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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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26 September 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## BULGARIA

### TAXES ASSOCIATED WITH FOREIGN TRAVEL, NEW PASSPORTS

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 19 Aug 83 pp 843-4

[Council of Ministers Decree No 30 of 2 August 1983 concerning an amendment of fee rate No 4, for passports, collected within the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs]

[Text] The Council of Ministers decrees:

One section only. Amendment in Part II of Rate No 4 for fees which are collected within the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (promulgated in the DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 71 of 1974, amendment and supplement No 13 of 1978, No 18 of 1979, and No 67 of 1980), as follows:

#### Part II. Passport fees:

Article 2 (1) When applying for private travel abroad and for issuance of an external passport, the following fees are collected for each permission to travel:

	<u>For socialist countries</u>	<u>For non-socialist countries</u>
1. for one person, one country, one trip, passport valid for up to one year	15 leva	80 leva
2. for one person, two or more countries, one trip, passport valid for up to one year	20 leva	100 leva
3. for persons who are living abroad permanently when submitting applications at the passport offices of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, for issuance or renewal of their passports, for persons married to foreigners or individual citizens who have to stay abroad for an extended period of time, for one person abroad with a passport valid for up to five years	50 leva	120 leva
4. for issuance of an emigrant passport:		
a) for one person	50 leva	200 leva
b) for a family	80 leva	300 leva

5. for a coupon with four visits to the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia by a Bulgarian citizen

20 leva

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6. for a coupon with twelve visits to the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia or the Socialist Republic of Romania by inhabitants of border regions next to those countries

30 leva

---

7. for a coupon for visiting fairs at the Bulgarian-Yugoslav border and for visiting the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia during the national holidays of both countries and the First of May, for a period of three days inclusive (in stamps on the application)

2 leva

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8. for extending the validity of the passport, if the travel has not taken place and fewer than three years have elapsed from the date of its issuance, for all kinds of passports, in stamps on the application

1 lev

5 leva

9. for exchange (reissuance) of a valid passport due to change of names or other considerations

10 leva

20 leva

(2) For issuance of a passport because of loss or damage, the fees collected are the same as for a new passport.

(3) When extending the validity of an unused passport, an additional fee is paid according to paragraph 1, point 2.

(4) When extending the validity of a passport that has been used, the fee is paid in full, according to paragraph 1, points 1, 2, and 3.

(5) When extending the validity of a passport issued by the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Bulgarian diplomatic or consular representatives collect fees in accordance with this rate.

Article 3 (1) When submitting an application for issuance of a passport to persons who wish to go on excursions through tourist organizations empowered with such activity, the fee collected from one person is as follows:

1. for socialist countries -- 15 leva;
2. for non-socialist countries -- 50 leva.

(2) The amounts collected are deposited in the Bulgarian National Bank -- Republic Budget § 26, without presenting a bank statement for it at the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Article 4 (1) When submitting the documents for issuance of a passport for a business trip abroad, including a multiple visa, regardless of the passport's validity, administrations and organizations pay, for each trip for one person, the following fees:

1. for socialist countries -- 15 leva;
2. for non-socialist countries -- 50 leva.

(2) When persons who are being sent abroad on job assignment and for special training apply for a passport, administrations and organizations pay the following fees:

	<u>For socialist countries</u>	<u>For non-socialist countries</u>
1. for one person for a stay up to one year	15 leva	80 leva
2. for one person for a stay up to five years	50	120 leva
3. for extension of the stay abroad (in hard currency at the bank rate) for each year	15 leva	80 leva

(3) For a passport for a truck driver from the International Automotive Transport Economic Trust, for one person, valid for up to five years and with multiple visa, two forms each are issued and a fee of 250 leva is paid.

(4) For passports of the transportation staff of the Bulgarian State Railways Economic Trust and Automotive Transport Economic Trust, flight attendants of Balkan -- Bulgarian Civil Aviation, and drivers of motor vehicles for the system of the State Committee for Tourism, for one person, valid for up to five years and with multiple visa, the following fee is collected:

1. for socialist countries -- 50 leva;
2. for non-socialist countries -- 250 leva.

(5) The fees mentioned in the above paragraphs are deposited by administrations and organizations at the Bulgarian National Bank -- Republic Budget § 26, and no bank statement is presented at the External Passport service offices of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The exact amount of the passport fee for one person for each trip will be written on the order for the business trip.

(6) When extending the validity of official passports, by private request, fees are collected as if it were a new passport, according to article 2, paragraphs 1 and 2.

(7) When reissuing an official passport according to paragraphs 3 and 4 of article 4, the full fee is collected.

Article 5. The following items are exempt from fees:

1. various forms for seeking a decision;
2. passport forms;
3. official passports, issued in a letter by the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, by order of the State Council or the Council of Ministers, as well as official passports issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for persons defined by the Council of Ministers in accordance with article 5, paragraph 1, letter b of the Law for External Passports (DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 92 for 1969);
4. passports issued to Bulgarian citizens, or their companions, for treatment or medical consultation, when they have a decision from the commission of the Ministry of Public Health for sending Bulgarian citizens abroad for treatment;
5. children up to age sixteen, when they travel with their parents and are listed on one of their parent's passport;
6. passports for young people, sent abroad in work brigades by the Central committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union;
7. students and graduate students sent abroad with the permission of the Ministry of National Education or the Committee for Culture;
8. when diplomatic and consular services extend the validity of passports for specialists and workers sent abroad -- only until they finally come back to the country.

Article 6. When the passport is not used for especially serious reasons, the fee is returned by order of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs upon application of the person.

Grisha Filipov, President of the Council of Ministers

Ivan Shpatov, Chief Secretary of the Council of Ministers

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CSO: 2200143

NEW ELECTORAL LAW DRAFT PUBLISHED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 9 Sep 83 p 5

[Draft of the Law on Electing Deputies to the National Assembly and Council Members]

[Text] To further develop socialist democracy, to broaden the electoral system's democracy, to make the activity of the elective bodies more efficient, and to simplify the preparation, holding and organization of elections and the election procedures, the National Assembly--in accordance with the constitutional principles--hereby regulates the election of deputies to the National Assembly and council members as follows.

Chapter I

Right to Vote and Eligibility for Public Office

Section 1

1. On the basis of a general, equal and direct right to vote, voters elect by ballot the deputies of the National Assembly, and the members of the village, municipal, and Budapest district councils (hereinafter: local councils).
2. The local councils elect by ballot the members of the Budapest Municipal Council and of the megye councils.

Section 2

1. Every adult citizen of the Hungarian People's Republic has the right to vote.
2. In an election, each citizen who has the right to vote has one vote. All votes are equal.
3. The following do not have the right to vote:
  - a. The insane;
  - b. Persons whom the court has banned from participation in public affairs;
  - c. Prisoners serving a sentence, and persons in strict custody.

Section 3

Anyone who has the right to vote is eligible to be elected a deputy of the National Assembly or a council member.

## Chapter II Election

### Section 4

1. Deputies of the National Assembly are elected by election districts and on the national ticket. The rights and obligations of the deputies elected by election districts and of the ones elected on the national ticket are identical.
2. Members of local councils are elected by election districts. In villages that belong to a common village council, the elected council member is also a member of the village administration.

### Section 5

1. Each National Assembly election district elects one deputy to the National Assembly, and every council election district elects one council member.
2. The Presidential Council of the People's Republic (hereinafter: Presidential Council) determines the number of deputies that can be elected on the national ticket.
3. The local councils elect, respectively, a specified number of members of the Budapest Municipal Council and members of the megye councils.

### Section 6

1. The Presidential Council determines the number of National Assembly election districts, their areas, seats and serial numbers.
2. Within the limits specified in this law, the Budapest Municipal Council and the megye councils determine the number of their respective council election districts. The executive committee of the local council determines the areas and serial numbers of the council election districts.

#### Alternative proposal:

Within the limits of the law, each local council will determine the number of council election districts. On the number of election districts depends the number of members a local council has. Hence it is reasonable to let the council itself decide its own size.

An argument against this proposal is that, if adopted, there could be unwarranted differences between local councils in terms of size, and there could also be councils with too many members.

### Section 7

Voters must be registered at the place of their permanent residence. A protest may be filed against omission from, or inclusion in, the register of voters. The protest is decided in the last resort by the court.

### Section 8

1. Nominating meetings of voters exercise the right to nominate candidates for election to the National Assembly and the local councils. Two or more candidates are nominated in each election district.
2. Residents of the election district, and workers of the enterprises, co-operatives, state farms, offices or institutions (hereinafter: workplaces) in the election district may attend the nominating meetings.

Alternative proposal:

It has been proposed to include a provision according to which primarily the residents of the election district may attend the nominating meetings.

Section 9

1. In the election districts, the candidates for election to the National Assembly, respectively to the local council, will be the persons who receive the votes of one-third of the voters present at the nominating meetings.
2. On the national ticket, the National Council of the PPF [Patriotic People's Front] nominates the candidates for election to the National Assembly, on the basis of recommendations submitted by the political, social and corporate organs belonging to the PPF.
3. Up to the day before the election and under equal conditions, the accepted candidates for election to the National Assembly and to the local councils may visit their voters, and the PPF or the political, social and corporate organs belonging to the PPF may organize meetings for them so that they may acquaint the voters with their own activity and outline the objectives they will want to achieve if elected.

Section 10

1. Every voter must vote in person.
2. A vote may be cast for a candidate by leaving his name on the ballot, and a vote may be cast against a candidate by crossing out his name on the ballot.

Section 11

1. A member of the local council or some other voter may be elected a member of the Budapest Municipal Council or of the megye council.
2. When nominating candidates for election, consideration must be given to ensuring that a majority of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council's members are elected from among members of the local councils.

Alternative proposals:

1. According to the law now in effect, an overwhelming majority of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council's members must be elected from among members of the local councils. The present draft modifies this provision so that only a majority of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council's members must be simultaneously local council members.

There is a proposal contending that the proposed modification is not warranted, and thus an overwhelming majority of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council's members would continue to consist of local council members.

2. It has been proposed that a majority of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council's members be elected from among persons residing on the territory of the local councils, regardless of whether they are local council members.

Accordingly, the end of Paragraph 2 would read: ". . . a majority"--or if the proposal under Item 1 is accepted, ". . . an overwhelming majority"--"are elected from among voters residing on the territory of the local councils."

### Chapter III

#### The Deputy of the National Assembly, and the Council Member

##### Section 12

1. The election district's elected deputy of the National Assembly or elected council member is the candidate who received more than half of the valid votes cast, provided more than half of all voters in the district voted.
2. In addition to the election district's elected deputy of the National Assembly or elected council member, the candidate who received at least one-fourth of all the valid votes cast is the alternate deputy or alternate council member.
3. The elected member of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council is the candidate who received more votes than half of the number of local council members electing him.

##### Section 13

Deputies of the National Assembly and council members shall report regularly on their activities to their constituents.

##### Section 14

1. The mandate of the deputy of the National Assembly or council member ceases :
  - a. When the term of the National Assembly or the council expires, or when the National Assembly or the council is dissolved;
  - b. When the deputy or council member is disqualified;
  - c. When the deputy or council member is recalled;
  - d. When the deputy or council member resigns;
  - e. When the deputy or council member loses his right to vote;
  - f. When the deputy or council member dies; and
  - g. When the council ceases due to changes in territorial administrative boundaries.
2. The mandate of the alternate deputy or alternate council member ceases for the reasons listed in Paragraph 1, with the exception of recall.

##### Section 15

1. The voters may recall the deputy of the National Assembly or the council member who is unable to fulfill his mandate or becomes unworthy of it.
2. A proposal for recall may be submitted respectively to the Presidential Council and the local council by at least 10 percent of the voters concerned; furthermore, in the case of a deputy elected in a National Assembly election district, by the National Council of the PPF; and in the case of a member of a local council, by the local committee of the PPF.
3. The voters vote on the recall proposal by ballot, in accordance with the provisions on voting contained in the present law.
4. The National Assembly decides a proposal presented by the National Council of the PPF to recall a deputy of the National Assembly who was elected on the national ticket.

Comment:

From here on the draft contains detailed provisions on election procedures. In the following we present the most important provisions.

Section 21

In Budapest and within the megyes the National Assembly election districts must be formed so as to enable every 30,000 residents to elect a deputy.

Section 22

1. The number of council election districts must be determined, commensurately with the number of permanent residents, so that there will be at least 30 election districts in a city or Budapest district, and at least 11 in a village with its own council. At least three council members per village must be elected to a common village council, and such a council must have at least 11 members.
2. The number of council election districts may not exceed the following maximums:
  - a. In a village with 1000 or fewer residents, 20;
  - b. In a village with 1000 to 5000 residents, 30;
  - c. In a town or village with 5,000 to 10,000 residents, 35;
  - d. In a town or village with 10,000 to 20,000 residents, 45;
  - e. In a village with more than 20,000 residents, 50;
  - f. In a city with 20,000 to 30,000 residents, 60;
  - g. In a city or Budapest district with 30,000 to 50,000 residents, 70;
  - h. In a city or Budapest district with 50,000 to 100,000 residents, 80;
  - i. In a city of Budapest district with 100,000 to 150,000 residents, 90;
  - j. In a city or Budapest district with more than 150,000 residents, 100.
3. In forming the council elections districts in the case of villages with common village councils, it is necessary to take into consideration the combined total number of residents in the villages sharing a common village council.

Section 39

1. The PPF committees--in cooperation with the political, social and corporate organs belonging to the PPF--organize the nominating meetings in a residential area or at a workplace.
2. At the nominating meetings, candidates may be proposed for nomination by the PPF organs, political, social or corporate organs, worker collectives at the workplaces, or by any voter.

Section 40

1. To nominate a candidate for deputy of the National Assembly, two or more nominating meetings must be held per election district.
2. If the proposed person received a vote at the earlier nominating meeting, all the proposals presented there must be resubmitted to a vote also at the subsequent nominating meeting. However, the already held nominating meeting does not have to be reconvened if additional candidates are proposed for nomination at a subsequent nominating meeting.

Section 41

1. To nominate a candidate for the local council, a nominating meeting must be held in each election district.
2. In villages with fewer than 300 residents, the candidates of the election district may be nominated also at a joint nominating meeting.

#### Section 42

1. Nomination is by open vote. The candidates proposed for nomination must be submitted to a vote separately, in the sequence in which the motions were presented.
2. The voter attending a nomination meeting may support the nominations of more than one person.

#### Section 52

1. The voter may vote in the appropriate election precinct, between 06:00 and 18:00 on election day.
2. The election committee may declare the poll closed before 18:00 if all voters in the register of voters have voted.
3. If local conditions so warrant, the local election presidium may order that the polls open at 05:00, and the election committee may order the precinct polls kept open until 19:00.

