious receptiveness of the people, or rather peoples.

Therefore, there are so many common elements that upon coming to Poland I feel as if I were in a family, my own family, among my kinfolk and I don't experience any difficulty.

The affinity of languages, but primarily the spirit, hospitality, these small national virtues--all of this is shared by our peoples. This is very important and valuable, and it should be kept that way in the future.

Question Monsignor, I thank you for the interview.

9761

CSO: 2600/1213

OFFICIAL REFUTES CRITICISMS OF ANTI-ALCOHOL LAW

Warsaw SLUZBA ZDROWIA in Polish No 33, 14 Aug 83, pp 1, 4

[Interview with Stanislaw Akolinski, secretary general of the Social Committee Against Alcohol, by Wojciech Widlak: "Realization Yes, Amendment--No"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] For almost three months a law on education in sobriety and activity against alcoholism has been in effect. How does the SKP [Social Committee Against Alcohol], an organization in its very existence interested in legally regulated problems, evaluate it?

[Answer] The work on this legal act lasted a long time--from February 1981. The first draft was completed in March 1981. The final version of the law, approved in October of this year by the Sejm, was not made in consultation with the SKP. Our representatives did take part, however, in formulating several of its components. In general, in its approach to the problems of drunkenness and its last stage, alcoholism, the law is more liberal than we planned. Despite the reservations, I feel that it is positive and should be consistently implemented. It is after all binding law.

[Question] In the fight against alcoholism, since 1959, we have had in our country a law which, as is known, has not helped us much. How did it differ from the present one?

[Answer] There were many differences. Its basic fault was the allowing of general access to drinks with an alcoholic content up to 4.5 percent, including those under 18 years of age, as well as permission to consume such drinks in workplaces without restrictions. A curious point was the fact that in Poland a worker, with the permission of the plant boss, could drink wine and vodka in the workplace. Some of its other resolutions, positively evaluated by the SKP, include the definition of "alcoholic drink" as any drink containing more than 1.5 percent alcohol; the clear requirement of the authorities to act to restrict consumption of alcohol; prevention and treatment of the effects of drunkenness, as well as support for social organization designated for strengthening abstinence and public sobriety; prohibition of the sale of alcoholic beverages from 6 am to 1 pm. We are also pleased with the fact that in accordance with the law the

number of points of sale of alcohol is to be established by the Council of Ministers. It is odd, however, that administrative guidelines on this matter have still not appeared.

[Question] You said that you have reservations as to several parts of the law. Why?

[Answer] Not all of them are satisfactorily precise; they also contain formulations resembling requests, especially in the part concerning the education of society in sobriety. Moreover, it seems to me that the possibilities of implementing resolutions relative to treatment of alcoholics are few, and this in connection with the insufficient number of legal guardians, as well as professional medical staff and ancillary personnel.

[Question] Then are the people wrong who are demanding the amendment of the law?

[Answer] Such propositions are surprising in that after publication last year of a draft of a law in RZECZPOSPOLITA consultations were conducted on the question of its final shape. Therefore, comments should have been made then.

The present criticism concerns first of all formulations of a preventive character and ones restricting access to alcohol. It has been proposed, for example, that restrictions be lifted as to the time of sale in student dormitories and at parties organized by the Volunteer Fire Department, and that there be a more relaxed treatment of beer, etc. The idea of Ponol, a special enterprise to handle the sale of alcohol is also being attacked though the law unequivocally places on the minister the duty of starting such an enterprise.

[Question] How do you explain such criticism?

[Answer] On one hand all of these voices are, as it were, an expression of the opinion of the drinking segment of society. And we have at present a real epidemic of drunkenness comprising about 5 million people. For these people each restriction of access to liquor is almost a personal disaster. The restrictions are necessary, however, because of the public interest; we are being threatened by irreversible growth of drunkenness.

On the other hand, the numerous organizations in the sale of alcoholic beverages want this easy-sell and profitable commodity left in their hands. The representatives of the food service industry similarly question the legally-established 25 percent profit margin on alcohol which once averaged twice as much.

[Question] But after all income from the sale of alcohol does not affect the wages of the personnel of stores and restaurants...

[Answer] Even with full acceptance of the fact that the individual clerk does not make any direct profit from the sale of alcohol, in general alcohol constitutes a part of the plan of market sale. Execution of, and

surpassing of the plan quota gives both the workers and the administration of the trade enterprise various benefits. The creation of Ponal will eliminate this phenomenon and force the sellers to change work methods, while the restrictions on profits from the sale of alcohol in food service establishments will improve, perhaps, the food service side of their activity.

Criticisms of and arguments against alleged high costs of creating Ponal will not hold. The thing will lead only to relocation of people and facilities from other organizations and enterprises thus far engaged in the sale of alcohol. Maybe this is a difficult task for the broadly understood trade apparatus but it is feasible and not expensive.

As an aside, I will add that before the war cooperative marketing organizations did not sell alcohol. The Germans started this tradition during the occupation.

[Question] Returning, however, to the law, what do you think? When can we expect to see results?

[Answer] The law itself, like every legal act, of course will not change anything if it is not consistently implemented, and that requires time. The first effects will take at least a year. It seems to me that after a few years it should bring a real improvement--limit excessive drinking of children and youth, eliminate consumption of alcohol during work, limit today's oft encountered phenomenon of intoxication in public places. All this, however, depends on straightforward application of the law by organs of the state administration, something they are bound to do by the first paragraph.

SKP feels that the law should be fully implemented and in the future, perhaps, even strengthened in the area of preventive activity. We will have to wait a few years, however, for concrete results.

[Question] Thank you for the discussion.

9915

CSO: 2600/1233

# PROVINCIAL BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS ACTIVITIES NOTED

## Respect Shown for Desires of Workforce

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 18 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Stanislaw Kuchcinski]

[Text] In Barciany, as I remember, the plants were asserting independence even when central management was in effect. The assumption was that people will show more initiative and thriftiness if they feel, in every position, that they are being trusted and appreciated. When the alternative arose for maintaining, as heretofore, their own internal accounting system, or becoming fully independent, a questionnaire was distributed to the workforce. Three-fourths of the workers replied, of whom a large majority declared themselves to be in favor of the most advanced form of independence for agricultural and service plants. The die was cast. The desire of the workforce was respected.

Two years have passed since the assumption of economic and financial independence, to which the workforce's self-government has been added. This has not remained without repercussions or influence on people's ambitions, as I learned in talking with the first-line people, who reason very simply: What are the final figures, plus or minus, and what will they get out of the bonus fund.

PGR [State Farms] Barciany closed the 1981-1982 marketing year with a profit of 15 million zlotys, and the last year, which ended 2 months ago, showed a profit of as much as 65 million zlotys. The enterprise manager, engineer Miroslaw Chmielewski, remarks that all of the plants have a share in this, even the Barciany plant, which, although it has not yet earned a profit, has nevertheless greatly reduced its losses. He added also that this system, which is not in effect in all of the Ketrzynski Association enterprises, is working well in the Barciany PGR. The best results are obtained where interpersonal relations are good, and where professional competence and thriftiness are respected.