#### Section 53

1. To ensure the secrecy of voting, at least two booths must be installed at every polling place.
2. At each polling place, two or more ballot boxes must be set up for casting the ballots. The ballot boxes must be locked so that ballots cannot be removed from them without unlocking the boxes, breaking the seal, or breaking open the ballot boxes.
3. The election committee inspects the state of the ballot boxes before the commencement of voting and enters its findings in the election protocol.

#### Section 54

1. The chairman of the election committee is responsible for maintaining order in the polling place and its vicinity on election day.
2. The measures adopted by the chairman of the election committee to maintain order are binding for everyone.
3. No electioneering is permitted at the polling place during voting.
4. No one other than the members of the National Election Presidium, appropriate election presidium and election committee, the workers assigned to these organs, and the representatives of the PPF and news media who have been provided with identification cards, may stay in a polling place longer than is necessary to vote.

#### Section 57

1. A ballot is invalid if it was not the official ballot, or if it is impossible to determine from the ballot who the voter voted for;
2. In the National Assembly and council election districts, a ballot is invalid if the names of more than one candidate have been crossed out on it.
3. The election committee's decision regarding the validity of a ballot is final.

#### Section 72

1. If a National Assembly or council election district becomes vacant, and the district has an alternate deputy or alternate council member, the vacancy is filled by the alternate deputy or alternate council member. In such cases the deputy or council member's mandate must be presented to the alternate.

2. If the election district that becomes vacant does not have an alternate deputy or alternate council member, a new deputy or council member must be elected for the remainder of the National Assembly or council's term (by-election).
3. A by-election must be held also when a new council is formed as a result of territorial administrative changes, and the Presidential Council orders an election in the administrative subdivision.
4. When the Presidential Council dissolves a council, it simultaneously schedules an election to elect a new council.
5. The term of the council elected in a by-election lasts until the next general council elections.

#### Section 82

1. One member for every 10,000 residents should be elected to the Budapest Municipal Council. Between 70 and 120 council members should be elected to the megye councils, depending on the size of the megye's population and the number of local councils.

#### Alternative proposal:

In the interest of a more efficient elective body, it has been proposed to elect 150 members to the Budapest Municipal Council, instead of the 201 at present. For the same reason, a reduction has been proposed also in the number of members elected to the megye councils.

2. Within the limits specified in the present law, the Presidential Council determines the number of members in the Budapest Municipal Council and the megye councils. The local council elects the number of members specified by the Budapest Municipal Council or the megye council. Furthermore, several village councils may jointly elect a megye council member.
3. The members of the Budapest Municipal Council and megye councils must be elected within 30 days from the election of the local councils' members, usually at the constituent sessions of the local councils.

#### Section 91

The present law will become effective the day the date of the 1985 general elections will be announced. The Council of Ministers and the National Election Presidium will see to its implementation.

Enactment of the new electoral law will be an important event in the democratic development of our nation's life and will affect every citizen. Therefore the National Council of the PPF requests that as many citizens as possible participate and express their views in the debates that the PPF committees will organize in the coming weeks. In addition, they should submit their proposals and comments in writing to the local or megye PPF committees, or directly to the National Council of the PPF, and also to the megye or national dailies.  
(HUNGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY)

The Secretariat of the Central Council of Trade Unions welcomes public debate on the published draft of the electoral law and takes also this opportunity to request that trade-union locals encourage as many members as possible to contribute meaningfully to the debate. The locals should send transcripts of the expressed views to the editors of NEPSZAVA.

PRESS COMMENTARIES ON NEW ELECTORAL LAW DRAFT

PPF to Lead National Debate

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 9 Sep 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Social Debate"]

[Text] Once again the Patriotic People's Front is mobilizing, encouraging public debate, a national dialogue. Just as it did last year, also now the PPF --in accordance with the request of the party and government--wants to gather the public's views and comments on the draft of a law that is closely linked to the further democratization of our society, to promoting and making general public life that is free of bureaucracy and alienation.

We often hear: "The constitutional principles and rules of our electoral system have essentially proven suitable and serve our objectives well." If so, then is it justifiable to present another draft of the electoral law? National unity has been strengthened in recent decades, and the country's population has become more mature in its thinking and value judgments. This political maturity has begun to harp on the stereotyped, and a need has arisen to cast aside the impeding and perfunctory solutions, while retaining the sound general principles. There are examples of these efforts in both our economic and social life, in both the base and the superstructure. Progress has made timely also the perfection of our electoral system. The objective is to let the representative bodies become increasingly what their name implies, by bringing the citizen closer to his rights and the exercise of power. Guaranties must be provided in every respect that the citizen will be able to vote for a deputy of the National Assembly and a council member in whom he has the most confidence, and who have the qualifications and political conviction to best represent and protect the public interest.

In the public debate it might be pointed out that the draft of the electoral law has already been discussed by the MSZMP Central Committee, the government, and the National Council of the PPF. Then why is there need for further deliberation? Indeed, the highest forums helped to draft the legislative bill, and they had not neglected to sound out public opinion as well. But this does not make it superfluous for the widest possible circle of citizens to express their views in order to correct, refine or modify the draft of the legislative bill. Alternative proposals have been included for several of the provisions.

The population will express its views on them in the debate, and one or another alternative will be included accordingly in the final draft of the legislative bill.

Another basic objective is to strengthen the PPF's imprint on the elections. To this end the movement--to use a fashionable expression--is being given additional rights. But the method by which this is being done, and adaptation to local conditions are again good topics for debate, and also in this respect it will be worth while to let the citizens rate the proposals and compare conflicting views. The responsible task of choosing candidates, and the requirements that candidates must meet will obviously be discussed in the debate. In retrospect we see that in many places an embarrassment of riches was the problem, because there were so many persons with a broad political outlook, qualified to become deputies and council members, and willing to conscientiously represent the public interest. But there are villages and towns, albeit few, where the distortions in local politics affected public life and the people's mood to such an extent that often agitation is required to persuade people to accept social assignments and public office. The debate that is now starting will be a good opportunity for a frank discussion of also such abuses, to pave the way toward restoring a wholesome atmosphere in public life.

Besides containing statutory regulations governing elections, the legislative bill will affect, directly or indirectly, also the activity of the elective bodies. According to the draft of the legislative bill, for example, the municipal and megye councils are to have fewer members, and this will certainly enhance meaningful work at the council sessions. Or the administrations that will be formed in the villages sharing a common village council will hopefully dispel the residents' feeling of abandonment in these villages, and there will be someone to look after the affairs of the settlements. For this very reason we must regard as natural that here and there also the activity and work style of the elective bodies and apparatuses will come under scrutiny, and the comments and proposals of this nature will have to be utilized in the course of our work in the coming years.

All that we have outlined here indicates that enactment of a new electoral law is an important event in the democratic development of our state life. It will affect every citizen, be he blue-collar worker, cooperative farmer, intellectual, employee or private artisan. A public debate is essentially a political dialogue equal to a referendum.

Therefore the National Council of the PPF requests that as many citizens as possible participate and express their views in the debates that the PPF committees will organize in the coming weeks. The PPF also anticipates that many citizens will submit their proposals and comments in writing to the local or megye PPF committees, or directly to the National Council of the PPF. The editors of MAGYAR NEMZET will also join the debate, by providing a forum for the comments received from citizens and public personalities. (To facilitate such comments, as well as the national debate, on page 3 of this issue we are publishing the main sections of the draft of the legislative bill.) We consider it our duty to provide information also on the outcome of the proposals presented in the national debate, thereby providing feedback as one of the basic requirements of democracy.

## MSZMP Daily's Commentary

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Sep 83 p 5

[Commentary: "What Is in the Draft of the Electoral Law? National Debate Begins Monday."]

[Text] A nationwide debate, sponsored by the Patriotic People's Front, will begin Monday on the draft of a new bill that regulates the election of deputies to the National Assembly and council members. At its latest session, the MSZMP Central Committee proposed to the National Assembly the drafting of this legislation, and at the same time the Central Committee adopted a standpoint on the most important principles of the new legislative bill. The Central Committee established that the constitutional principles of our electoral system essentially proved suitable in practice. "By their activity during the past decades, the elective bodies in which the people are represented have contributed toward building socialism and developing socialist democracy. This has been suitably enhanced also by our electoral system. On the basis of the development that our society has undergone, the time is ripe for perfecting the electoral system while retaining the principles that have proven suitable in practice," the Central Committee established.

The Ministry of Justice has prepared and presented to the National Council of the PPF the draft of a bill that will provide a new statutory framework for our entire electoral system. The PPF has sent copies of this draft bill to every local PPF committee in the country, requesting them at the same time to arrange for holding between 12 and 30 September a nationwide public debate in which every interested citizen would be able to express his opinion of the provisions contained in the proposed legislation.

We wish to contribute to this three-week public debate, organized in the country's several hundred cities and villages, by reporting what this legislative bill contains.

### Few Exclusions

The legislative bill--similarly to its predecessor, the electoral law now in force--employs the principle that our electoral system's political foundation is the construction of socialism, the PPF policy that expresses national unity. The legislative bill wishes to broaden further in this spirit the democratic nature of our electoral system.

Chapter I regulates the right to vote and eligibility for public office. It continues to reflect the constitutional principle that every adult citizen of the Hungarian People's Republic has the right to vote. In comparison with the present electoral law, enacted in 1966 and modified in 1970, the new legislative bill further limits the circle of persons whom the law exceptionally denies the right to vote. The bill starts out from the principle that the only other reason for disqualification, besides insanity, is a court sentence imposing as supplementary punishment a ban on participation in public affairs. Thus in practice very few people will be barred from voting. In this chapter the bill, for various considerations, also offers alternative proposals and expects, among other things, that in the public debate the participants will adopt a standpoint also on the different wordings.

## Election District and National Ticket

Chapter II contains the novel solution that deputies are elected to the National Assembly partially in the customary manner, by election districts, and partially on the national ticket. The number of candidates on the national ticket will be 10 percent of the total number of deputies, and outstanding persons in social and political life and in implementing the policy of alliance will be elected as deputies-at-large. "The rights and obligations of the deputies elected by election districts and of the ones elected on the national ticket are identical," states the draft of the legislative bill. Regarding the election of local council members, the bill provides: "Members of local councils are elected by election districts. In villages that belong to a common village council, the elected council member is also a member of the village administration." Thereby the legislative bill introduces the village administration as a new elective institution in villages with a common village council.

According to the legislative bill, each National Assembly election district elects one deputy to the National Assembly, and every council election district elects one council member. Chapter II of the bill provides that the National Assembly election districts in Budapest and within the megyes must be formed so as to enable every 30,000 residents to elect a deputy. In practice this means that nationally between 350 and 360 deputies will be elected at the election district level, and 35 to 40 deputies more (10 percent of the aforementioned total) will be elected on the national ticket. The bill offers also here an alternative proposal, one that would enable either the Budapest Municipal Council and the megye council, or the local council to determine the number of council election districts. If the local councils are granted this right, unwarranted differences can be expected between local councils in terms of the number of council members.

## Role of Nominating Meetings

This chapter also specifies that the right to nominate candidates for election to the National Assembly and the local councils are exercised by nominating meetings of voters. Two or more candidates are nominated in each election district. Residents of the election district, and workers of the enterprises, cooperatives, state farms, offices or institutions in the election district may attend the nominating meetings. The draft of the bill contains an alternative proposal according to which primarily the residents of the election district may attend the nominating meetings. In each election district the candidates for election to the National Assembly, respectively to the local council, will be the persons who receive the votes of at least one-third of the voters present at the nominating meetings. It is evident from the draft of the legislative bill that at least two nominating meetings must be held in each election district. On the national ticket, the National Council of the PPF nominates the candidates for election to the National Assembly, on the basis of the recommendations submitted by the political, social and corporate organs belonging to the PPF. The candidates, whether for the National Assembly or the local council, may visit their voters up to the day before the election and under equal conditions, and the PPF or the political, social and corporate organs belonging to the PPF may organize meetings for them so that they may acquaint the voters with their own activity and outline the objectives they will want to achieve if elected.

The draft of the bill regulates the manner of voting: a vote may be cast by leaving the name of one candidate on the ballot and crossing out the name of the other candidate. If there are three or more candidates on a ballot, all but one of the names must be crossed out. Every citizen votes for the candidates on the national ticket, and the candidate whose name is not crossed out on the ballot receives a valid vote.

Furthermore, this chapter provides that any citizen, not only a member of the local council, can be elected a member of the Budapest Municipal Council or the megye council. When nominating candidates for election, however, consideration must be given to ensuring that a majority of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council's members are elected from among members of the local councils. There are several alternative proposals in this chapter, and the PPF wants to obtain views in the national debate to help decide which alternative to adopt. The PPF will gather and summarize the views presented in the national debate.

#### Alternate Deputy, Alternate Council Member

Chapter III regulates the conditions for the valid election of National Assembly deputies and council members, their duties, and when their mandates cease. The election district's elected deputy of the National Assembly or elected council member is the candidate who received more than half of the valid votes cast, provided more than half of the voters in the district voted. A basically new provision in this chapter is that, in addition to the election district's elected deputy or elected council member, the candidate who received at least one-fourth of all the valid votes cast is the alternate deputy or alternate council member.

The reasons for which the mandate of the National Assembly's deputy or council member ceases are the same in the draft bill as in the present law. The only change is the provision that the mandate of the alternate deputy or alternate council member will cease for the same reasons. The only exception is recall, which is unwarranted in the case of an alternate deputy or alternate council member. Regarding recall, the draft bill states: "The voters may recall the deputy of the National Assembly or the council member who is unable to fulfill his mandate or becomes unworthy of it." A proposal for recall may be submitted respectively to the Presidential Council and the local council by at least 10 percent of the voters concerned; furthermore, in the case of a deputy elected in a National Assembly district, by the National Council of the PPF; and in the case of a member of the local council, by the local committee of the PPF. The voters of the election district vote on a recall proposal by ballot. The National Assembly decides a proposal presented by the National Council of the PPF to recall a deputy of the National Assembly who was elected on the national ticket.

The draft of the legislative bill regulates also election procedures, but there are no significant changes in comparison with the regulations now in force.

#### Proportionality

In the chapter on election districts and precincts we read that in Budapest and within the megyes the National Assembly election districts must be formed

so as to enable every 30,000 residents to elect a deputy. This provision will guarantee that the number of voters in each election district is proportional.

According to the draft of the legislative bill, the number of council election districts must be determined commensurately with the number of permanent residents, so that there will be at least 30 elected council members in a city or Budapest district, and at least 11 in a village with its own council. At least three council members per village must be elected to a common village council, and such a council must have at least 11 members. This chapter of the bill also specifies how many council election districts, and hence council members, there may be. In comparison with the present law, there will be about one-fourth fewer council election districts, specifically so that the councils as elective bodies may function more meaningfully.

The election precincts must be formed so that there will be between 600 and 1000 voters per precinct.

The provisions governing electoral organs are likewise more simple than previously. Their terms of office coincide respectively with the terms of the National Assembly and of the councils. A new provision is that a common election presidium must be formed in villages with a common village council. For the regional and local tasks in conjunction with the elections, election presidiums will be formed at the megye, municipal, Budapest, Budapest district and village levels, and also an election committee for each precinct. The draft of the bill regulates in detail also the tasks of the electoral organs.

Nomination will be a very important element in the preparations for an election, specifically because the legislative bill makes at least two candidates mandatory, in elections to the National Assembly and to the local councils as well. "The PPF committees organize the nominating meetings in residential areas and at workplaces, in cooperation with the political, social and corporate organs belonging to the PPF," states the draft of the legislative bill. At the nominating meetings, candidates may be proposed for nomination by the PPF organs, political, social and corporate organs, and the worker collectives at the workplaces. To nominate a candidate for deputy of the National Assembly, two or more nominating meetings must be held per election district. "If the proposed person received a vote at the earlier nominating meeting, all the proposals presented there must be resubmitted to a vote also at the subsequent nominating meeting. However, the already held nominating meeting does not have to be reconvened if additional candidates are proposed for nomination at a subsequent nominating meeting."

#### Same Candidate Only in One District

To nominate a candidate for the local council, a nominating meeting must be held in each election district. In other words, the holding of two nominating meetings is not mandatory; one is enough, provided at least two candidates are proposed and nominated. Nomination is by open vote. The candidates proposed for nomination must be submitted to a vote separately, in the sequence in which the motions were presented. An important provision is that a voter attending a nominating meeting may support the nominations of more than one person.

This chapter contains also the formalities that must be observed at nominating meetings. Any voter may file a protest against the manner in which the nominating meeting was held. If the election district does not have two nominated candidates, a new nominating meeting must be held within three days. The protest must be filed within three days from the day the nominating meeting was held, with the local election presidium or, in the case of nominating a candidate for election to the National Assembly, with the local election presidium functioning at the seat of the National Assembly election district. The election presidium considers the protest immediately, and its decision is final. The same person may be nominated as a candidate for election to the National Assembly or the local council only in one National Assembly or council election district. A candidate nominated on the national ticket cannot be nominated in a National Assembly election district. Incidentally, the nominated candidates for election to the National Assembly must declare in writing that they support the program of the PPF and accept the nomination.

The chapter on voting and determining the outcome of the election specifies that a voter may vote only if he is registered in his precinct's register of voters. A ballot is invalid if it is impossible to determine from the ballot who the voter voted for; in the case of election district candidate, for example, if the voter has crossed out the names of more than one candidate. This part of the legislative bill contains detailed provisions on how to count the ballots and certify the results, and on all the tasks necessary to accurately determine the outcome of the election.

The bill proposes to abolish the present ban on the sale of alcoholic beverages, from noon of the day preceding the election to noon of the day after the election. This ban has become obsolete; it stemmed from the electioneering practices in old elections.

In conjunction with by-elections and special elections, the draft of the bill specifies that if a National Assembly or council election district becomes vacant, and the district has an alternate deputy or alternate council member, the vacancy is filled by the alternate deputy or alternate council member. A by-election is held, within 60 days, if there is no alternate deputy or alternate council member.

In conjunction with the election of the members of the Budapest Municipal Council and megye councils, the draft of the legislative bill states: "Between 70 and 120 members must be elected to the Budapest Municipal Council [sic], depending on the size of the population and the number of local councils." Here again there is an alternative proposal, to reduce the number of members elected to the Budapest Municipal Council from the 201 at present to 150, in the interest of obtaining a more efficient elective body. For the same reason, the bill proposes reducing the size of the megye councils as well.

#### Anyone May Participate in the Debate

Anyone may participate in the public debate that the PPF committees are organizing nationwide. There he will be able to acquaint himself with the exact text of the legislative bill, and may state his comments and present proposals.

The PPF committees will pass on every proposal to the National Council of the PPF where, if warranted, the proposals will be taken into consideration in the further debate on the legislative bill.

The editors of NEPSZABADSAG will likewise pass on to the National Council of the PPF any comments that might be sent to this paper.

1014

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## HUNGARY

### EUROPEAN CONFERENCE OF CHURCHES IN MOSCOW

Budapest REFORMATUSOK LAPJA in Hungarian 24 Jul 83 p 3

[Text] "The dynamics of faith are trust, disarmament and peace." On this theme conferred about 70 participants of the consultation which was held by the European Conference of Churches in Moscow in the recent past. The ceremonial opening diving service was led by Alexey, Metropolitan of Tallinn and Estonia, the deputy chairman of the European Conference of Churches. Thereupon the message of Patriarch Pimen, head of the hospital Russian Orthodox Church was read. On behalf of the arranging organization the inaugural presentations of Secretary General Dr G. G. Williams and Secretary of Studies Professor D. Popescu opened the conference. Dr Mikko Juva, the Finnish Archbishop. was elected president of the consultation, Dr Nagy Gyula, evangelical bishop was elected vice-president; Bishop Kovach Atilla, president of the editorial board.

The opening lectures were held by Inga Thorsson, under-secretary of state (Sweden); Professor Anatoliy A. Kutsenkov, research worker of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union; Vladimir, archbishop of Krasnoar and Kiban (Soviet Union) and Professor Wolfgang Huber (Federal Republic of Germany), as well as Jan Martenson, the deputy secretary general of the Disarmament Division of the UN. Dr Ed Noort, professor (Holland) led the daily bible studies. In the statement summing up the results of the conference, the participants pointed out that God presented the world with hope in Jesus Christ. Belief, love and hope incite Christians to make every effort, praying, testifying and acting--in an ecumenical community and joining hands with every well-meaning person--to avoid nuclear disaster, stop the arms race and to win trust among peoples.

The participants urged that politicians work out such security conceptions which take into consideration the just security interest of the contending parties and that they keep general security in view. The declaration calls upon the governments to issue new disarmament measures.

The visit made to the monastery and theological academy of Zagorsk signified a great experience for each participant, as well as those services in which they took part in an orthodox church and in the Baptist congregation in Moscow. The entire meeting confirmed the hope that--as the declaration expresses--"God wants to renew and use our churches as a means of peace."

12401

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HUNGARY

MAUROY VISITS LEKAI

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 24 Jul 83 p 1

[Text] Pierre Mauroy, the French Prime Minister, was in our country on an official visit and in the afternoon on 10 July visited Lekai Laszlo, the primate of Hungary, who informed the French Prime Minister about the life of our local church.

After the visit, Prime Minister Mauroy, with his attendance, viewed the Christian Museum, the Basilica and the treasury of the primateship.

In the evening of the same day, the reporters in the escort of the French Prime Minister met at dinner with the representatives of the Hungarian press, present among whom was Magyar Ferenc, the managing editor and publisher of UJ EMBER.

On Monday in the early morning hours, Francois Bazun, a correspondent of the CROIX, the French Catholic daily, made a visit to the editorial office of UJ EMBER.

12401

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## HUNGARY

### BRIEFS

DELEGATION TO VANCOUVER--The delegation representing Hungarian churches, which will take part in the Congress of the World Council of Churches in Vancouver, Canada, has departed Budapest. Dr Kaldy Zoltan, bishop-president; Dr Nagy Gyula, bishop; and Fabiny Tamas, curate represent our evangelical church; Dr Toth Karoly, bishop and president of the Christian Peace Conference; Kovach Attila, bishop; Kurti Laszlo, bishop; Dr Kocsis Elemer, teacher of divinity; Dr Huszti Kalman, teacher of theology represent the Presbyterian Church. Besides the delegates, Pall Laszlo, Presbyterian minister will take part in the Congress as Secretary General of the European Ecumenical Youth Council, as well as Presbyterian Minister Karsay Eszter as steward. We ask God's blessing for their trip and work, as well as for the whole Congress. [Text] [Budapest EVANGELIKUS ELET in Hungarian 24 Jul 83 p 1] 12401

PROTESTANT SEMINARY IN CHINA --The Chinese Protestant Church wishes to build up a newer third theological seminary in Beijing. The theological educational institute about to be formed currently has seven students and its principals have aimed at securing the replacement of the ministers of the country's northern territories in the future. At the first theological seminary, opened in 1981, currently 72 students are studying. [Text] [Budapest EVANGELICAL ELET in Hungarian 24 Jul 83 p 1] 12401

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WEEKLY ASSAILS SOLIDARITY ADVISER GEREMEK

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish No 24, 17 Jun 83 pp 6, 11

[Article by Ryszard Weldziski: "We Would Only Change the Words"]

[Text] I do not know if Bronislaw Geremek has the title of professor or merely docent. My doubt is based on the fact that over 2 years ago he was usually titled professor in Solidarity's press and materials, but he was most certainly a docent as ascertained from the 8 August 1981 interview published by POLITYKA under the stormy title "In Reality, Why Wait?" in which he announced, among other things, such a flighty idea as "Wisdom in the presence of strength is very rare," and at the same time he demonstrated how he serves a great force as an expert. In the final analysis, his scholarly status is not so important. But not wanting to be at odds with accuracy, I will simply use the more favorable title of professor, as was done by the Italian journalist Franco Venturini who interviewed the professor for IL TEMPO.

Who is Bronislaw Geremek?

In Solidarity's publication WHO'S WHO, I read that he received his doctorate in 1960, but he did not receive his assistant professorship until 1972 "because of political repression." During these years or "repression" (during the first half of the 1960s), he first spent 3 years in Paris on a scholarship, then beginning in 1977 he had consecutive 2-year scholarships in the United States. He was a PZPR member and activist from 1950 to 1968. WHO'S WHO also states that "he is the author of many scholarly works. The best known are the study on wage-earners in Paris industry from the 13th to 15th centuries and the study of the social fringes of Paris during the Middle Ages." Thus, it can be seen that they are works that are of fundamental significance for Polish science; for the second study he even obtained a doctorate. In the 1970s he collaborated closely with Kuron and Modzelewski. In August 1980, in accordance with a prepared scenario, he appeared among the group of advisers making up Solidarity's leadership, becoming before long the chief of this group as well as the chairman of the program commission.

## "New" Program

The title of the Italian interview is long and fulfills the role of an introduction form which the Italian reader learns that Professor Geremek not only is a scholar but also a pious man who also loves the truth ("In Poland, the truth lives on in the churches and homes with turned-off TV sets"), that he currently is the strategist and real brains of Solidarity, that he is "Lech Walesa's most influential adviser, and finally that he is a visionary." The Italian journalist assures his readers in the introduction that this visionary "does not seem to be resigned to his fate," that "his unhesitating opinions and keen vision have not changed."

As we will see, keen vision does not guarantee keenness of ideas. But concerning the "unhesitating opinions," indeed they probably did not change, although one can doubt if that is a reason to brag since so much has changed all around. This is what Geremek has to say about the latest issue of the opposition's program: "Illegal activities guarantee circulation of information and newspapers; it propagates them. Concerning Walesa, it can be said that he is operating in accordance with the four-point program...", which simply means a return to the situation prior to 13 December 1981. For the authors of that program, time has stood still to such an extent that they have not observed that in mid-1983 we have a different situation, a different country. If one does not see this, then his vision is very short. The jaunty reference to "illegal activities" misleads no one: it is no longer a struggle against martial law, the "circulation of information" now strikes above all at national agreement, at its realization in the form of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth]. And when it also is said that "the 1980 agreements are obligatory" then their memory is also faulty. Was it not Walesa and his collaborators who said blusteringly that there would be no agreement because there is no one to agree with?

They have forgotten that nothing now exists for them except their own imaginary grandeur proclaiming that the PZPR disintegrated and that the state does not exist. Why this hurry concerning "trade union pluralism?" Barely 18 months have passed since Walesa opined (on 3 December 1981 in Radom) that "no ZSLs [United Peasant Party] or PAX or craft trade unionists interest me." Those people who obstinately fought against and reviled the craft trade union movement, who swore that they would never sit down at the same table with craft trade unionists, who protested against the government talking to the craft trade unions because talks should be held with Solidarity, who attempted to force strikes and who tolerated excesses as well as physical and psychic terror against workers belonging to other unions are now talking about trade union pluralism. Now an attempt to adapt is going on, but before changing into the suit of an advocate of "trade union pluralism" something should be said about how this pluralism appeared in the issue intoxicated with the excesses of the extremist monopolist from the trade union.

Bronislaw Geremek also added his bit to this intoxication. It is good that now he at least displays some realism. Questioned whether he believes in the mentioned program, he said: "No, I do not believe that affairs could

be conducted in this way." And rightly so. Then he adds: "It depends whether or not the workers believe in it." Here is typical intellectual prancing: I am reasonable, a realist, which is something that cannot be said of others. In the mentioned POLITYKA interview, Docent Doctor Geremek confided: "I would like to say that I understood how intelligent the working class is, but this would sound terrible." At the same time he does not sound too good; in his "realism" there is a lack of logic and sincerity. After all, how is it that Lech Walesa's most "influential adviser" does not believe in the program Walesa is promoting?

#### Only Verbal Excesses

We probably will not uncover the truth in this matter in the words formulated. However, it could be that in fact the professor has lost faith in the future. But let us examine his analysis of the current reality as well as of past reality. Here are some lessons that the historian draws from the recent past: "If we really wanted to accomplish self-criticism, we would have changed these or those words... it was difficult to control the words, but it amounted only to verbal excesses, and it was these excesses that were used against us by our enemies. During the 15-month period our actions were never extreme, and we never threatened the political balance in Poland. Problems arose because of party weaknesses; we did not interfere in the party's internal affairs; it was the Communist party that was disintegrating." The hypocrisy of these words are staggering. "It amounted only to verbal excesses?" But let us remember that just between 5 and 25 November 1981 105 strikes of unlimited duration were proclaimed, announcements of readiness to strike were made 196 times and 115 strikes were announced. In addition there were various types of disturbances. In that month more than 20 different actions occurred daily throughout the entire country. Behind each action stood a smaller or greater group of organizers. Could it be that the "verbal excesses" proliferated into organizing plebiscites concerning eliminating the right to exist of plant party committees, and into occupying state buildings?

And if the scene could be repeated Geremek "would change these or those words." This brings to mind Bertold Brecht's poem: ["and wyksztusili] that they too are making some mistakes, and when asked what these mistakes are they could not in any way remember any of them." Thank you for the sincerity. However, we believe that the statement that they do not commit any mistakes disqualifies the policy, especially the policy of a scholar. The idea of absolute rationality is always evidence of ignorance, regardless who proclaims it. If a given theory is defended wisely (which is even more difficult in practice) one can finally determine that it is true--this is impossible--but, that in fact it contains an element of truth. From the ethical viewpoint, of primary concern is the consciousness that efforts must be made to avoid errors, but they should not be avoided at any cost. Such self-knowledge leads to positions enabling others to criticize our views and actions. In other words, collaborating with others on an equal basis is the true basis for democracy. Like moderation and skepticism, the concept of tolerance results from an awareness of limited knowledge and the inevitability of error as derived from Voltaire or even from Socrates.