According to the size of the profit--39 million zlotys, first place would go to Woplawka, but because the Rodele plant, which operates under much more difficult conditions, has also produced a high profit--27 million zlotys--I visited Rodele, which already had the status of an independent enterprise. And surprisingly, they had lost it in the 1970's, except that as a plant they have considerably enlarged

lands, which now cover almost 2,000 hectares. It should be added that the new lands were unwanted, of poor quality, not reclaimed, and, of course, came to them from the State Land Fund (PFZ). Ironically, no investments followed. The workforce, numerically the same but older, had more duties, because after all, six workers per 100 hectares is not much. But that is how it is, says Kazimierz Stawarko, plant manager since February 1980, who was worked in PGR for 27 years, always in the Ket-trzynski plants. He worked in Wielewo, Kamien, Arklity, and now in Rodele, always where hard work is the rule. But experience, ability to get along with people, to seek innovative solutions, made for success. In Rodele, as in almost every agricultural plant, there is a medium-size barn with 250 cows which give, on a yearly average, 3,400 liters of milk each. This is not record productivity, but it is not low and it is profitable if one considers that all year around first-grade milk is sold, which not all plants can achieve.

I heard a rather sound opinion expressed here: now, in the chase for profits, it has become the thing to do to quickly eliminate the production which at that moment is not producing a large income. In Rodele, the source of the poor results is sought first. Each year the cowbarn population is increased by its own young cattle, and the bull-calves are fattened and sold, but never at a weight less than 400 kilograms. There are not too many of them, approximately 200, and this production can even be called a byproduct, but no money is added to it. Kazimierz Stawarko remarks that he also takes care of such matters as obtaining manure, of which there never is too much, and furthermore, he makes use of grasslands and straw, leaves, and beet pulp for fatteneing.

But the main income, the multi-million profits, come from crop production. There are 1,370 hectares of croplands under cultivation, but they are spread out over 20 kilometers. This increases the costs, and must be compensated by good crop production techniques. Eighteen tractor drivers, reinforced during peak work periods by workers from the shop and the building group, grapple with this from early spring to late fall. Now, during the harvesting, so that the tractor not remain idle, one of the field foreman, Stefan Modyjewski, operates it.

Wheat is the dominating crop. Sometimes, in the fall the entire winter-crop acreage is sown with wheat. They tell me that with the appropriate crop-production techniques, the crop yields here are unfailingly good. Always, when some new variety appears that seems to be promising, it is sent to Rodele. At present, the "Jana" and "Grana" varieties dominate. A year ago 46 quintals per hectare were reaped; 2,000 tons are reaped from 350 hectares. It is easy to calculate, but there were fields from which as much as 80 quintals per hectare were obtained.

I talked with an older, cheerful man, Stanislaw Stepien, a storekeeper with 33 years of service. This is an extremely rare case. The managers and directors of Rodele kept changing, but he stayed on the whole time. He joined the PGR after his army duty, in the 1950's, but he already had a 5-year work period behind him in the Polish Workers Party (PPR) and then in the PZPR. He was secretary of the party organization here for many terms. And now, although a younger secretary was elected, he remains as his assistant. His experience, both in his work and the party, are valued. His children, after completing a secondary education, took jobs in Rodele. Krystyna specializes in animal husbandry and son Jan is a mechanic.

Storekeeper Stepien knows how it was and how it is: the same storehouses stand, but now they contain more--much, much more grain. He remembers how even several quintals were reaped from one hectare, but fertilization was poor and poor crop production techniques were practiced. And now, on 11 August probably, he logged in 270 tons of wheat from one day's current threshing from five reaper-threshers. A great deal has changed and the people, too, seem to work with greater determination. They know that how much they do and how they do it will determine the profits and the amount of the bonus fund.

People are not only watching their own money but they are also watching the farm's money. This is probably good, because, after all, that is what it was all about. The tractor operators, when necessary and it is frequently necessary, work overtime on Saturdays and Sundays to keep up with the work...

--That is true, says manager Chmielewski. I talked recently with the harvester-combine operators. When I suggested that the combines from a neighboring plant would help us, they were outraged. What for, they asked, how much is this going to cost us--we will do it ourselves. I then told them that Rodele had helped Barciany cultivate the soil for the rape planting, so they should pay us back. Their reply was: if they want to come here to pay us back, OK, but not for money...

Secretary Stepien dismissed this quickly: Since we announced that we have full plant independence, that everything we earn will be ours, there has been a greater sense of thriftiness.

It is true that nothing happens by itself, and even good fortune needs some assistance. Greater agricultural plant independence, full settlement of accounts, has not settled anything automatically; it has only created good conditions, which the people can take advantage of or not. In Rodele they took advantage of these conditions: there is wheat, a lot of wheat; there is money, and in a year there will be millions of zlotys. If it were possible to grow one wheat crop after another the matter would be very simple, but this cannot be done if decent yields are to be obtained. That is why, in addition to proper use of fertilizers, including lime, crops must be rotated, to include profitable crops such as fodder beans, rape and beets. This year rape was harvested from 200 hectares in Rodele, but when I was there, in mid-August, rape was being sown on 280 hectares. It is the same with fodder beans which are being cultivated on 200 hectares. A year ago the seeds were splendid, and yielded 36 quintals from one hectare. They were sent to the Seeds Center, because they are very much sought after for sowing.

Production is large, and if in addition it is sold as first-grade, then revenues are even larger. The result is simple. Manager Stawarko makes no secret of the fact money is spent only on what is really necessary at the farm. Every procurement request goes through his hands. He does not simply initial it, as sometimes happens, but considers whether this expenditure is truly indispensable. The people know this, they talk about it, and such management also has its effect on others. Then the results appear. We do not begrudge money, remarks engineer Chmielewski, for improvement of the workforces' working and living conditions. In the old buildings, for the most part, central heating and sanitation facilities have already been installed. A food store is being built out of PGR money so that people will not have to go to Barciany.

Everybody, the rank-and-file workers and the cadre, are waiting impatiently for the announcement of the profits. The management of the plant, the enterprise, has great hopes that this year, in having their own money, they will not be forced to go to the bank for credit to purchase machines and for small investments, as heretofore. High interest rates must be paid for such privileges. And the workforce identifies the profits achieved with the amount of the bonus fund. We know that in Rodele it will be larger than a year ago, and there will be more to divide up.

Towards the end of the day we reached the reapers who, with six combines, were gathering fodder mash. There I talked with the first secretary of the party organization, Roman Kubat, and the union activist Wojciech Niski. Both were of the opinion that in addition to payment for work, often very hard work, a little money has to be set aside for the people, for vacations, for travel, and some kind of cultural life, so that they can live and work like normal people. Then, of course, there is the housing... Earlier, other people called attention to the housing situation in Rodele and elsewhere, including Stanislaw Stepien. There are more and more people who are retired or who are ready to retire. The young people would come to work, but there is a shortage of housing for at least 16 families. How long can we require people to do 2 days work in a 24-hour day.

This question affects Rodele's future, a farm which if it is to produce more and more each year must have, in addition to machines, people to work. Maybe ambitions played a part here, but maybe in the interests of ordinary justice, they showed me a GAZETA in which, in the column, "Yesterday in the Province", a not-too honest informant reported that farmers in the Barciany gmina, in selling 2,600 tons of grain, fulfilled the plan and thus put the PGR workers to shame. Yet the facts are that only Rodele has thus far sold 1,400 tons of grain, and the Barciany enterprise, for a plan calling for 2,500 tons, delivered 4,000 tons by 12 August and another thousand tons remain to be sold.