Seeing an error is not at all proof of great wisdom, just as acknowledging a mistake does not have to take some kind of special courage, neglecting exceptional situations. A little bit of reason and at times integrity are all that is needed. Let us try to help out the scholar Geremek and justify in part at least those unavoidable errors of Solidarity. If he believes that in the encounters and conflicts in which hundreds of thousands of people participate who are overcome with emotions and a highly-differentiated range of expectations, and in which political programs and hasty actions are generated forthwith, that it is possible to avoid errors (except verbal ones) then obviously he believes that he has found the philosophers' stone, which has not of yet been discovered by humanity. If so, and all that is needed is to change words, then why is it that Solidarity's program, coauthored by Geremek, turned out the way it did? Since Professor Geremek has been playing with politics for a couple of years now (starting with KOR's [Social Self-Defense Committee] Kuronists), he should be made aware that as much as the "errors" of the unrestrained mass movement are explained on their own, they themselves are responsible for the errors of the politicians. As stated by Max Weber in his famous 1919 essay "Politics as a Profession," a politician is accountable for the results of his activities. Others add that he must even be accountable for unforeseeable results.

#### Paper Is Blushing

In one part of the interview Geremek says: "It is interesting that at times I have the feeling that the government does not understand that it has no competitors, and that in a political sense a force never existed that was capable of overthrowing it." The journalist then replied: "But the authorities complain constantly that Solidarity wanted to overthrow the government, is that so?" Geremek quite unexpectedly shifts to Russel's Tribunal, after which he says: "... Solidarity not only was not prepared for a violent encounter but it also never anticipated it."

Obviously this is a lie that I will not substantiate here because it would require rewriting whole volumes of declarations, pronouncements and replies to the statement that "this will be their last battle." Let us dwell only on the lack of elementary logic: If it is true that a violent encounter was not anticipated, then was not an error committed?

Geremek discloses to his interviewer the following revelation: "The economic crisis began much sooner than the rise of Solidarity, even though government propaganda is attempting to put the entire blame on the trade union." Mr Professor, you are lying so much that the paper is blushing, as Sienkiewicz said. Many ballpoint pens have been used up in Poland in writing about the reasons for the economic crisis. I will limit myself to that which millions of people heard on TV and read in the press: the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, in the very first sentence of the first section entitled "The Causes and Character of the Crisis," states: "The effects of faulty mechanisms in the party government and society as well as the faults and errors of individual people in the

administration contributed to the crisis... The groundwork for the crisis which appeared in 1980 and encompassed all areas of our public life was initiated by the deviations from the principles of socialism in political practice." Further on it states: "In this situation the protests of the working class against the degeneration of the system and against the departures from the universal principles of socialism were fully justified." Thus one can cite sentence after sentence of this section, all of which truly unmask Geremek's manipulative endeavours. Let us add here that the Congress--as is known--also created a group directed by Hieronim Kubiak which is conducting an extensive investigation of the reasons for the conflicts in People's Poland. Of course the truth is that the wave of strikes and attacks on the state deepened the crisis situation in which we found ourselves in mid-1980. This was the diagnosis from the start and is not an invention of "state propaganda."

#### Everything Separately

The IL TEMPO interview teems with untruths, half-truths and illogical and contradictory statements. It is full of political infantilism, such as in this discovery: "The government knowingly is carrying out a policy of stagnation; it wants to create a public mood of weariness and apathy." This is in the middle of a paragraph which states at its end: "However, apathy is being combated in the factories." Social reality for Geremek is a picture seen through Tuwimowski's gruesome middle-class people: everything is separate--here we have the promulgation of apathy, and there it is being combatted. For this theoretician, PRON also is a promulgation of apathy. Such is the eclectic collection of would-be theories, which at times were simply utopian and for the most part were simply risky, that Geremek had constructed indefatigably and which he now ineffectively renovates in the program to combat the socialist system.

The Italian journalist writes that he met with Geremek in a coffeehouse. But not even such surroundings completely justify such garlanded questions and answers as: "Mr Geremek, what do you think of Jaruzelski? Is he more of a Pole than he is a general?"

"I do not know," replies Geremek. "We ask ourselves the same question."

What can one say about a man who considers himself to be an intellectual who replies with complete seriousness to such a preposterous question, and indeed one which he himself poses?

11899

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IMPLEMENTATION OF NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING REPORTED

Good Work - Platform of Understanding

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 29-30 Jul 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Kenryk Nowaczyk]

[Text] The speech of General Jaruzelski delivered during the session of the Sejm of PRL held one day before martial law was lifted has brought a broad response in Polish society. More and more people realize the responsibility for the fate of the motherland that is incumbent on each of us. This responsibility is expressed in both everyday work, and in removing obstacles lying in the path of socialist renewal.

We are discussing these subjects today with longtime employees of the Wisla Shipyard: carpenter from the Wood Conservation Plant Jerzy Komorowski, fitter of pipelines employes in the BOG Outfitting Plant Dan Janicki and locksmith from the Locksmith-Mechanical Plant Eugeniusz Jakomulski. All three of them have been connected with the shipyard industry for almost 30 years.

Dzennik Baltecki: No one, I believe, has any doubts that our future depends on ourselves. The words: national understanding, accord, renewal and rebirth have never aroused such hopes as today."

Jerzy Komorowski: I think that we are going along a good and proper road. Now we have to pull ourselves together, begin to work. The amnesty, which was announced, means also a return home and to their factories of people who got such an opportunity.

D.B.: General Jaruzelski spoke of the "intricacy" of our Polish roads. About opportunities created for those who had been wrong, and even those who had attempted violence against the people's authorities.

Bogdan Janicki: We understand the ideas that can be found in General Jaruzelski's speeches. We know that the road he speaks about is the only proper one. It is only natural, however, that there are still distrustful people. We heard so many appeals in the past. When Gomulka came we gave everything wholeheartedly: our savings and 'our own souls.' Also everyday reality is difficult. I have been working in this shipyard for 29 years and I have been working well. My superiors can confirm this. But I can barely feed my family for this hard work today. These prices are destructive. A lot of us believe that no one is monitoring them.

D.B.: Statistical data suggest that enterprises achieve higher profits mainly by increasing the prices of their products. Also the wages are three times ahead of labor efficiency. Who should be blamed for the high prices in the market, in which price manipulations of enterprises are accumulated, then? The majority of our enterprises have self-governments already. Why, then, do self-governments of employees allow this kind of activity?

B.J.: Indeed, how long can we continue in this blind alley? No one is going to take the responsibility for this from the employees. After all we ourselves wanted independence and self-government in our enterprises. I must say, however, that our shipyard is one of those factories which work rhythmically and where such problems do not exist.

J.K.: There has not been a single year in which we have not accomplished the plan - at least I do not remember it.

D.B.: Mr Janicki mentioned 1956. This was also the year of my youth and, I must admit, youthful enthusiasm, euphoria. Let us ask ourselves: How much rationalism was there in it, and how much short-lived enthusiasm? Having learned from past experience we think deeply now before we undertake action. Is it not better, then, that instead of working in an atmosphere of aristocratic Diets we are told the truth by the Sejm tribune and simultaneously deep structural changes are being consistently made in the country?

Eugeniusz Jakomulski: There's nothing to add or take away from this. Let us finally feel as real managers of our country. Our generation, that lived through so many crises, should be able to draw the right conclusions from them. Also accord between us and peace in the country are important. A lot depends on young people. On their solid work and refraining from making trouble.

D.B.: But youth has its rights too, does it not? After all we do not want them to agree to everything. "Clapping hands" has already cost us a lot. But you are absolutely right, we want young people to bring constructive ideas and not frustration and street acuffles.

J.K.: A lot depends on the government too, whether it will gain the confidence of youngsters. This is when we will be able to expect a success. I would like to emphasize that confidence can only be gained by youth.

D.B.: But this truth has been coming from the top all the time, even when it is bitter.

J.K.: We are still afraid that the authorities are not informed about everything that is currently happening. Maybe these anxieties are unjustified, but they are the result of our common experience.

D.B.: Do you not think that indifference, which is shared by a considerable part of the society fosters the development of such situations?

B.J.: Besides, what do we want from the "top" when - in case we see an idler, loafer, and go with it to the management - instead of disciplinary decisions, we hear: "We cannot punish, because there are not enough laborers," etc. The effect is such that even a good worker gets depraved in the company of a loafer.

D.B.: I believe that not only instruments encouraging better work should be used in enterprises, but also so called negative motivation should be used, which would consist in lowering wages and professional position when the quality or speed of work worsens.

B.J.: Pay should always be given for specific work and not for idling in front of a beer kiosk. The wage should not have a permanent character, it should not be determined once and for all, but it should be mobile in both directions.

D.B.: But there is also fate: disease, family problems, and even malaise.

E.J.: This is what the trade unions are for - to defend the employee in case of need. But considering the restrictions introduced by the resolution on special regulation in the period of fighting the crisis I have doubts whether an employee who is devoid of maneuvering ability and kept in the same factory against his own will, will work well.

D.B.: But we are in a special, crisis situation. Do you not think that the principles restricting the possibilities of changing the place of work like gloves will stop the fluctuation of the labor force, which is really harmful?

E.J.: Until recently it paid to constantly change one's place of work. Sometimes this was the only chance for promotion. The fact that someone was an old, well-rooted employee simply did not matter.

J.K.: I think that the difficulties with changing one's place of work are a positive thing. After all it is those who have worked for a short period of time that leave most frequently. When this "critical period" is over, one simply gets used to it and finds out that it is in this particular factory and not in any other that he has found his place.

D.B.: Are not the managements and employees also to blame? How often does a young man "loaf" around the factory without any supervision? The problem of adaptation of a new employee is often an empty phase....

E.J.: This is true, but our brigade works by the job and we have no time for good manners. When a young person comes and we see that he is willing to work we try to help him.

D.B.: This does not change the fact that most frequently a successful first day on the job decides whether the young person will stay or leave after several weeks.

J.K.: I believe that mainly the labor services, management of the enterprise and workers' self-government should think about it.

D.B.: The lines of division in our country are diversified, but the most dangerous one is the one General Jaruzelski mentioned in his speech, when he spoke of honest, industrious people and about the backward tendency which drags behind us like an ominous shade.

E.J.: So much of it has grown that it will be difficult to uproot. But we all realize the danger that we face from this tendency.

J.K.: Among others, the self-government in factories is our weapon. This is also the working class weapon against different kinds of obscurantism.

B.J.: We must be brave and uncompromising towards evil. Although one who does not hesitate to speak the truth does not have an easy life. But we must all act consistently. This concerns both, ourselves and the authorities.

E.J.: I would also like my hard work to bring the expected results both, today and in the future. And it is not always like that. For instance, I have been saving for years for an apartment for my children, so that they could have a better start in life. And what happened? There is enough money just for...the corridor.

D.B.: Do you not think that a considerable part of the present price of apartments is the charge for shoddy merchandise, feigned work and huge administration? After all, the reform was introduced to finally make the prices real. Thus changing this state of affairs depends on all of us.

B.J.: The work "understanding" has been used here several times. I believe that this word means mainly good work of everyone of us and feeling the citizens' obligations. The consequence of this meaning of the word should be full shelves in the stores and acceptable prices; satisfaction with one's work and, most of all, lack of feigned activity for cheers and cheap applause.

D.B.: Thank you for this conversation.

#### Implementation of Agreements by Workers

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 16 Aug 83 pp 3, 5

[Article by Andrzej Bujnicki]

[Text] The third anniversary of signing the social agreements in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie is approaching. Thus we can look back and analyze past events calmly now - in the conditions of normal, though crisis-style existence.

Such balance is necessary, for we should find out for sure if we are going in the right direction; if an honest dialogue is being carried out between the citizens and the state; if this dialogue brings specific results. Finally, it is necessary so that we can believe that the only historical opportunity for Poles and Poland is understanding. Whatever the different attitudes dividing us must understand that the Polish state needs: peace, respect for law and honest work. This is a superior reason to which our own interests, ambitions and aspirations should be subordinated.

I have already evaluated the events of July and August 1980 several times here, e.g., in the cycle "The Underground State." Just in case, to avoid misunderstanding, I will quote the old texts. In an article entitled "The Second Current" I wrote: "We must praise the working class now for its political maturity, for its courage and determination in fighting the faults of socialism--the final judgment will be given by history--and for the protest against the betrayal of socialism. It was only the working class that could have removed the corrupted team of Gierek, and it did."

The workers' protest was finished by signing the agreements--a list of workers' demands which the authorities pledged to implement. It was assumed that words are passing and what is written and signed--permanent and easy to check. After a year the 9th Extraordinary Congress of PZPR fully confirmed the validity of the workers' demands and included them in the list of party tasks. The party went through a deep shock but, what is most important, it drew conclusions. It cleaned its ranks and is returning to the marxist-leninist ideological foundations; it became the guardian of the implementation of the workers' demands.

Thanks to the workers' protest the party regained its constitutional leading role in the country. Its basic task is implementing the provisions of the resolution of the 9th Extraordinary Congress, whose most essential part are the August agreements. The party has returned on the path set by the workers' will.

Historians of the recent Polish events will have a lot of work with the recapitulation of signed agreements, since there were many of them and, additionally, they were very diversified. Characterizing the agreements we may classify them in the following way:

- social agreements concluded in Szczecin, Gdansk and Jastrzebie;
- agreements concerning agriculture and food industry, concluded in Rzeszow and Ustrzyki Dolne;
- agreements concerning the academic community, concluded in Lodz;
- branch and departmental agreements;
- regional agreements concerning local matters.

MKSs [Inter-factory Strike Committees] were the signatories of agreements on the workers' side as well as founding committees of trade unions, employee groups and representatives of professional groups. The agreements were also signed by governmental and departmental commissions and by local authorities.

In general the atmosphere in which the agreements were signed was not favorable. The discussion table divided the people into two sides: us versus them. Politics trying to grind their own axes using the workers' anger introduced discord in the discussion. And some of the people sitting on the other side of the table did not understand the essence of the transformations taking place. So the talks were difficult, full of nervous tensions and emotion.

Frequently it was not understood that the agreements will be signed jointly and that they will have to be implemented jointly too. It is our national tragedy that the line of division present during the difficult talks deepened everyday instead of disappearing, until it reached the proportions of a full disruption: we were on the brink of a civil war.

Let us return to the main subject- the agreements. They can also be classified in a different way: they can be divided into agreements of sociopolitical and economic character. I will use this classification in presenting the state of implementation of the concluded agreements. It is simply more handy for journalistic description of the subject.

The set of sociopolitical provisions that had been agreed upon was numerous. Some of them could be implemented quickly, others required long-lasting legislative work. The demand to publish the texts of agreements was implemented first and quickly. The content of the agreements was announced in the press, radio and TV. The protocols of agreements were also published in a KAW [Home Publishing Agency] brochure of which 150,000 copies were issued. Also the postulate to commemorate the victims of December 1970 was implemented. A proper plaque was mounted in the Warski Shipyard in Szczecin and a monument was erected in Gdansk. In Poznan a monument commemorating the victims of 1956 was erected.

In the protocol signed in the Gdansk Shipyard the government pledged to come out with a legislative initiative--to prepare a draft for a bill on trade unions that would guarantee independence and self-government to the union movement and the right to strike. The bill on trade unions was adopted by the Sejm of PRL on 8 October 1982. The workers' postulates are fulfilled in: articles 1 and 2 - self-government and independence, article 35 - right to strike. The agreements also had a clause on the right to create new - independent and self-governing trade unions outside the CRZZ [Central Council for Trade Unions] system. Since the legislative process by nature requires a lot of work, the Council of State adopted an appropriate resolution on 13 September 1980 to fulfill the workers' demands quickly. On the basis of this resolution courts registered the total of 82 new trade unions in the years 1980-1981. The resolution of the Council of State lost its legal force when the new bill on trade unions became law.

The trade unions created pursuant to the resolution of the Council of State of 13 September 1980 functioned until 13 December 1981. After martial law was introduced their activity was suspended and then they were dissolved. The reasons for this step are universally known.

The rebirth of the union movement is occurring already according to the new principles defined in the bill. So far 16,000 trade unions were created including 3.1 million members. Also some federations of unions are being created. Neither the state, nor the economic administration interfere with the creation and activity of trade union organizations. Their activity is determined exclusively by their members and the extent and forms of it is defined by law--the bill on trade unions.

In the agreement that was concluded in Szczecin it was decided that action should be undertaken to explain the causes of the development of the economic crisis and social tensions. The initial evaluation of the causes of the socio-political crisis was made at the 6th Plenum of CC PZPR, and a deeper evaluation and analysis - during the 9th Extraordinary Congress of PZPR. The results of these findings were announced to the public. The work of a committee appointed by the resolution of the 9th Congress to investigate the sources of social crises is at an advanced stage. The state and constitutional tribunals are functioning.

In the field of legislative obligations the concluded agreements provided for the creation of a bill on the control of press, publications and performances. This bill was adopted by the Sejm of PRL on 31 July 1981. The bill entitled "Press Law" is in the final stages of legislative work. "Press Law" and the bill on the control of publications and performances will constitute a cohesive legal system, safeguarding the freedom of speech, print and publications within the framework of constitutional law.

The Gdansk agreement required an investigation into the justification for firing people from work after the 1970 and 1976 strikes. The Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Matters immediately issued adequate dispositions to employers. All claims were regulated already in 1980.

A set of postulates concerned using the mass media by denominational groups, transmitting the Sunday mass on the radio, expressing different ideas, views and judgments in the mass media and making extensive participation in the public discussion of the economic reform possible. According to the agreement concluded on 20 September 1980 between the Committee for Radio and TV and the Secretary of the Roman Catholic Episcopate - the mass is transmitted every Sunday between 9 and 10 in the morning as well as on New Year's Day, Easter Monday, Corpus Christi, All Saints Day and on the first and second day of Christmas. Also the Christmas midnight mass is transmitted. Totally, there were 49 transmissions in 1982. Moreover, each Saturday between 11 and 12 pm and each Sunday between 2 and 3 pm two catholic masses are transmitted from St Elisabeth's Church in Gdansk for sailors and fishermen. On 14 December

1981 an agreement was signed between PRE [Polish Ecumenical Council] and the Committee for Radio and TV concerning transmissions of masses from churches belonging to PRE or cooperating with it. These programs are broadcast every first and third Sunday of each month and additionally on 9 holidays between 6 and 6:30 pm on program II on medium waves and on VHF.

Polish radio and TV consistently provide a forum for the exchange of views between a widely understood authority and the society. Radio and TV programs not only comment, explain and interpret the policies of the party and government, but they also present the views and feelings of the working people. Similar principles of expressing views are observed in the whole of Polish press. The restrictions in this field result only from the Constitution of PRL and legislation.

The problems of the economic reform are presented very extensively in the press as well as in radio and TV programs. Some principles of the reform are explained, actions undertaken by workers, workers' self-governments, trade unions and economic administration are popularized. Scientists, practitioners, political and social activists and laborers express their views about the reform.

In Jastrzebie the postulate to give the trade unions the right to put forth motions about changes in various positions was agreed upon. This postulate was implemented in the bills regulating the functions of workers' self-governments. Workers' self-governments have now the right to appoint and recall managers of plants. In the few cases in which the founding organs have kept the right of appointment to these positions the workers' self-governments express their opinions about the candidates. The practice of finding candidates for the positions of directors by means of open competition is spreading.

Also decreasing the number of employees in the organs of state administration was agreed in Jastrzebie. The number of employees in state administration in 1982 was smaller by 37,000 people as compared to 1980. The process of further "thinning" of the administration is continuing.

Definitely the provision agreed upon in Gdansk on the creation of permanent foundations for the development of individual farms, so called family farms, so called family farms, was of considerable sociopolitical importance. Similarly important was the provision concerning the equality of the sectors of agriculture in access to all the means of production. The provision on the permanent character of a family farm was confirmed in the amendment to the Constitution adopted on 21 July of this year and earlier, in the change of the bill on the Code of Civil Law and lifting the bill on regulating the ownership of farms adopted on 26 March 1982. Equal crediting opportunities were created for the development of all the sectors of agriculture by the resolution of the council of Ministers of 10 August on the principles of providing bank credits for the development of agricultural production.

The Gdansk agreements provide for the possibility of trade unions expressing publicly their opinions on basic government decisions which influence the working people's conditions of life, on the principles of dividing the national income and the consumption fund. The right of the trade unions to be consulted in these matters was guaranteed in the bill on trade unions - article 21.

The Council of Ministers defined the extent and course of these consultations in its resolution of 4 March of this year. Last year, for instance, before appropriate regulations became obligatory the government consulted the draft of the National Socioeconomic Plan. Three versions of the plan were presented--during the consultation the society chose one--which was finally accepted by the Sejm. We are implementing this version now.

Political opponents maintain that the social agreements were crushed because NSZZ [Independent Self-governing Trade Union] Solidarity was dissolved. One must remind them that the essence of any agreement consists in the fact that it is obligatory for both sides. By signing a document the partners not only gain rights, but they also assume obligations. The list of obligations of the people's government was long, as could be seen from this part of the provisions of the agreements. When they signed the Gdansk agreement the representatives, of MKS pledged that: "In creating the new, independent, self-governing trade unions they will observe the principles defined in the Constitution of PRL. The new trade unions will defend the social and material interests of employees and do not intend to play the role of a political party."

In a further part of the protocol the socialist principles of the system and the leading role of the party in the state were confirmed and an obligation was assumed not to question the system of international alliances. However, the workers quickly lost control of their own trade union. The workers' trade union was transformed into a center of political opposition. The former NSZZ Solidarity began to break the Constitution of PRL, question the principles of the system of international alliances. The economy was being wrecked. Voices of common sense did not reach the enraged "leaders" and "bosses." The threat of a civil war was hanging over Poland. The only salvation was the introduction of martial law.

The cold bath did not cool down hot heads--the hand extended for national accord was rejected. And this is how the dissolution of all the trade unions came about. But the break in the activities of trade unions lasted for a short time--now they are being reborn as a genuine representation of the working class.

It seems that the answer to the question: who broke the social agreements is univocal. Political adventurers have forgotten, however, that they did not sign the agreements, but the working class. This is why the agreements are still valid and this is why they are being implemented so scrupulously.

I will present the state of implementation of the economic agreements in the next article.

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TRADE UNION FEDERATION DEVELOPMENTS REVIEWED

B. Funka Interview

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 3 Aug 83 p 4

[Interview with Boleslaw Funka, member of the presidium of the founding committee of the federation of mining trade unions, and with Aleksander Gierula, also a member of the founding committee presidium, by Wojciech Jaros]

[Text] Recently, we wrote about the federation of trade unions acting in hard coal mines as well as in enterprises of mining and mining shaft construction. This is not the only trade union federation formed within the ministry of mining. Today, we are talking with two members of the founding committee presidium of the second federation of mining trade unions, often called the federation of mining facility unions, about its problems. Our first interviewee is Boleslaw Funka from the Filling Materials Enterprise; the second is Aleksander Gierula from the Mining Equipment Assembly Enterprise [PMUG] in Katowice.

[Question] At what stage of organization is your federation?

[B. Funka] On Friday, 8 July we approached the People's State Council with a request for permission to begin our activity before 31 December of this year. On this same day, we filed an application in the Voivodship Court for the capital city of Warsaw for registration and the accompanying required documents, i.e., the draft of the law and union memberships, which wish to unite in this nonplant structure.

[Question] How many of them are there?

[B. Funka] On 8 July, we had 128 confirmed accessions while more continue to flow in. For example, in mid-July representatives of the workers trade union from the Converter Factory in Mikolow came to us to find out what their union must do to join us.

[A. Gierula] All trade unions formed in mining enterprises and plants are welcome to join us. We are of the opinion that one strong trade union federation should exist within the mining industry.

[Question] Which does not alter the fact that in addition to yours, there exist two more groups which form the federation. Therefore, how many unions do you wish or for that matter, can you encompass without counting those just mentioned!

[A. Gierula] Depending on the method of counting--156 or approximately 180. In any case, having 128 registered and confirmed membership applications on hand, we have attained over 50 percent of the amount necessary for registration.

[Question] These also include unions which are active outside of the Katowice Voivodship area.

[B. Funka] Of course. We have membership applications from trade unions from Poznan, Walbrzych, Krakow and Zaglebie Miedziowe. Plants belonging to the mining ministry are spread throughout Poland.

[Question] Geological enterprises, design and planning agencies, of the mining industry, motor transport and fans--all of these do without hard coal mines of the Mining Operations Enterprise [PRG] and PBSs. How can their interests be reconciled?

[B. Funka] Undoubtedly, this will be difficult. The Federation Council, in which in accordance with the draft of the statute each of the members is to hold one vote, envisages the creation of branch sections. It is still too early to determine how many and what kind they will be; all the unions must express themselves in this regard. However, we do foresee the necessity of reconciling various and at times even conflicting interests of the particular workforces with the general interest. We are well aware that excessive break-up into smaller interest groups is capable of hindering the federation from the ability to undertake operative decisions. And we cannot allow this to happen.

[Question] What kinds of issues do you want to approach during the first period of the federation's activity?

[A. Gierula] First and foremost, the unification of collective systems in enterprises which will enter into the make-up of the federation. It should be kept in mind that the federation is not being created for the purpose of reaching out its hand and demanding privileges but so that we may receive more than our workforces have until now. Above all, we want to eliminate unjust differences which occur between the workforces of our enterprises. We are working in and for the mining industry, therefore, we should all have the same responsibilities and rights. There is truly a huge amount of problems that have to be solved here.

[B. Funka] Concrete matters will be discussed by the members of our trade unions as early as before as well as at the first congress of the federation.

#### Financial Problems of Trade Unions Discussed

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 3 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by (j): "What Are the Responsibilities of Trade Unions?"]

[Text] "If we want a trade union to be truly independent and self-governing as its name proclaims," states Andrzej Polok, vice-chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] of the Small Passenger Car Factory [FSM] in Tychy, "we must, above all, transfer financial matters completely onto our own account. Such was our assumption toward which we aimed from the very beginning."

And this was not a simple matter to carry out. For a certain period of time, the situation was saved by the fact that the management agreed to keep two union activists as delegates. However, this solution was not satisfactory to the trade unionists. After all, why listen to claims that they are in management spots, so what kind of workforce representatives can they be? Starting in July, they took up self-financing.

We are talking to vice-chairman Polok about the difficult problems of the union fund which makes the carrying on of very rational and economical management a necessity. At first, the union management planned, for example, that most compensation should come to 10,000 zlotys. However, after paying out several hundred thousand zlotys, they had to slow down. They decided to change to greater differentiation in compensation amounts--currently, depending on the financial circumstances of the applicants, they pay 2,500, 5,000 or 10,000 zlotys. Most of the money is spent on this but, after all, compensation payments are not everything. Meetings of the FSM workforce, travel and business trips also take a big chunk out of the union fund even if only trips of the utmost importance are taken. In addition, there are salaries for union officers which include not just that which they are paid into their hands but the full amount which takes into account the Social Security Agency [ZUS] contribution which weighs down upon the employer.

Is it, therefore, worth having as many as four posts on the board? Is this not too many? Simply put, after the dissolution of the plant social commission, many matters concerning the entire workforce fell upon the union.

#### Vacation and Parsley

The union is concerned with everything: from the final clearing of accounts for last year's potato campaign, through vacations to supervision of the sale of automobile parts. Of course, in practice things should be different; these matters should be handled in their entirety by the administration but somehow it did not turn out that way. The reason? A simple example--if an employee has the right to purchase spare automobile parts once every 3 years, then a list and file of these purchases should be prepared and kept. This is

an additional formality but, in fact, the first step in preventing these parts from finding their way to the black market. Meanwhile, such files were not kept in the past and even now not everyone looks favorably upon their being set up and kept. There must be something in this because our trade unionists have come across signs that these spare parts are bought by, among others, workers who do not even have cars. However, they were not presented with concrete evidence because, after all, who would tell on his or her fellow worker.

The union does not wish to become an investigative commission but only to set up lists, make sure that orders are implemented in order and try to influence the commercial department so that they do not forget through omission to record information on what and to whom was sold. The union does not intend to handle this forever. However, it has taken upon itself to finalize unfinished matters because of the lack of opportunity to do this by the social commission. The only thing is, that before the trade unionists have a chance to finish one thing, other problems begin mounting.

Another example--vacations. The plant has bought too few vacation spots [lodgings]. Apparently, there were no more. The trade unionists, therefore went to Bielsko and "came to terms" for additional places. Does this mean that the administration is taking the easy way out and tries to avoid everything that might complicate its life? Perhaps, but it is difficult to bear a grudge against it. Years of habit cannot be changed with one stroke of the pen. Admittedly, it is possible to shrug our shoulders and say that it was not the trade unionists who were at fault and to "direct" the workforce toward various agencies. Even this would lie in the interest of the union to a certain degree but is this really a question of such an interest? Is it not more important to take care of the specific matter? As far as who and how--this is secondary.

And another fragment of this same problem. The union proposes that the cashier's office where employees pay for, among other things, their vacations be located not only in the administrative building but also on the plant premises and that it be opened during hours which are convenient for the majority of the workforce. Is there any sense, then, for the trade unionists to handle vacation payments until the time that the administration organizes a branch of the cashier's office? After all, this is an additional responsibility, not to even mention that bookkeeping and financial accounting services are also rendered to the plant by the union within the framework of the plant's legal assistance to the union.