#### Implementation of Understanding Through Hard Work

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 19 Aug 83 pp 3, 4

[Article by Andrzej Bujnicki]

[Text] In a preceding article, "Implementation of Understanding--In Accordance with the Workers' Desires" (GLOS WYBRZEZA, 16 Aug 83) I gave an assessment of the degree to which the 1980 social agreements basically have been fulfilled. The time has come to go further, to attempt to assess the execution of the understandings as they pertain to the economy.

While I was collecting materials for this article, the fear overcame me that I will not be able to put the assembled information in order. Do the readers realize that from August 1980 to December 1981 several hundred understandings were concluded, containing a couple of thousand negotiated tasks? For example, in the maritime enterprises understandings were entered into which contained 1,621 tasks! In education, 422 tasks! And so on.

A quantitative summary of the settlements that were negotiated, not counting those that are mutually exclusive, is a job for a staff of analysts, a job that will last

for a dozen or so weeks. Because, for example, some people demanded further sub-sector privileges and professional charters; other demanded elimination of all privileges and equalization of workers' rights. This is the puzzle.

Certainly in our economic life there was--and after all, there still is, although thanks to economic reform (also the result of renewal and indirectly the result of understandings) that is much less--much impropriety, neglect and obvious absurdity. Such matters, very rightly, irritated and angered everyone, including the professional circles and the enterprises. And every one of these matters must be solved in accordance with the public interest. What is important is that all of these problems that have accumulated for years, under renewal can be and are, as experience shows, solved. There are no more "taboo" subjects.

But those who prompted the thousands of demands, proposals and motions, supported by the "spontaneous" strikes and protests, were not concerned about solving economic problems. A very specific type of tactic was used, an "understandings weapon", which was supposed to destroy the entire economic system. I will cite a concrete example. In the tourism ministry understandings were signed with Orbis employees, the provincial tourism enterprises, and the tour guides. The understanding contained such provisions as an improvement in availability of travel and recreational equipment on the market, an increase in fuel rations for tourism, more foreign exchange for the purchases of buses, spare parts, tires and batteries.

Could anyone in his right mind oppose such demands? Not even the most rabid enemy of the "tourist pestilence" would have the nerve to question the need and the justifiability for such solutions. The only question is: How are these tasks to be fulfilled?

And so those who put forth those demands were right. The "authorities"--I enclose the term in quotation marks because this conception is stipulated--also were in favor of the development of tourism, so they signed the agreement. Except what came out of it? There was no equipment and there was no foreign exchange. But it did provide an opportunity for a series of protests against the failure to abide by the understanding. The industrial workers went on strike against the failure to abide by the understandings; there were less products and even less foreign exchange for the purchase of raw materials and fuel. And so that provided another reason for protests and strikes in defense of--tourism!

Why the enemies of our political system needed these unrealistic demands, these agreements that were extorted by a "strike pistol" was explained in a interview for the weekly JEDNOSC (No 38, 25 Sep 81) by the chief strategist of the former NSZZ Solidarnosc [Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity], Andrzej Gwiazda: "A well-planned conflict has an extremely unifying effect on a union, more so than an entire mass of peaceful measures (...) Every victory integrates. Our situation in the face of a series of "uninterrupted victories" is thus understandable. There is a certain, absolutely indispensable, unknown for our country because this will be dependent on circumstances, number of strikes which makes each strike credible. If the number of strikes falls below this minimum then the strike ceases to be credible and all talks become a sham."

I believe that the tactic of thousands of demands and proposals, hundreds of agreements on matters impossible to accomplish, is precisely the tactic of strikes, in which economic matters were exploited. Demands of a sociopolitical nature were not appropriate for this goal. Agreed-upon tasks were simply accomplished when it was possible to do so. Therefore, demands of an economic nature were employed, knowing that this will provide an opportunity for subsequent disturbances. Therefore, in beginning an assessment of the degree to which understandings of an economic nature were implemented, it is worth remembering the mechanisms and the purposes for which conflicts were provoked.

In the agreement signed in the Gdansk Shipyards, it was provided that gradual wage increases would be granted to all working groups by the end of September 1980. The government was to present a program of wage increases beginning in January 1981 for those earning the least. Similar wage-increase tasks were included in the Szczecin agreement, which also provided that a minimum and maximum wage ceiling be established.

The signing of both understandings released an avalanche of further wage demands, subsector privileges, and vocational charters. Every wage right granted to one occupational group produced new demands from other groups. Of course, those who were the strongest won out. The forced wage increase occurred mainly in the variable portion of the wage, in the various allowances, which reduced the share of base wage in the total earnings. The connection between work results and amount earned was severed. Even today we are still feeling the results of the destruction of the wage system.

The wage portions of the agreements signed in Szczecin and Gdansk (the so-called "Walesa provisions") absorbed over 100 billion zlotys by the end of 1980. Further wage increases, ensuing from the subsector and ministerial understandings, cost the same amount in 1980. As we know from painful experience, an abundance of banknotes has never improved anyone's living conditions. The additional wages were not accompanied by greater labor productivity, or more production. We maneuvered ourselves into an inflation that we will be getting ourselves out of for a long time yet.

Implementation of the understandings entered into, insofar as the wage portion was concerned, proved that the so-called unionists were not concerned with improving living conditions but with destroying the economy. The 1981 wage payments, unsupported by production, were proof of this. Under these circumstances, the corrections in wage and employment policies undertaken within the framework of economic reform, cannot be regarded as a departure from the understandings entered into. Precisely the contrary.

Not all reform mechanisms in employment and wage policy are functioning correctly. However, some close connections between labor productivity and quality, and size of earnings, are beginning to appear. Some real transformations in the structure of employment are also taking place. We must still wait for the full effects because economic mechanisms operate slowly, but a start has been made.

The minimum wage limit was also been established. It is now 5,400 zlotys. Certainly, at present prices, this is not much. But it ensures an indispensable minimum. No longer is the maximum earnings rate established automatically. Here, in accordance with the law of economics, excess earnings will be eliminated through an

equalization tax which will apply to all groups of employees. This is fair, and encourages everyone to make a great effort.

The agreements signed in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie also set tasks for the government on improvement of "family" services. In Szczecin it was agreed also that the reform of services will be conducted in three stages, beginning 1 January 1981. On 6 September 1980, the Council of Ministers passed a resolution on conducting reform of family allowances in stages. More assistance was provided for families with children and those with relatively low incomes, and standardization, by 1983, of the criteria for granting family allowances, and their amount, was determined.

In accordance with the written agreement, the government implemented two stages of the reform on 2 January 1981 and 1 January 1982. I refer those who may be interested in the details of this to MONITOR POLSKI. The third stage of family-allowances reform was to be conducted at the beginning of this year. It was planned that allowances and compensation, and another increase in allowances for families who are the worst-off, would be combined, and that revisions in the allowance system would be made. Because of the costs and lack of funds, the third stage of reform had to be postponed. The government straightforwardly informed society of this postponement. It was important that the inflationary gap not be further widened.

In all three agreements, the tasks of increasing pensions and annuities and reducing the retirement age were recorded. Here the decisions made immediately (6 September and 16 December 1980 and 17 June and 7 September 1981) increased the amounts of pensions and annuities and granted one-time allowances. The overall implementation of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements on increasing pensions and annuities took place by way of retirement-pension reform. Pensions and annuities from the old file were increased commensurate with a corresponding increase in the average wage for the period beginning in which benefits were granted to mid-1982. The rule that benefits already granted would be revalorized on a current basis (beginning in March 1986) was instituted, and the lowest pension-annuity benefits were fixed at a level approximate to that of the minimum average wage. On the other hand, the demand for an overall reduction in the retirement age was not granted. Our economy simply cannot afford to reduce vocational activeness so greatly at this time. Nevertheless the retirement age of miners, certain motor-vehicle drivers, teachers, and persons employed in work under special conditions, was lowered. The rules in effect thus far on early retirement for disability, and for women with long periods of service were retained.

The problem of "free" Saturdays evoked the most, aside from wages, emotion. Talks about shortening the workweek proceeded in an extremely strained atmosphere. The "unionists" treated it as a matter of prestige, their own "to be or not to be". The government representatives, understanding the economic effects of a shortened workweek, argued against it. However, they were not able to convince their adversaries. Even foreign observers who were not too friendly to our country were not able to understand how, in a country which is in a deep economic crisis, discussions about free Saturdays could take place!

After long discussions in Gdansk and Szczecin the government was obliged to prepare a program for application of universal free Saturdays. A 42-hour work week was established in 1981, with an ultimate norm of 40 hours a week and 8 hours daily. It was decided also that attainment of the ultimate norm would depend on the country's economic situation.

In 1981 a universal 42-hour workweek was introduced and 38 free Saturdays. At the same time, hourly wage rates were increased. The result was that production dropped by over 15 percent. Thus it was not possible to shorten the workweek to the amounts provided in the ultimate norm.

The imposition of the rigors of martial law was not exploited to restore the 46-hour workweek provided by the work code. The agreements signed with the working class remained in effect and are still in effect. Only the worktime in the state offices and in the militarized plants was extended.

Since lifting of martial law, special legal regulations for the period of the emergence of the country from its economic crisis are in effect. In general, the 42-hour work week and the system of free Saturdays in effect, in accordance with the agreements signed in August 1980, has been maintained. Only in plants which are of primary importance to the national economy, the country's defense, public utility, and those satisfying the populace's basic needs--approximately 1,800 in all--can worktime be extended to 8 hours per day and 46 hours per week (not by order but with consent). The decision on extending the working hours is made by the plant manager and overtime rates apply to the extended workhours. Women caring for small children, persons employed under particularly arduous conditions or conditions harmful to health, are excluded from extended worktimes.

The solutions applied reconcile the public interest with the interests of the economy and do not violate the spirit of the agreements entered into.

Out of the long list of tasks agreed-upon pertaining to the economy, I have selected those that are unequivocal and of primary importance. It would have been easier to select matters that are simple and marginal, and say what has been done, what has not been done, and why. But that would have been escapism.

In showing the state of accomplishment of the most complicated tasks contained in the agreements, I wish to call attention to the fact that the "authorities" are fulfilling the duties they assumed. They were signed in good will, with the intention of fulfilling the workers' tasks, the public wishes, and the people's desires and strivings. The party and the government regard the performance of the tasks undertaken as a test of its own credibility. Economic conditions do not permit much, but within the limits of what there is a great deal can be done. And is being done.

It is regrettable that some of those who signed the agreement in behalf of the working class treated it instrumentally, as a weapon in the political struggle for authority. It is they, today, who are yelling the loudest about broken agreements. Perhaps that is just as well.

We know that the way to full implementation of the social agreement of the working class with its elected authorities is only through social peace, understanding, and hard work. There is simply no other way.

## Analysis of Man in Socialist Environment

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 19-20-21 Aug 83 p 3

[Interview with Prof (doctor habilitatus) Tadeusz M. Jaroszewski, director of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, by M. Wandajski; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] M. Wandajski: Mr Professor, among the many awards and honors you have received, you have also obtained an award from the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences for "distinguished contribution to research on the philosophy of man". What philosophical problems of anthropology interest you the most? What subjects do you treat in your research?

[Answer] Prof Jaroszewski: Man is both a social being and a natural being. Therefore, the study of human phenomena requires the broad cooperation of scholars of various disciplines. The subject is the humanities, which deal with the particular spheres of man's activities. I am speaking of social institutions and relations, material and spiritual culture, and particularly language, literature, artistic works, law, history, and politics.

The natural sciences, on the other hand, which deal with biological determinants of man's life and actions, are a different problem. Therefore, the question: who is man, what are his needs and aspirations, what mechanisms control his activities, and many other questions, cannot be answered without the cooperation of a philosopher with a sociologist, economist, psychologist, biologist, neurophysiologist, or neurosurgeon.

[Question] In one of the foreign scientific periodicals recently I read your extensive work. It shows that there is no clear boundary between what is biologically coded in man and what is socially acquired.

[Answer] On the one hand, the very physical construction of man, the work of his brain, are predetermined by several million years of anthropogenesis, in which the actions of our ancestors, including their creative activity, have played an important role. Hence man is a creative being, functioning consciously, and transforming his environment in accordance with his needs. Yet the needs themselves in large measure are not just drives and purely biological needs but needs and aspirations created by culture.

On the other hand, however, many scientific discoveries seem to prove that forms of human life existing over thousands of years have, in some measure, also coded themselves biologically. This is shown, for example, by the skill with which a child quickly masters the rules of grammar, logical thinking, or elementary norms. And so the boundaries of what is biological and what is cultural run somewhat differently than was believed in the eighteenth century, when man was regarded as a "tabula rasa".

But all of these matters require penetrating, empirical study and theoretical inquiry. One point, however, which is unquestionable, is that man, as distinct from animals,

does not inherit ready programs of action, that conscious control replaces instinctive control. And so he acts according to his own plans, and can satisfy most of his desires and aspirations only by cooperating with other people. He is, as the ancients used to say, a political animal. Marxism explains scientifically which social mechanisms cause a human being, through his activity, to become a person. And which conditions must be fulfilled in order for him to develop and grow, to develop and be self-fulfilled in the world that he creates.

[Question] It is precisely this last issue which fascinates contemporary society the most. Does man interest you only as a scientific fact, or as a value? I refer here to homo sapiens, which is the goal of social endeavors.

[Answer] Obviously, as a Marxist, the second issue interests me the most. Man interests me not only as a object of study, but also as an acting subject, an axiological value. In the works of Marx and his students, the mechanisms are explained by which man, a consciously and purposefully acting being, became the slave of his creations. In conquering nature he liberated himself somewhat from the bondage of natural barriers, falling, however, into increasingly more complex social dependencies.

Many distinguished philosophers, first and foremost Immanuel Kant, expressed the aspiration that man, for other people, become not a means but a goal. Therefore, this is the aspiration to eliminate from public life all kinds of exploitation, subjection and manipulation of human individuals, thus expanding the range of man's independence and freedom. It was emphasized also that living conditions thus far make it possible for only a few to enrich their lives and freely choose their own destinies. On the other hand, the majority of the people are doomed to a life of poverty, which restricts their ability to develop their individuality and versatility.