#### First Successes

However, probably due to such small and often underestimated matters, the union can already speak of having achieved its first successes. It has prepared a book of vacation and summer camp rules and regulations. It has also convinced competent persons that if once every 2 years, supplemental financing is accorded the employee for a 2-week vacation in the form of 200 zlotys per day and he will not take advantage of the vacation provided by

the plant, then since approximately 5,000 zlotys have to be paid as a surcharge for each vacation spot, both sides should be content. The only thing is that this requires the keeping of a continuous record of vacations taken and surcharges while this was supposedly not done at all with the exception of the last 2 years.

The trade unionists also took part in preparing new wage rules and regulations guides numbers 13 and 14. They were instrumental in introducing into this new wage regulations code, a determination which states that if an employee receives a reprimand or admonition he may not appeal only in three instances: if he was reprimanded for drinking alcohol while on the job, unexcused absence from work or damage caused to the plant. Other matters constitute an open category and are considered individually. After all, the penalty is not always proportional to the crime, therefore, placing the shirking of responsibility in the same category as a conflict of personalities is going a bit too far.

The trade unionists also conducted research into how income per person in families of FSM workers is shaping up. The main purpose of this research was to determine how many of these workers would have to be given compensation benefits and the proper amounts. "The simplest thing for us," states the vice-chairman, Franciszka Miechur, "would be to wash our hands of the entire workforce and concern ourselves only with that which pertains to union member interests. And that is how we see it in practice. But can we shut our eyes at the present time to the many problems in the plant which continue to remain unsolved? At the same time, the union is also to act for the good of all workers."

The housing issue belongs to matters with which one does not know what to do. Those who accepted work at FSM always fought for housing like tiger since the plant would make it available. Thus, they would occupy or move into FSM housing developments and then proceed to change to better paying jobs. This pattern is known elsewhere as well. It is a well-known fact that the plant is not able to regain the housing units lost in this way. However, if 130 million zlotys have to be added to housing for workers in a year while 2,400 workers of the plant reside in it with the rest being people who do not work in the plant, then this cannot be right.

"Because it's great," says F. Machura, "to pay 700 zlotys per month for housing and to work in heat engineering or the mining industry where one can earn twice as much than in our institution. At the same time, the costs involved in the upkeep of the apartment buildings are subsidized from the fund created by our workforce who are in part given lodging in private quarters because there is not enough housing for them."

The union has proposed action in two directions. First, by developing the activeness of residents' self-government aimed at lowering the costs involved in housing upkeep by at least the amount allocated for repairs of damages. Second, the union would propose to those who have left their jobs at FSM or who are in the process of leaving them, that their rents be raised to standard lodging rates, i.e., several times higher. Then, they will start calculating what is more to their advantage.

## Activity of Construction Federation Founding Committee

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 3 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by (j): "Voivodship NSZZ Construction Federation Delegations Are Working Actively"]

[Text] From among the nonplant union structures engaged in advanced organizational work, the founding committee of the NSZZ Construction Federation is working actively. Because this federation encompasses the entire country, the principle of regional division has been adopted in it. Unions from one voivodship unite while a voivodship delegation represents them in the founding committee. The voivodship delegations are engaged in informational campaigns, the collecting of membership declarations for the federation and remarks concerning its formation as well as problems which it is to assume.

According to the estimate of the delegation from Katowice Voivodship, approximately 80 registered trade unions are active in that voivodship which were formed in enterprises of the Ministry of Construction and Construction Materials Industry as well as in those enterprises which work in cooperation with it. The federation wants to reach all of them since by mid-July, membership declarations were filed by only 26 trade unions while approximately 15 prepared themselves to take such a step. Meanwhile, if the Katowice delegation will number at least 50 trade unions, then it can count on acquiring two seats in the Federation Council instead of one.

The informational center for the delegation is located in the Union House in Katowice at Dabrowskiego Street No 23, room 502, telephone: 510-341. The next meeting of trade unions from the construction ministry will take place on 9 August of this year at 11:00 am in the Sosnowiec Enterprise of Industrial Construction in Sosnowiec.

### Membership Deadline Announced

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 3 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by (j): "Recognition of Trade Union Post"]

[Text] The trade unionists from Orzel Bialy Mining-Metallurgical Works [ZGH] in Piekary Slaskie are requesting that a reminder be announced to former employees of their plant that the deadline for retaining a previous union post held by those who are joining their trade union expires on 10 August. This pertains not only to Orzel Bialy but to all newly-formed trade unions which have given strict deadlines, usually 3 to 6 months from the registration or election of their union officers. Recognition of trade union membership or position held previously may have a bearing on the granting of jubilee awards, compensation benefits and supplemental financing of member vacations or stays in health sanatoriums, depending on how a given union has formulated this in its statute. It is important, therefore, and in the interest of those who are debating on joining a trade union that they make sure not to miss this deadline.

## Management of Union Finances Discussed

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 3 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by (j): "Who Will Manage Trade Union Finances?"]

[Text] The answer appears to be obvious--the trade union because who else could assume this task. However, experience teaches that it is not enough to want to do something, it is also necessary to know how to handle financial matters. Financial records should be kept professionally with the retention of bank-required evidence in a way which would prevent accusations of embezzlement which may occur very easily if accurate accounts are not kept.

For this reason, it is worth acquiring the services of a trained accountant for the purely technical servicing of the union's turnover of assets. A trained accountant, who will advise on how to manage financial matters and who will also periodically check the accuracy of the financial record of the trade union, should be selected. If the union does not have the financial means which would enable it to hire an accountant, it may turn to the plant management in which it acts for assistance. In accordance with explanation Number 4 of the minister of labor, wages and social affairs from 21 March 1983, a plant is obligated to render assistance to the union administration in the execution of its functions (financial-accounting services, typewriting, etc).

The highest authority which decides how to distribute the union budget is the general meeting of members or delegates (depending on the statute of a given union). It must receive approval for every budget plan and pass it or not if it determines that the budget was improperly prepared. The general meeting is also the authority which holds the union board accountable for the union's financial standing. The board may be accorded the right to change the amount allotted for various types of activity. What is of concern is that should there be a need to quickly lay out money as in cases of accidents, it will not be necessary to delay the matter until the next general meeting. And yet another simplification can be decided on by the trade unionists. Thus, decisions about revenues and expenses should, in fact, be made collectively by the union board; however, it may also authorize the presidium to make decisions in these matters.

Let us also remember that in addition to finance management, the union usually has fixed assets at its disposal. Thus, it should conduct an inventory check once a year.

## Trade Union Activity Increasing

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 3 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by (kl): "Growing Trade Union Activity in Podbeskid Area"]

[Text] In the work establishments, cooperatives and institutes of the Bielsko Voivodship, there are already 345 active trade union organizations with a total of approximately 54,000 members.

The first trade union organization to be formed was on 4 November 1982 in the Goleszow Cement Plant in Goleszow; after that a trade union was formed in the Spolem General Consumers' Cooperative [PSS] in Bielsko-Biala and in the Andoria Diesel Engine Production Plant in Andrychow.

"The greatest number of trade union organizations," states Adam Borgiel, secretary of the information-consulting team within the Presidium of the Voivodship People's Council [WRN] in Bielsko-Biala, "is active in the trade industry; there are 52 of them. This is followed by the field of education with 51 unions, the machine manufacturing industry with 32 and the consumer goods industry with 31 trade union organizations."

The trade unionists from the plants of the consumer goods industry in the Podbeskid area are showing particularly animated activity. They are members of the founding group of the federation of independent self-governing trade unions of the consumer goods industry in Lodz. As many as 13 trade union organizations from the Bielsko Voivodship have already joined the federation; more are in the process of finalizing the necessary formalities.

Currently, trade unionists are focusing the greatest attention on strengthening and developing their ranks and social-living activity.

9853

CSO: 2600/1209

# PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES REPORTED

## Trust Necessary in Trade Union Developments

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 6 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Malgorzata Jezierska: "We Must Earn Trust"]

[Text] Jan Waszkiel, chairman of the new trade union, a bus driver by vocation, reminisces: "We were ten when on 15 January 1983 we applied to the court for registering the new union. But we had begun much earlier. In October of last year an initiating group of three persons had been established and it organized an information and sign-up drive. It had been difficult, because we were new at everything. More than once we heard epithets hurled at us such as 'Traitor,' 'Renegade' and even worse."

Michal Zarejko, vice chairman of the union, warehouse director, added: "It cannot be said that we were openly cursed. To be sure, there were some people who dirtied our notices and posters and smeared their slogans on them. But we did not catch anyone redhanded. Nowadays such incidents are a thing of the past."

The union chairman added: "More 'gross' things happened. Remember Feliks Olszewski? Our fellow driver, just a step away from retirement age. A regular guy, an honest worker. Or remember Krysiak Ochrymczuk, also a driver? Unknown perpetrators had tried to prevent them from leaving the depot for their routes and damaged their buses. The only reason why they did that was because these drivers were decent people, activists, who acted for the sake of others, for the sake of all employees and the company. We turned over these two cases to the militia. As for the other, more trivial cases, we attended to them on our own."

"As we organized ourselves, other troubles, too, had arisen, troubles of--let us call it--a bureaucratic nature. A statute had to be drafted and a bank account opened. With these things, too, we could not cope alone. Our legal adviser helped us with the statute. Opening the bank account was harder. Those who knew how to do it, did not hinder us but did not help us either. They kept aside as neutral observers. Ultimately, however, on 8 February 1983, we became officially registered. At that time there were 18 of us. Today we number 113--in Olsztyn and four subordinate branches. The latest branch element of the trade union has been formed in Ostroda."

## First Steps

"We scheduled elections of union officers for the end of March. During that period we kept office hours 4 days a week, 3-4 hours per day, providing callers with information about our plans of union activity and collecting comments. Did we receive visits during these hours? Sure, we did. At first the callers came not so much to ask questions as to deride us.

"Later it was election time. On that same day the first resolution concerning the statute as well as specific tasks of the union was adopted; it also concerned the principles for determining seniority of union membership, the size of benefits and procedure for granting them to union members, and the duties of the audit commission and board of the union."

Halina Ordakowska, union secretary, reminisced: "We became active as unionists almost from the outset. We organized a chess tournament for employees and their families and participated in organizing the Day of the Communal Employee as well as in First-of-May festivities. To be sure, we marched in the parade without bearing a banner with a trade union slogan, but almost all of us were unionists."

## For the Good of the People and For the Good of the Plant

First of all, the trade unions at the Provincial City Transportation Enterprise (WPKM) undertook to handle most cases relating to employee social services, such as recommendations, the granting of loans for housing repair, the fund for supplementary housing downpayments, nonreimbursable benefits, private land plots, etc.

Michal Zarejko said: "In these respects our competences also mesh with the tasks of the self-government and Worker Council. But we shall try for a division of functions. Our sole partner in these matters should be the social services desk under the department of employee services."

Jan Waszkiel said: "In our opinion, another essential function of the trade union is opining on disciplinary dismissals. It once happened that the management wanted to dismiss an employee for no tangible reason. From the legal standpoint that decision was unjust. We intervened, successfully. Another time a female employee was penalized for an obvious mistake, which she had admitted. But that was a mistake and not a deliberate transgression. The damage could be repaired without loss to the plant. We defended her too. In my opinion, what matters is not penalizing an employee after the fact but preventing deviations. Showing personal trust, even after the transgression is perpetrated once, is much more effective than disciplinary dismissal followed by rehiring next day at the lowest pay pursuant to the law. As known, neither the management nor the trade union that follow such a practice will look good in the eyes of the 'transgressor' and the workforce, which is an extremely alert observer."

Pawel Hennig, first secretary of the branch party organization (POP), bus driver by occupation, added: "Sometimes our educational activities should go even farther. It once happened that an employee deserved his penalty. We reviewed

his dossier jointly. He turned out to have a clean record and be a longtime employee at our enterprise. Somehow, we knew that his family situation leaves much to be desired. I said that both he and his wife should be asked to come for a candid talk, on posing to both certain requirements. Because often the application of a disciplinary dismissal penalizes not the employee but his family, particularly children. I'm aware that poking into family problems is a drastic move. Often, however, it is unavoidable and, as experience shows, effective."

Jan Waszkiel said: "On the other hand, it will be 1.5 years longer before we can satisfy the main desire of the workforce: a wage increase. We are a public service institution and benefit from a subsidy. For the present, a wage increase would be unrealistic and the workforce will have to get used to it. But we can and must influence revisions in the enterprise's work rules and the establishment of a fixed policy regarding extra pay for work seniority. The traditional wage principles no longer fit the changed circumstances and are unjust to the workforce. Example: the work week at present is 42 hours, instead of 46 hours as formerly. How can then overtime hours be calculated in accordance with both the work rules and the employee interests? Under current regulations extra pay for work seniority is credited only for the number of years worked here at our enterprise, but this is unfair to a large group of employees. The rules for awarding bonuses also need to be revised. Here I wish to express certain reservations concerning the most recent distribution of awards, which was done totally in disregard of our opinion. Department heads presented ready-made rosters of names to the director for approval. People came to us asking why some or other person received an award considering that in the opinion of co-workers it was another person who deserved it more. We would like to avert such a situation in the future.

Michal Zarejko commented: "The only administrator who hews to good situations of this kind is Ryszard Baranowski, chief of the administrative-economic department. He is a firm and principled person, and a decent and conscientious worker as well. He has opinions of his own and is consistent."

The union chairman added: "It is also worth noting that we rather meet with no obstacles from the management. I'll say more. At a time when our union still had lacked any assets of its own and some trips and arrangements had to be made in its behalf, the director always agreed to release an employee for this purpose or to reimburse the traveling expenses of a delegation. As known, such matters are to the good of the enterprise, so there was no problem. To be sure, not everyone liked such an attitude of the director."

#### **Much Still To Be Done**

Lately unionists at the WPKM have been preoccupied with the issue of establishing a federation of trade unions of urban transit employees in the PRL. Three national meetings of founders have already taken place. All were attended by vice chairman Michal Zarejko.

He declared: "In Warsaw we still had talked in very general terms. In Lodz, where I was together with the chairman and one of the board members, the discussion was already more specific, and at the recent meeting-cum-training in Katowice the charter of the federation of unions was approved and draft amendments for the wage bargaining agreement of public transit workers were suggested."

The chairman added: "A great deal of organizational work still awaits us at our enterprise. Our trade-union organization includes four problem-oriented commissions: the commission for labor; the commission for safety and hygiene of labor; the commission for social services such as furloughs and summer camps, monitoring of the spending of the social services fund; and the commission for living conditions, which investigates the living conditions of employees and their families. Recently it turned out that an arbitration commission is needed too. Talks on this topic are under way with the director and the legal adviser, who is to decide whether establishing such a commission is consonant with the Labor Law Code."