Marxism based the striving for emancipation on a socio-class examination of the determining factors in human life and the laws governing a class struggle. It showed that socialization of the means of production and liberation of the working class creates a likelihood for the total liberation of man. Humanization of labor, the development of various forms of participation of individuals in the settlement of public matters and in culture, also creates the likelihood of an increasingly more comprehensive development of individuals and their self-fulfillment in social life.

[Question] Some people believe that in the light of past events all considerations about the emancipation of man and the axiological ideals of socialism seem to be too abstract. They say that life itself has undermined these ideals. Particularly in the last decade.

[Answer] That which we have observed in Poland in the last 10 years in Poland was not in the least the result of the implementation of the ideals of socialism, but on the contrary, it was because they had been ignored. Such traditional aspirations of socialist movements as the dignity of human labor and man, the striving to reduce social inequality and to reward each man's labor according to the work he put into it, participation in management and development of workers' self-government--were, in practice, denied. In their place technocratic forms of management were popularized, neobourgeois ideals and slogans of enriching oneself at the expense of society.

This policy was not, therefore, as some say, a policy of "communistic orthodoxy" but, on the contrary, a clearly leftist policy. It suffices to call attention to the one-sided "opening" of the Polish economy to the West, the preferences given to private ownership, the increase of social inequality, the reduction in the collective consumption fund, and particularly the neglect of mass transport, municipal management, the health service, and education and culture.

[Question] We all know now what a flirtation with capitalist countries and large concerns leads to. And also how much the agreements we made with them are worth. They showed us that these agreements could be a good whip if the partner is impolite, that is, does not want to listen to recommendations. And as a result, the sanctions imposed upon us, which are nothing else but a failure to abide by the agreements, have already cost Poland several dozen billions of dollars. What has happened to us should now be a warning to other socialist states, as well as the developing countries, should they want to enter into agreements with a hypocritical partner.

[Answer] These mistakes, therefore, were not due to rigorous implementation of socialist ideals but to the departure from these ideals in practice. Hence this policy evoked a justified protest from the working class. The fact of the matter is that this protest was mainly emotional, and was exploited by the antisocialist forces which wanted to attain their own goals by taking advantage of the workers' anger. Unfortunately, the workers' anger was not linked to a search for socialist ways of getting out of the existing state and that is why it was able to become an object of manipulation and counterrevolutionary activity.

[Question] Mr Professor, you are a well-known party and social activist, which is why our conversation, aside from problems of Marxist philosophy, also pertains to the social and political matters disturbing the country. Today our knowledge about the 1980-1981 events is greater, since we have access to various archives and documents which previously were classified secret. They reveal in what way and with the help of which methods attempts were made to destroy socialist achievements.

[Answer] The exploitation of the ignorance of simple people for the attainment of one's own goals, which conflict with the interests of the workers, is typical political manipulation. But the instinct of the working class did not fail this time either. That is why in the factory and workplaces reservations as to the activities of the rightwing portion of the "Solidarity" leadership began to increase.

The working class became more and more aware that it was being subjected to ruthless political manipulation. Had this scenario succeeded, our country's indebtedness would have reached its zenith. In the second phase, mixed production-trade companies were to have been established, with foreign capital, and particularly West German capital, predominating. Idle factories, equipment and machines were to be leased out. In the third phase of the implementation of this scenario, factories and workplaces, and in agriculture, land, was to pass into the hands of foreign capital. The workers, just as before the war, were again supposed to work for foreign concerns--German, American and English.

[Question] The discovery of the details of this conspiracy and the role of certain people who set themselves up as the voice of the people, and as a result were little traitors, is evoking outrage. Now they are trying to figure out in which banks in the West to conceal the millions of dollars that they "earned". It is not I who am revealing these facts, but they have been published by an Austrian Catholic newspaper, which cited parts of a tape-recorded conversation between two brothers, former VIPs in Solidarity. In the West everyone knows very well that the capitalists will not give anyone a plugged nickel for nothing. If they pay, it is for something concrete. They were paid for chaos and anarchy, the result of which was to be a fratricidal struggle and changes in the political system.

[Answer] Fortunately it did not come to that. And hence the fury of the cold-war forces in the West, who were not able to install their enterprises in Poland, and most probably, their missiles directed at the East. And Poland and the Poles? They counted for nothing in this contest. They were simply supposed to be the tool which was to help in the fulfillment of this plan, worked out a long time ago. But the economic, political and management difficulties remained and for a long time yet will rankle society and the economy.

[Question] What, then, must be done?

[Answer] First of all, we should return to the sources of our ideology and, based on scientific research, search for suitable applications in the current Polish reality. Martial law blocked the possibility of certain counterrevolutionary activities, but--as General Jaruzelski emphasized--martial law is not a value unto itself. We now know that it gave us a chance to seek new solutions and to implement them under conditions of law and order. Hence the role of scientific inquiries, directed at a search for such forms of implementation of economic reform as will make this not a "reform for the rich" but will safeguard the living conditions of those who have the least.

At the same time, it must create incentives and mechanisms for economic growth. It should activate necessary reforms in the political system, and increase the participation of the working people in managing and safeguarding their various interests. Socialist social relations must be improved and suitable conditions for socialist culture and education must be established. We should also, finally, study the signs of our times and the challenge of our era, and shape the aspirations, especially of the young people, in accordance with this challenge. Every era needs its heroes and requires the release of new, creative forces, a new ethos.

All of this can, with time, create new, objective material and spiritual conditions for the development and self-fulfillment of each individual. I would emphasize the word "conditions", since each individual is responsible for his own life, and what he does with his life, how he realizes his potential, depends on him. Philosophy and other humane studies can only point to what can be done in order to live with dignity, happily, and with benefit to oneself and others. Hence the philosophical anthropology which I practice concerns itself not just with the search for an answer to the question: who is man, but also to the question: whom can man be. It assists in selecting a life's strategy, a method and way of living. It teaches how to live as man, and how to live in one's own era.

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Party Public Opinion Poll

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 18 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Maria Nwrocka: "Public Opinion Poll"]

[Text] The comrades of the party plant committee in the Srem Cast-Iron Foundry are quietly becoming disgruntled. Their reason: the time for complaint and proposal processing is drawing near. This will be handled by Bronislaw Steplowski, the Poznan party provincial committee secretary. Henryk Pilat, director of the control and training department of the provincial office, will assist him. They arrived in order to hear people out and to familiarize themselves with the concerns which make life difficult for them. While they were still at the party plant committee, they received a letter which had been sent 2 months before by the provincial apartment cooperative's advisory team.

The issue at hand is a park administered publically by the cast-iron workers. At first, private shacks were built on its fringes. Now, efforts have been undertaken for the construction of apartments. Local apartment dwellers are anxiously observing the work. The park, which is one of the few patches of green which protect against pollution, is to be removed. The apartment buildings are necessary; after all, people are waiting for apartments. But are there no other open areas? Do the apartment buildings really have to rise at the expense of the work? Because of this, the advisory team sent a letter to the provincial office of the provincial apartment cooperative. The team has yet to receive any kind of answer. Such negligence on the part of people is unnerving. In any event, the team should get an explanation. The visiting comrades are in agreement. The affair demands an investigation, they say. Secretary Steplowski has diligently been noting down the important aspects of the interview. Director Pilat promises that he will investigate the affair in the near future.

The first of those concerned is Tadeusz Nowicki. He came on behalf of his son who worked at the Agricultural Construction Enterprise. He was allowed to obtain a driver's license there. The enterprise was supposed to compensate him for expenses. To this day, he has not received any money. Nowicki asks why this is so. Is he supposed to write incessantly to them? The interviewers will look into the affair. Regulations need to be checked to see who covers the costs, the worker or the enterprise. They will send an answer as soon as the matter is settled. One of them excuses the fact that it will take time, but Nowicki will have his rights observed. Secretary Steplowski says there are no trivial matters. He further says that every human matter is important. It is good that his office hears of them.

Lech Polowczyk begins right away with the fact that he has several problems. The post office in the community of Jeziorany is not working up to speed. For instance, an airmail letter arrives but the deliverers write "name unknown" on the envelope because they seem unwilling to enter the apartment. He is ordered to court but does not show because he knows nothing about it. He went to the head of the main post office who promised that such situation will not happen again, but they do.

"I also have another matter. May I?"

"Go ahead," encourages Comrade Steplowski, "why else did we come?"

"The bus station works poorly. Passengers are not informed when buses are late, even though there is a public address system. It turns out that a bus generally does not depart as is specified on the schedule. People lose time and their nerves." He also says that when a worker from the foundry is moved to a higher level, he has to take an examination. Comrade Steplowski interrupts: "It is only to check his skill."

"Okay, but why do only physical laborers have to take these examinations? Their administration should be identical for all."

"We will talk to the director; you will get an answer."

Irena Czerwinska has been working at the foundry for many years. Her daughter finished an agricultural institute with very good results, but now she can find no work. "I have been to the employment offices in many institutes. Everywhere they gave me the same answer: there is no work for graduates from agricultural schools. I read in the press that agriculture needs experts." Director Pilat asks: "What course of instruction did she complete?"

"I admit that I do not know very well," answers the woman in shame.

Director Pilat explains that she may possibly have to requalify. "In many areas, there is a surplus of experts."

"Then they should tell me that my daughter should requalify herself. The girl sits at home and asks why did she go to school."

She goes on: "When I was on my way here, women asked me to say that provisions are in shortage. When they go out in the afternoon after work, there is nothing left to buy. But they say that things are getting better. There is more and more readymade clothing. But not in Srem. Besides, women who work do not have time to run from store to store. One never knows where something is up for sale. Once, for example, all the goods in the toy store and household wares department were sold out. Couldn't we organize fairs on the plant's grounds?"

"We have ceased this practice," explains director Pilat.

Comrade Czerwinska asks: "Is there an office to register for meat ration coupons for a specific day? In Jeziorany we have this principle. The result is that when we leave work to shop, there is something left for us in the stores." The visiting comrades say that there is no such principle. They say that they thought it up for the store managers. "We will try to settle this."

Czerwinska continues: "I have to say that our apartment cooperative does nothing more than collect the rent. Trash has not been picked up for months and the balconies have not been painted."

Comrade Czerwinska asks: "What does the self-government have to say about this? After all, it should be involved in such matters." The woman then turns to the work at the station of the Polish State Railroads.

There is a second meeting that day in the party municipal-communal committee. People do not wait. They have found out about the arrival of the representatives from the party-administrative authorities in Poznan. They want to talk about their problems which the local offices cannot solve for them.

Three people come, the Grybczynski couple and Waldemar's mother. The whole family is excited. The mother says that it is good that the comrades have come. "Maybe you can help us. They turn us out everywhere else."

Their story is really sad. Waldemar and Bozena Grybczynski occupy a 12-meter [sic] room at Waldemar's parents' home. They have a 3-year-old daughter. Bozena is a nurse at the hospital; Waldemar is a seriously ill invalid. The father-in-law is also sick; he needs to have a separate room, but Waldemar's parents have yet a 12-year-old daughter. The apartment has three rooms. Bozena says that the worst is when Waldemar has an attack and that this happens often. The child is shocked outright. Waldemar's mother throws in that the child is growing up to be an invalid. The couple are members of the apartment cooperative. They have asked, implored, for a replacement apartment. They have visited every office, but without result.

"We have pointed to four empty apartments. But we have been rejected by the municipal-communal office. How does it happen that some have two apartments, while others are cooped up in a few square meters?", asks the young man. He adds with resentment: "Whenever I show up, the director of the local office takes off." Pilat and Steplowski agree: "The problem is complicated." Comrade Steplowski, perturbed by the Grybczynskis' story, adds: "We will try to help you, but we have to consult with the local authorities about this matter."

The family is definitely disappointed. They felt sure that they would get a binding answer. The visiting comrades, however, could not provide such an answer. The matter had to be investigated. Not only did those who were complaining have to be heard out, but also those against whom the complaints were directed.

Other interested parties have other problems, some, for instance, tied to home repairs and the acquisition of building materials. As many people, so many issues. Each one is different, each one is important.

And what were the results of this meeting in Srem? Above all, the bottom line was that it was a useful public poll which allowed a further familiarization with the problems what people have to face. The local administration does not regard people everywhere with understanding and does not always openly and sincerely settle the citizens' issues at hand. It often just dismisses those who come. We must more effectively fight with the nightmare of indifference.

#### Aktiv Political-Economic Meeting on Stabilization

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 18 Aug 83 pp 1, 5

[Article by KZ: "Stabilization Process Is Consolidating"]

[Text] Deliberations of Party Provincial Committee in Legnica

A meeting of the political-economic aktiv took place yesterday in the party provincial committee in Legnica. The participants were the first secretaries of party organizations and the directors of 57 provincial plants. Comrade Henryk Pucilowski, the deputy director of the party Central Committee Economic Department, was also present.

Marek Ochocki, the chief of the provincial office of internal affairs, presented an evaluation of the state of security and public order in Legnica Province and discussed certain aspects of the political situation. He stated that in the past 7 months 3,516 crimes had been committed in the province; i.e., about 200 less than for the same period last year. In Legnica, Jawor and Chojnow however, there was a certain growth in the number.

Zbigniew Korpaczewski, a party provincial committee secretary, concentrated his speech on the current state and future tendencies of the trade union movement, as well as on its tasks. There are already 257 registered trade unions operating in Legnica Province; they comprise 33,000 members. New groups and founders' committees in other plants consist of more than 5,000 future trade unionists. Only in 6 percent of the plants has there been no trade union activity. The Konrad mining plants in Iwiny, the Renifer Lower Silesia Light Leather Glove Works and the Dolzamet Lower Silesia Metallurgical Works in Chojnow, and the provincial heat energy enterprise and iron-cast foundry in Gromadta have the most organized workforces. Workers make up 65-70 percent of the general membership of the new unions. Permanent leadership has already been elected in 199 organizations.

The activity of the trade unions has been positive up until now. The development of the movement could be still greater if it were not for certain factors. The attitude on the part of the economic administrations in certain plants is not proper vis-a-vis the rising unions. They do not always support the unions properly in the implementation of their legal tasks. It was stressed that the consistent observation of the law concerning the trade unions on the part of both state administration and economic management is indispensable.