Pawel Hennig declared: "We want to organize a joint meeting of union members and members of political, social and youth organizations at our plant. If we are to act effectively, we need allies and cooperation."

Michal Zarejko added: "And if we are to have allies, we must have closer rapport with people. For example, there was the demise of two employees who had earned the right to a vacation leave. Pursuant to the labor law code, their families should be paid for the unutilized leave. In that matter our legal adviser helped. Another example: there is a tendency to rehire persons who had been pensioned off at an earlier age under the new regulations. So far so good, but they should be given the jobs for which there is a real manpower shortage. Yet at our enterprise one person who had retired owing to poor health wants to resume his job on part-time basis. He would thus become the director (or rather part-time director) of a department. Well, if a part-time director can handle the job, I suggest that the job functions of all the others should be re-examined. Perhaps the competences of a couple of directors could be combined, with consequent salary savings. In my opinion, employing such a part-time director is counter to the interests of the workforce, because that department employs many educated and young people—who at the same time have sufficiently long work seniority—who are eminently suitable for exercising the duties of department director for longer than a couple of years. For one person that part-time job merely means an added source of income, but for another it means an important new rung on the ladder of professional advancement."

Jan Waszkiel declared: "We are concerned because we still receive too few proposals and suggestions from the workforce. And yet, we work here and are aware that many matters are being discussed in the hallways and at work stations. So we shall install a trade-union suggestion box for employees. We will investigate all complaints and suggestions and, whenever they are justified, transmit them for action to the appropriate commission. The payoff will be that people shall stop going with complaints to the most varied authorities and also perhaps that they will stop spreading rumors and voicing complaints within the area of the

plant. They will come to us instead, and it will be our duty to consider these problems honestly and fairly. It is up to us to succeed in this, because we have to earn trust."

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The Trade Union of Employees of Olsztyn Urban Transit has no salaried staff. In theory, the union can delegate an employee to the post of salaried activist, but it has not availed itself of this possibility for reasons of prestige, as its chairman explained. The paradox of a civic-minded activist who is paid for his work would be too blatant. All my interlocutors—members of the union's board, are persons who ply their daily jobs—bus drivers, a warehouse chief, an office secretary, a traffic controller—and who devote a great part of their leisure hours to civic activities. It is precisely in their uninterrupted occupational activities that they perceive the chances for the success of their civic activities. They are a few of many, and they know people and their problems. They are familiar with life at the plant and the off-duty problems of employees.

#### Dialogue Between Trade Unions, Government

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 6 Jul 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (jak): "Dialogue Between Trade Unions and the Authorities"]

[Text] (Own information.) Nearly 200 representatives of trade unions from the work establishments of Rzeszow Province met yesterday in Rzeszow in order to discuss basic problems of the trade-union movement and obtain information on the postulates, recommendations, comments and opinions submitted earlier to province authorities. The guests at the conference, which was chaired by Franciszek Kruczynski, chairman of the Province People's Council, included Stanislaw Ciosek, minister of labor, wages and social services; Franciszek Karp, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee; and Henryk Ficek, Rzeszow Province Governor.

The extensive report submitted to unionists for discussion was presented by Dr Antoni Bewszo, chairman of the Province Information-Advisory Council for Trade Union Affairs. He described the evolution of the socio-political situation during the already 9 months long growth of the trade-union movement in Rzeszow Province and in this context he also dwelled on the training and advisory activities of the Province Information-Advisory Council. On presenting the current situation of the trade-union movement, he pointed out that disturbing reports about conflicts between trade unions and self-government bodies and attempts of the management to dominate trade-union organizations are arriving from certain of the region's enterprises. The speaker concluded that important problems include establishing relations of partnership among the social and political organizations at the plants, the worker self-governments there, and the management.

Next, the Rzeszow Province Governor Henry Ficek briefed the unionists about the province's socio-economic situation during the first half of this year, stressing that a particularly unfavorable trend is the absence of definite progress in improving the effectiveness of management and the persistence of disproportions between labor productivity and employment in relation to the average wage increment. The province governor also declared that, through the mediation of the Information-Advisory Team, he received 39 proposals from employee trade unions concerning, among other things, such matters as housing problems, the determination of the prices of certain goods, commuting to work, and private land plots. The province governor described how these matters were either settled or impossible to settle and stated that some of the proposals were misaddressed and therefore relayed to the appropriate agencies. In conclusion, governor H. Ficek proposed to unionists nine specific topics for consultation. These topics include issues of health protection and social welfare, social adaptation in work establishments, urban transit, problems of housing construction and trade, physical culture, and the performance of offices.

During the subsequent discussion, unionists chiefly raised issues of concern to their occupational communities (much was said about teachers, employees of socialized agriculture and chemical industry, metal workers and transport workers), as well as problems of establishing genuinely supra-plant trade-union structures. Individual discussants offered many specific suggestions and asked many specific questions of minister Stanislaw Ciosek, present in the auditorium. They dealt with wage and price problems, conservation programs at enterprises, and the government's attitude to the nascent trade unions.

Answering these questions, minister S. Ciosek recalled the country's difficult crisis situation, which this year has been aggravated by the additional spending of approximately 300 billion zlotys on wage increases. The minister also declared that his ministry is currently drafting a new wage system whose principles will be submitted for consultation to trade unions and which is of an incentive nature. This system, which affords a chance for the full application of the principles of the economic reform to the field of wages as well, requires though that trade unions accept part of the responsibility for the wages. As for the formation of supra-plant trade-union structures, minister S. Ciosek gave assurances that the government and the party favor the formation of strong trade-union organizations that understand not only social needs but also the economic factors conditioning them. S. Ciosek declared that only such trade unions can be a partner in social consultations.

#### Trade Unions, Self-Government

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 11 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Z.Z.: "Competences and Dependence: Trade Unions and Self-Government"]

[Text] /Trade unions and self-governments--two principal elements of the workforce representation system--already operate at most enterprises. The competences of the individual bodies are specified in the decrees on whose basis they were

established. The practice so far indicates, however, that encroachment upon domains reserved for others sometimes takes place, as does arrogation of exclusive competences in matters in which such competences should not be exclusive. [printed in boldface]

Members of the Team for Trade Unions under the Presidium of the Olsztyn Province People's Council engaged in an attempt to interpret the provisions governing the legal relations between trade-unions and workforce self-government.

The general principle is as follows: trade union organizations and self-government operate independently of each other, i.e. the former have no right to encroach upon the competences of the latter, and vice versa. Another issue: pursuant to the decree on state enterprises, self-government is an organ of the enterprise and participates in its management. Trade unions do not participate in the enterprise's management but represent the occupational organization of workers.

What are the functions of self-government? The general meeting of the workforce (or its delegates) adopts resolutions concerning the long-range economic plan and the statute of the enterprise and of the workforce's self-government, and in addition, once at year, it evaluates the enterprise's director and the worker council. As for the worker council itself, it has the exclusive power of adopting resolutions concerning, among other things, the following matters: adoption and revisions of the annual plans of the enterprise; adoption of resolutions on investments, plant-sponsored housing construction; allocation of profits among various funds and the principles for the utilization of these funds; adoption of work regulations upon proposal by the director; and appointment and recall of the director pursuant to the Labor Law Code. In addition, the worker council has the right and duty of expressing its opinion on the planned shutdown of the enterprise as well as on decisions concerning the allocation of housing and proposals for awarding orders or distinctions by the state. Furthermore, the council has the right to control the whole of the enterprise's activities.

Thus the question arises: in view of this situation, what are the functions of trade unions? This question is settled by, at least, Article 36 of the decree on workforce self-government, from which it ensues that, in the event that resolutions adopted by self-government bodies concern matters lying within the scope of activities of trade unions, the self-government is obligated to enable the trade union to express its position on these matters prior to the adoption of such resolutions. This concerns such important issues as: the adoption of work regulations, plant-sponsored housing construction, the annual plan of the enterprise, the division of profits, the shutdown of the enterprise, the allocation of housing, etc.

The monitoring privileges of trade unions also are guaranteed. Thus, e.g. if the self-government wishes to monitor the adherence to the labor law code or discipline, it has the duty of performing such monitoring jointly with the trade-union organization.

Although trade unions and self-government bodies operate independently of each other and are of completely different legal nature, they have certain common or convergent interests. For these reasons, forms of cooperation and coordination of attitudes have to be explored. This can be done in various ways, and one of the ways envisaged in the decree on self-government is the conclusion of agreements between the self-government and the trade union.

Thus, Joanna Jackowska, a member of the aforementioned Information-Advisory Team, perceives the existence of dependences between these two representative bodies of the workforce. Perhaps this will dispel at least some of the doubts. On the other hand, it would be desirable for the appropriate agencies to explicate the laws governing such an important field: this is the best way of clarifying doubts.

#### Trade Unions, Workers' Activities Related

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 11 Jul 83 p 3

[Interview with Boleslaw Sychowicz, spinning-room foreman at the SILESIA Cotton Industry Works in Dzierzonow, member of the Executive Board of the Walbrzych Province PZPR Committee, by Tadeusz Dudz: "Be Closer to the People" under the rubric "Conversations With Worker-Movement Activists"]

[Question] Comrade Sychowicz, you represent the working class at the Executive Board of the Walbrzych Province PZPR Committee, but what are you at SILESIA?

[Answer] I'm foreman of Medium-Yarn Spinning Room " " [illegible], where 25 persons tend 32 machines. My task is to make sure that the machines rotate and the workers have something to do.

[Question] What was your previous occupation?

[Answer] I started as an intra-plant transport employee. In 1953 I was elected chairman of the Plant Council, a position which I held until 1964. I completed a 2-year evening school for foremen in Bielawa and transferred to the spinning room.

[Question] Are you thinking of early retirement? [under the new laws which set an earlier retirement age-translator's note]

[Answer] No. I will retire after 60 on normal terms.

[Question] How long have you been in the party?

[Answer] Since 1945. First in the PPR [Polish Workers Party] and then, after the merger, in the PZPR. I had been group leader, first secretary of the basic party organization (OOP) and member of the plant party committee. For the current term of office I was elected member of the Walbrzych city party committee and the Executive Board of the Walbrzych Province PZPR Committee.

[Question] Together with the party you lived through difficult moments. Much has already been said and written about them. Would you like to contribute your personal reflections—for example, about the reasons for the party's weaknesses?

[Answer] I think that, to this day, these reasons are to be found within the party itself, in its elected authorities. It all began because genuine activists began to disappear from these posts. When priority began to be placed on a member's educational background, the party began to divorce itself from the masses, and the spirit of militancy, ideological fervor, began to fade from its ranks....

[Question] One moment. You seem to reproach the well-educated party members. But the reason why we made education universal was that educated individuals would occupy every post—in the party as well. Several generations have already gained good education.

[Answer] You misunderstood me. I'm opposed neither to educated people nor to their holding of high-level positions. What concerns me is that education should not overshadow a person's class views, particularly when he holds a party post, that he should not forget that the paramount task of the party activist is to defend the interests of the working class.

[Question] You mentioned militancy. Against whom or what is the party militant these days?

[Answer] Well, the political enemy is not lacking nowadays either—he has showed his face clearly in recent years as well. The party has justly undertaken the struggle against him. It was necessary to show what forces he represents, whom he is gathering in his ranks, what are his goals and what danger this creates to Poland. And this struggle has been undertaken, even if it has not been aggressively waged in the beginning.

[Question] Precisely, I looked on bitterly in the fall of 1980 and later how party organizations in some industrial plants of Walbrzych Province known to me had been losing initiatives and their secretaries were passive, and how this situation persisted subsequently during the formation of new trade unions and reactivation of worker self-governments. It sufficed for some "shouter" to cry at a meeting, "What do we need trade unions or self-government for, considering the absence of the right conditions for their operation?" in order to close the mouths of others with such demagoguery. Why is it that some party members show so little courage about voicing their views in the defense of the fundamental rationales?

[Answer] The problem is complex. We must admit that some of our activists were not all right. After all, we had certain party secretaries who cared more about their private interests than about those of the working class. They were not all right; they lacked authority and forfeited the ability to lead.

As far as party members are concerned, it should be borne in mind that they are in the minority and that there had been a period when a person could be fired by

a work establishment for voicing sharp and resolute opposition to the demagoguery of various "shouters," as you call them. No one would even defend the party members at that time. This also applies, besides, to more than one honest activist member of the "old" trade unions from which—as we know—he had been expelled by being carted away in a wheelbarrow by extremists seized by a fanatical fervor.

True, party members need greater militancy, courage and authority. They will gain them only if they place public and worker interests above their private interests.

[Question] Does this mean that the party activist has to go about in rags—I'm exaggerating somewhat—and have no dwelling to live in, and his wife has to have problems in cooking dinner?

[Answer] No, but the living standards of, say, a party secretary cannot be twice as high as the average. If, for example, we suffer owing to the housing shortage, the party secretary may not build a villa for himself by using plant funds.

[Question] Comrade Boleslaw, I interrupted your reflections on political militancy or struggle, the party's tasks. Could we return to this topic?

[Answer] Just so. I believe that, in addition to unmasking and combatting the political enemy, the next most important task is the struggle against the bureaucratization of power—of party and state authorities.

It often happens that a party activist is appointed to a high-level post and then he forgets who placed him in it and whose interests he is to represent. He also forgets who pays for the consequences of his mistaken decisions. Individuals who exercise power must be accountable for the manner in which they implement decisions. We have had so many just programs, resolutions and decisions—during the past decade and at present—but their implementation has not been good. Were the resolutions to be implemented, those "turnabouts" would not have happened.

I wish to state that in the party there are too many officials and too few activists. The bond between party authorities and echelons and the workers must be retained, and the wishes of the grassroots must be met....

[Question] But the conditions must be right for the implementation of many resolutions whose justice no one is questioning, after all.....

[Answer] The thinking should not be that something cannot be done but how can it be done under given conditions.

Consistency is needed. If we decide what is most urgent at present, e.g. water or housing, let us attend to it even after a year or two, but the point is that we should attend to it. Let us not create resolutions and programs on paper only, like 10 years ago. In this place I would like again to discuss the party's authority. My opinion is that the party will not gain authority through ideology

and politics alone. Living conditions--market supply, value of money--must improve and respect for work must return.

[Question] I believe that this does not depend on the party alone: it is not just party members who are building socialism.

[Answer] Of course, but the party exercises the leading role in the state and should be the source of inspiration and control.

[Question] You work in light industry, which appears at present to live through an exceptionally difficult period....