Great attention during the deliberations was focused on the province's socio-economic situation, the execution of tasks for the 7 months of this year and their resulting obligations in the production, political and social-professional sphere.

The situation in industry is generally favorable. The sale of production during the 7 months of this year is 9.5 percent higher in comparison with the same period last year. Employment is down by 1 percent, while productivity has increased by 10.6 percent. On the other hand, the average wage together with benefits is 42.1 percent higher. The mining-metallurgical copper combine works achieved a slightly lower growth in production, but a higher one in processing. No fewer than eight plants failed to reach last year's level. They are: The Lubin and Polkowice mining works; the construction machine factory in Glogowa; the poultry-breeding works in Prochowica; the Lower Silesia Dolpakart paper products works in Chojnowa; the Legnica Piano Factory and the peasant self-held Pianin and Communal Cooperative.

The situation appears to be considerably better in the building and assembly enterprises. They achieved a 28.2 percent growth in the production and their productivity rose by 23.1 percent. This last indicator puts Legnica's building enterprises in the first place nationwide. Some 1,428 apartments have been delivered during this time. This is almost 22.7 percent more in comparison with last year, but only 39.3 percent of this year's goal.

A disturbing situation has turned up in agriculture in the number of farm animals. As July's record indicated, head of cattle decreased by 9.3 percent, swine by as much as 15.7 percent and the number of cattle for slaughter was lower by 10.4 percent.

During the deliberations, reference was made especially to the irregularities forming between the growth in productivity and average wages. It was affirmed, however, that the economic reform had had undeniable results. There are fewer instances this year of unsubstantiated price-fixing at an extreme level for products; conditions as before, however, are causing the prices of services to be set beforehand. A distinct improvement in efficient management through real cost reduction and proper earning capacity has been noted.

Jerzy Wilk, the provincial committee first secretary, stated that the ongoing process of political and economic stabilization is growing stronger both in the country and in the province. Improvement can also be felt in the marketplace, even though it is persistently inadequate. Cooperative construction is progressing more intensively and higher than any other kind, including that in the state farms and privately. The speaker stressed that it is necessary to create the conditions for the development of small industry, which

would produce for the marketplace, in association with the dominant role of the provincial copper industry.

### Party Line of Understanding, Struggle, Reform

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 19 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Tomasz Persidok: "Party Line of Understanding, Struggle and Reform"]

[Text] Party Policies Are Consistent

The abolition of martial law is a fact of great political significance. This is indicated by, if nothing else, the immense number of commentaries, magazine articles and editorials referring to this event in the foreign press. Of course, their conclusions are different, as different as the views and intentions of their authors. Some say that the abolition of martial law changes basically nothing, that it was your usual, calculated piece of propaganda, a cosmetic manipulation. Others admit, of course, that 22 July 1983 is of tremendous importance, at least from a psychological perspective, for the Poles. However, as they all add, all these extra legalities are not to be adopted. Finally, there are many friendly reviews which regard the decision of the Polish authorities with understanding and even sympathy, but only in isolation from the historical context and complicated background of Polish reality.

A common mistake of all these commentaries is that they regard the abolition of martial law as an incident which either was the result of a one-time decision of the authorities in Warsaw, the good or ill will of people in the highest positions of state power, or an outright tactical maneuver designed to confuse vigilant and critical observers in the West. It seems that the Polish communists had decided to treat themselves to some foreign praise and applause!

This all sounds like a second-rate joke--and a joke it is in all essence because even a "Polish" magazine from somewhere with famous and serious Western letters is guilty of being primitive and tendentious to the point of being blind and producing nonsense for distinct political reasons.

At the same time, the abolition of martial law in our country has to be viewed, above all, as an expression of the normalization and stabilization of our socio-political life. It is a normalization based on long-term processes in the political and economic area which are not free of contradictions, and it is a normalization, above all, in the sphere of human awareness. Patronizing this process is a party which has done so from the first strikes and disturbances of August 1980. It was then that the process of socialist renewal began and consistently continued despite the organized pressure of antisocialist forces which had also established themselves in a massive trade union. What is more, even martial law did not restrain this renewal, but, on the contrary, and let us be honest, it provided an excellent opportunity for it. It did not restrain the renewal because the difficult and painful decision of 13 December 1981 was not the result of so much of the desire to defend Polish socialism, as it was an attempt to protect the process of socialist renewal.

The merit of the party is that it was able to quickly and properly recognize the basic causes and nature of the 1980 social conflict. The protest of the working class, and not only in the economic sphere, was acknowledged by the party to be just. It was a struggle with the perversions of socialism; namely, it was a struggle for properly revitalizing socialism. The agreements of Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie were illustrations of the party's good will. Proof of this was that the party respected the will of its own class and established a new trade union movement independent of the administration. It was a movement firmly set on the foundation of socialism.

The 9th extraordinary party congress was the turning point in the history of the party's struggles with its own weaknesses. At the congress the party formulated an appraisal of the August demands; they were affirmed and expanded at the Central Committee's 6th Plenum despite ever worsening socioeconomic and political conditions. The congress defined the program for socialist renewal. It was the party line of understanding, struggle and reforms.

The results of the 9th party congress were accepted warmly and hopefully by society. The party took the position that escape from all the problems could only come about if it were an escape forward. It is possible, but we must reflect on past mistakes and misfortunes. Above all, we have to formulate a plan for extracting ourselves out of this crisis; we need a constructive and positive program. It is the 9th party congress which has given us such a plan. This could not please the political opposition which had only one prescription for the Polish malaise: shake everything up and then orient the situation in whatever way is possible. Naturally, with help from the West. This pitiful "program" had the public support only as a result of total negation, chaos and lack of perspective. For this reason, immediately after the close of the 9th party congress, the opposition began to attack its results furiously. This went on until Radom and Gdansk in December 1981. The idea of understanding was rejected to the last by the pseudo-trade unionists of Solidarity's leadership. The massive activities of socialism's opponents were only ended by martial law.

On 13 December, the chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation declared: "Just as there is no deviation from socialism, there can be no return to the erroneous methods and practices of before August 1980. Steps have been taken today which serve in maintaining the fundamental conditions for socialist renewal. All significant reforms will continue under conditions of law and order, objective discussion and discipline."

On the day which had been a shock for society, such words were listened to faithfully, but with disbelief. Today, it would be impossible to enumerate within a short article everything which the party and government have reformed during the "martial law" period of 1982 and beyond. The party has initiated a series of legal statutes which have become the basis for reforming many areas of life. The statute on trade unions occupies an important place. Its passage by the Sejm is nothing more than the consolidation of the August agreements. In the statute is an item on the independence and self-government of trade unions, the right to strike, as well as the opportunity to influence the socioeconomic policies of the state.

The imposition of martial law was an expression of the party's determination to struggle for the defense of the spirit of the August agreements, and not, as our system's opponents attempt to prove, to break the agreements and return to the former, evil practices. In December 1981, there was not anything more to break; we could only make one last attempt to save the sense and essence of those changes taking place within the limits of socialism.

The period of martial law and then its suspension show that the attempts of various underground and "conspiratorial" ringleaders to mix up the Polish kettle one more time--at the order of their Western sponsors--misfired.

After the abolition of martial law, certain Western correspondents conducted a poll of Polish public opinion. Those questions on the street told them that they allegedly "see no great difference between martial law and the current situation." The correspondents were triumphant: really, nothing had changed in Poland! But the truth is different: much has changed, but not from day to day, only in the process of stabilizing and renewing our socio-political life which will take many more months. This process went on under martial law, and if one were to look honestly, one would have to perceive in this fact the essence of long-term party policy. For this reason, one will not perceive at first glance any change between the conditions on 21 July and those of 2 days later.

That is it, but an honest regard of Polish issues is not a specialty with a majority of Western journalists. It is simply just not worth it.

#### Party Numbers, Quality Counts

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 22 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by l.c.: "Numbers and Quality Count"]

[Text] In the Elblag Party Organization

During the past year and a half, the number of party members in the Elblag provincial party organization has decreased by around 17 percent. In this time, around 5,000 names have been removed from party roles and around 150 people have been dismissed from the party. People with little ideological development have left our organization; they opposed the implementation of principles of socialist renewal delineated at the 9th party congress. For many of them, party affiliation was not a reflection of their desire to become involved in building a socialist Poland. They did not share the great obligations which are carried on the shoulders of party members. They figured that under the pretense of being party members, they would be able to achieve their own private goals.

There remained in our party organizations those members with far greater ideological conviction, conscious of the role they had to play at work and in society. They undertook ventures to consolidate their ranks, strengthen the party's role around them, and actively join in the implementation of socio-economic policies. Extracting the country from crisis and strengthening the party have been their goal.

The activities of party members are already stabilizing the internal party situation; a systematic growth in the number of party candidates has also been noted. The acceptance of candidates into the party fellowship is the decisive factor shaping the socioprofessional structure of our party ranks. Nineteen eighty-two and the first half of this year have seen the acceptance of 292 candidates into the provincial organizations; these include 148 workers, four peasants and 116 members of the intelligentsia. The remaining 24 candidates come from craftsmen, students and homemakers. On the other hand, according to the various sectors of the national economy, the largest number of candidates has come from agriculture and forestry--109 people; from administration--36 people; from industry--25 people; from transportation and communications--31 people; from commerce and services--22 people; from education--10 people; from the health services--7 people; from construction--5; and 47 people come from other sectors of the economy.

One cannot help but notice that a gradual growth in party ranks is taking place. This places greater additional tasks on the basic party organization. Proper work with these candidates is indispensable for properly preparing them for party membership in such a way that they become fully involved in party activities and that the situation of several years ago is not repeated. At that time, more attention was paid to filling the ranks with people than in winning candidates of greater ideological and moral worth.

The problems of building up party ranks were recently discussed at a meeting of the party provincial committee's executive board in Elblag. Recognizing how important these problems are, the committee's executive board resolved that comprehensive actions aimed at strengthening party power be further undertaken in the daily work of party echelons and organization. Serving this goal, an analysis of the distribution of party strength at meetings of the executive boards of individual echelons was undertaken. This analysis will further lead to actions which will build up party ranks. Notebooks of individual party commissions considering the work with candidates will be introduced in all basic party organizations. Up until 15 September 1983, meetings of the basic organizations will examine issues associated with the prescribed training practices of candidates in order to make final decisions on personnel.

These and other actions will serve in building up the number of people in party ranks, but the candidates will also be of a better quality because of the more intensive activities of the executive boards.

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## WRITER OF CONTROVERSIAL LCY HISTORY RESPONDS TO CRITICISM

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 12 Aug 83 p 19

[Article by Kosta Cavoški: "Fear of the Factual Truth" in reply to review by Mirko Arsić in KOMUNIST No 1377, 5 Aug 83 of the book "Party Pluralism or Monism"]

[Text] Mirko Arsić, in his voluminous review of our book "Party Pluralism Or Monism," criticizes us, first of all, for having "reconstructed" our more recent history in a biased manner. In fact, however, this is an attempt to subject an examination, which above all must be handled with impartiality and objectivity, to a one-sided judgment from the viewpoint of his own partisanship and current political needs. However, at least in scholarship, one cannot take such an approach to historical research in which the only questions asked can be of the completeness and accuracy of the facts stated. Although Arsić himself finds no fault with us in this respect nor, even, does he dispute the accuracy of the individual facts of the account, we were conscious--extremely so--of the limitations of our considerations and, consequently, we wrote in the introduction:

"It is nevertheless necessary to caution that reality differs somewhat from the gathering of facts and events that is presented and it always constitutes something more in relation to them. This is so because the person who states what was and what is always tells some story--his story--in which the individual facts are cited, linked together and explained in a manner consistent with his own understanding and selection of what is essential. Conscious of their limitations, the writers hope that they have at least shown sufficient balance and impartiality in their exposition and conclusions, and hope that they have followed the trail of truth free of any egoism in thought and judgment. This was encountered especially when recounting the conflicts between one party, that had become the leader, and other parties which--defending the independence of their continued existence--defended their de facto party pluralism. The writers, for example, tried to present the views and aspirations not only of the party in power, as seems to be chiefly the case today, but they also adhered to that well-known principal of dialogue which states that one should listen to the other side as well. For this reason many considerations in this work are antithetic in nature."

It seems that Arsic is disturbed by exactly this dialogue character of our accounts; the stating of different and even opposing viewpoints concerning basic questions of the postwar political system. He would probably like to present the views of only one side and would like the account to have the character of a monologue. Consequently, he criticizes us for having quoted the writings and statements of leaders of legal noncommunist parties and groups--Milan Grol, Dragoljub Jovanovic, Edvard Kocbek, Jasa Prodanovic and others. Those statements are, however, a part of our history and what was done at one time can never be revoked.

Even if this criticism could be understood from Arsic's own point of view, it is not at all clear to us why he reproaches us for our very frequent quoting of the speeches and statements of the most prominent leaders of the KPJ [Communist Party of Yugoslavia]: Josip Broz Tito, Milovan Djilas, Sreten Zhujovic, Mosa Pijada, Radovan Zogovic and others. Does Arsic really think that some of these statements should no longer be quoted? If this is how he thinks, are those, let's say, the statements that explicitly confer legitimacy on the existence and actions of opposition political parties? If this is the case it would also be incumbent on him to communicate to us the criterion by which we can differentiate between those statements that are still suitable for quoting from those no longer suitable for this purpose.

In our judgment, such biased and even self-seeking reasoning is difficult to accept. It is even less possible to write an historical treatise with the intent of pleasing someone. One must be impartial in such an enterprise; one dare not be a keen party man. The first great narrator of factual truth, Herodotus, tells us in the very first sentences of his account that he intends to prevent the great and wonderful deeds of the Greeks and barbarians from losing the glory they deserve, although the barbarians frequently were the Greeks' enemies. This is the ideal for all objectivity; this is the exceptional yearning for intellectual integrity at any cost, without which there would not even be scholarship. The factual truth, therefore, can never be brought into question howevermuch it might be unpleasant for someone today. Because such truth we can no longer change. It is the foundation on which we stand and the heaven which arches over us.

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