[Answer] People work well. They also work on Saturdays off, because of the higher pay on such days. They work to eliminate the "backlog" so that we can adhere to the contracts signed. One can always come to an agreement with people, but one has also to be close to them and their problems. This should be the attitude of both the plant director and the plant party secretary. But there are problems which I doubt the light industry can cope with on its own. This concerns employment and wages. We lack blue-collar manpower. In my opinion a wage freeze is urgently needed in any overstaffed non-production spheres of the economy. The employment structure of the industrial plants also should be altered. A situation in which only 45-50 percent of the workforce do direct production work should not be tolerated. In itself, jacking up the wages alone will not solve this problem.

[Question] One last question, comrade Boleslaw. We had talked during the visit of Pope Jan Paul II to Poland. What do you expect from that visit?

[Answer] An assessment would be premature, but I think that this visit should contribute to improving the public mood in Poland. The Pope, a Pole and the head of the Roman Catholic Church, enjoys great authority in Poland and the world. If the good of the fatherland is close to his heart, his visit should produce positive results.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

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CSO: 2600/1124

RZESZOW PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Secretary Bernadetta Kilian

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 16 Jun 83 p 3

[Interview with Bernadetta Kilian, secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Rzeszow, by Henryk Paslawski: "Daily Life of Working People Depends on Amount and Quality of Production"]

[Text] [Question] What are your social interests?

[Answer] I think that in asking such an unconventional question, you have in mind the voivodship's economic performance.

[Question] Obviously...

[Answer] Then I note further progress in production sold and in services, labor productivity, and also in the utilization of working hours. In May, for example, the amount of our production and services sold was 7 percent higher than in the analogous period last year.

[Question] But still in January and February 1983 we expressed this growth with a two-digit number. Has something broken down in the economy?

[Answer] Nothing of the sort. The statistics simply show comparable periods, month by month, from January to January, etc. And let us recall what the first few months of last year were like. Production declined, and it was precisely in May that it began to climb upward. Where do the one- or two-digit numbers come from? I will use an example. If we add one loaf of bread to another, then we say that there has been an increase of 100 percent. If we add a third one to these two, then the increase is already 33.3 percent; if we add a fourth, then it is 25 percent. Thus, percentages describe developing or declining trends; on the other hand, the volume of production is more important to us.

We have already obtained a volume equal to that achieved in 1979, i.e., in a precrisis year.

[Question] I understand volume to be the amount in units, goods, etc.

[Answer] Exactly. Taking into account last year's situation, and also the present possibilities in raw and other materials, we determined that this year production should increase by at least 6 percent. But after all, we are not starting from just one "loaf of bread." Thus, overall production will increase...

[Question] Although there are still many difficulties...

[Answer] Yes, a lot... For example, both Transportation Equipment Plants, which can count on stable Soviet deliveries, are having fewer difficulties with raw and other materials. But the poultry farms, for example, are in a different situation. The lack of fodder from dollar imports does not allow them to spread their wings. The Transportation Equipment Plants still have two-digit figures for the growth of production, but on the other hand the poultry industry is struggling with difficulties. Thus, the situation with raw and other materials varies. And in connection with this, one must also take into account the 7 percent reduction in working hours as a result of the free Saturdays, and also the shortening of the work week at some plants, and also the shortages in employment in some direct production jobs.

The slow rate of increase in labor productivity is also worrying us, as well as the fact that we are constantly consuming too much raw and other materials for a unit of production.

[Question] But nevertheless the economy is somehow advancing forward.

[Answer] Mainly due to the workers, but also due to the changes in the organization of labor and to technical and technological progress.

[Question] Could the present amount of production be optimal?

[Answer] No, one cannot say that.

[Question] But then?

[Answer] In accordance with the principles of the economic reform, we have to begin thinking intensively about how to utilize the available production capacity "without anything left over," and how to use the same amount of raw and other materials to obtain a greater amount of units, meters, etc. of goods. On the pages of NOWINY, you showed examples of such thinking and its results. These, however, have to be a management principle, not examples, and one that is universally applied.

[Question] Please be specific.

[Answer] Our production is too materials-intensive. We thus need considerable inventiveness from production engineers, innovators, and inventors, in order, for example, to manufacture more boots from the

same amount of leather. It is necessary to institute new standards for consumption, especially of materials in short supply. We should reduce the amount of shortages to a minimum. We should turn off unnecessary lights, not permit empty trips by vehicles, conserve gas, and replace imported raw and other materials with ones available in Poland...

[Question] We are thus talking about an inseparable part of the 3-year plan, like the conservation and anti-inflation programs...

[Answer] We have thus arrived naturally at the subject you are concerned with, as I guessed from the course of the questions.

[Question] Exactly.

[Answer] Good, I'm already answering. The general assumption of the 3-year plan is an increase in production, especially market and export production. Why market production? It should be clear. And export production? We should always remember that debts have to be paid, and we sometimes need foreign exchange to purchase raw materials and spare parts that are unavailable here. We are taking into account the fact that as of now there is no reason to count on a lifting of the Reagan sanctions. The difficulties with raw and other materials from the dollar area will thus persist. Under these conditions it is not possible to say that all plants will at once burst at the seams from an excess of imported raw and other materials. There will also be coproduction difficulties. Also, there will not be enough people for the work. Thus, the main task is to make maximum use of what we possess, what we have available. This is the reason for the conservation and anti-inflation program.

[Question] It was once considered that an economizing person was one who ate one piece instead of two, who went in rags instead of buying a new suit, and who kept his money in a sock instead of going to the movies.

[Answer] Please do not confuse the concept of conservation with miserliness. The main thing is that conservation is not wastefulness. It is rational consumption. Rags can be burnt or sold for reprocessing. A very good component or pieces can be made from a large piece of steel, only then there will be a lot of chips, and that is wastefulness.

[Question] But we want to speak about conservation.

[Answer] Then let's talk about it. Commissions on conservation have been formed at plants. They are working out plant programs, since the plants know their own capabilities best. The conservation program is thus coming from below, and this is good.

[Question] It is the best way, since it comes completely from below, and is thus created by the workers directly in the working place, since through the production elements it reaches the department and only from there the management of the plant. Is that right?

[Answer] It is, but not everywhere yet. Where the conservation program comes from below, something that could be called a social movement is formed around it. A worker simply considers this plan to be his own, and not one imposed from above, and as a result he is more involved in implementing it. We therefore also think that the assumptions of the economic reform should and must come from below. The worker has to know why he is supposed to do things one way and not another. He has to feel that it is beneficial for him. The data for the whole plant are important to a worker, but the department data are most important, since they depend on him and since the size of his wages depends on them.

[Question] The only thing I have left to ask is what is contained in the conservation programs of which you already know.

[Answer] They contain a confirmation that production can be increased through conservation. Zelmer in Rzeszow is aiming at a 20 percent reduction in the consumption of chrome-nickel sheet. The Screw Factory in Lancut is starting up 72 positions for screw products, through which the state budget will save about \$2 million.. The Wool Industry Works in Rakszaw want to reduce to consumption of electricity, which is worth about 2 million zlotys, and also raise the quality of production, which will bring benefits amounting to about 6.5 million zlotys.

We can certainly include among conservation activities what is being done by the workforce of Magnezyty in Ropczyc, which, not having any foreign exchange, is itself producing spare parts that were imported until this time. In general, life has forced us to undertake anti-import production, broadly understood. This has been done on an increasingly broader scale since last year. In construction, one can expect a reduction in production costs, and a decrease in the consumption of cement, reinforcement steel, galvanized sheet metal, and energy.

[Question] And what will the realization of these aims give us, the ordinary consumers?

[Answer] I have barely given a fraction of the data that I have available. We do not yet have overall data that would indicate the entire range of the results expected. Besides, I think that it is not a question of the voivodship or national budget. It is a question of whether the plants can produce more. And they will be able to, overcoming the employment barrier, since they will have something to manufacture from. And they will have more raw and other materials, since they will manage them more economically, or they will not waste them. I have repeated this before in our conversation, but I think that it is advisable. Awareness of the essence of the problem can be increased through repetition. As a woman, I understand the weight of the statement, "Nothing is wasted in my house." As an economist, I apply this to a plant, and I know that it is possible, and also essential. Our poor market is waiting for goods, and a growing amount of them with increasing quality. Optimum utilization of production possibilities is the goal of our activities. I think that this is the answer for the ordinary consumers.

[Question] Let us go on. Conservation, simple and complex, is one problem. What else?

[Answer] There is a complex of issues contained in the concept of technical and technological progress. The same lathe, performing the same operations, can weigh several kilograms less. It is possible just to make it thinner without impairing its ability to function. Let us look at the history of the vacuum cleaner. It is usually smaller, lighter than the preceding one, and increasingly more productive. This is due to the designers and production engineers. Can't these ways of thought and action be applied everywhere? Zapel in Boguchwal is constantly improving the quality of its products, while at the same time their weight is decreasing, and thus also the consumption of ceramic clay. Technical thought can often replace a raw material. Designers and production engineers are bringing about an almost 100 percent utilization of wood at the Rzeszow Furniture Factories. That is precisely what this is about.

[Question] But technological innovations often require investment outlays. Thus, we have conservation on one hand and additional expenditures on the other.

[Answer] I repeat that conservation is not miserliness. One has to calculate what the effect of an invested zloty will be. Many examples show that it is favorable. Here is an example from the Rzeszow WSK [Transportation Equipment Plant]. One-time outlays in the amount of 1 million zlotys for the instrument industry will provide savings of 9 million zlotys each year. Is this paying for itself?

[Question] Well, yes. Let us go into the matter further. What about people?

[Answer] Employment is an enormous and complicated problem. Almost all of our plants are complaining of a labor shortage. But after all, it is possible to remedy even this, at least partially. Let us look at the ratio of those directly employed in production to those indirectly employed. Those who are indirectly employed are somewhere around 30 percent of those employed. Do possibilities then exist? They do. A reduction of the economic administration, which has been demanded many times by workers, will yield multiple benefits. It will allow increasing the participation of the workforce in the group of those who are directly productive, which will lower the social cost of production. Also, incentive systems should take this problem into account, and also elicit additional effort on behalf of production. And also in a way, on the periphery of this problem, it is worthwhile to recall the utilization of working hours. This has to do with work in full swing. Lost minutes make hours, and these in turn make days, and as a result they lower the amount of production. In my opinion, full utilization of working hours is the simplest way to get additional goods.

[Question] One last question. Where did you get such a familiarity with the subject?

[Answer] Our marxist-leninist party deals with the whole of the plant's life, with the mentality of the worker, his living and working conditions, and obviously production, which governs everything I said above. Our party organizations exist in plants, and many people in management posts have a party recommendation. This is the reason for the large share of party members in the everyday life of the plant. Today, implementation of the tasks of the 3-year plan is the first priority, and it is thus natural that we should participate in this area as well. After all, although this is a truism, the 3-year plan is derived from the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. Economic matters dominated the Tenth Plenum of the Central Committee, and the Voivodship Party Congress discussed ways of getting out of the crisis. Everywhere, in each of the documents from these party bodies, tasks were determined for the party echelons and organizations. We are simply accomplishing them.

[Question] Yourself?

[Answer] Obviously not. The improvement and invention movement is reviving. Worker self-management units are becoming stronger, and trade unions are becoming stronger. People assembled into a PTE or NOT are thinking. Science is becoming involved. I think that we can conclude our conversation here with a statement that overcoming the difficulties, getting out of the crisis, and as a result bringing about fuller shelves and a more sufficient life for working people, depends on joint work, on joint responsibility for the plant and for the amount of its production. The economic reform and the conservation and anti-inflation program are a path, a method leading to this goal.

[Question] Joint activities. Thank you for the interview.

#### Assessment of Ninth Plenum Resolution

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 18, 19 Jun 83 pp 1, 7

[Article by (reb): "From Proceedings of PZPR Voivodship Committee in Rzeszow"]

[Text] (Our own information) Over 60 percent of the residents of Rzeszow Voivodship are under 30. Youth constitutes over half of the total number of those employed in the socialized economy in the voivodship. These data alone demonstrate how important a question the problems of the younger generation--its attitude, social and professional activity, and issues concerning the conditions for its start in life and a profession--are becoming in this region. This, among other things, is the reason for the great interest by youth in the fate of the resolutions of the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee held last July, and this is the reason for the fundamental significance of consistent implementation of the decisions contained in these documents.

These problems, from a year's perspective, were dealt with at the Friday, 17 June plenary meeting of the PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] in Rzeszow. Those participating in the meeting, which was conducted by KW first secretary Franciszek Karp, were Waldemar Swirgon, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Leszek Lesniak, chairman of the National Administration of the ZMW [Rural Youth Union], and Wieslaw Osuchowski, deputy chairman of the Main Administration of the ZSMP. The UW [Voivodship Administration] management with Governor Henryk Ficki, KOK representative Col Wladyslaw Danko, and also a numerous group of activists from youth organizations were present.

The proceedings were preceded by many weeks of preparations. After control and investigative activities, covering several dozen milieux, a number of meetings took place with the party and youth aktiv, at which a detailed analysis was made of the problems affecting the young residents of the voivodship. A majority of these questions were reflected in the materials delivered to members of the voivodship echelon.

The report read at the plenum of KW Secretary Marian Skubisz was a development of and supplement to the views formulated there and to the conclusions as to future activities, like the discussion that took place subsequently in three problem-oriented groups (27 comrades participated in the discussion). The discussion was summed up in the course of the plenary meeting by members of the KW Executive Board Ryszard Fus, Boleslaw Kosiorowski, and Jan Lysakowski. In addition, the following also spoke during the plenary proceedings: Maria Kocur, chairman of the Wici ZW of the ZMW [Rural Youth Union], Jozef Kalisz, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the KZ [plant committee] of the Rzeszow WSK, Zdzislaw Siewerski, chairman of the ZW of the ZSMP, Jozef Krol, deputy Rzeszow governor, Maciej Dabek, commander of the Rzeszow Troop of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union], and Henryk Jadam, first secretary of the KU [College Committee] in the WSP [Voivodship Party School].

It is not possible to describe all of the problems raised in a short report. Thus, here are a few of the most important ones.

A fundamental theme of the debate was the answer to the question of how to obtain the trust of youth in the present conditions, how to win it over for active sociopolitical activity, and how the PZPR echelons and organizations were to carry out the function of political leader with respect to their young unions.

It was stated that after gaining the support and confidence of youth, it is necessary to trust it. Among other things, this is thus a question of a genuine partnership in everyday activity and joint participation in managing enterprises and institutions.

Even if beneficial changes occurred in this area in recent years, nevertheless the present state still cannot satisfy us. At some plants, the social and professional advancement of young people is still hampered.

Among other things, this is a result of a shortage of clear and objective criteria for personnel selection and of suitable wage mechanisms. As a result of this, the qualifications and potential capabilities of a sizable group of young trained personnel are not fully utilized.

It was emphasized that young people should be assisted in understanding the sources of socialism and the mechanisms of the class struggle, and that the objective rights of social and economic development should be brought closer to them.

It was stated that this must be accompanied by practical knowledge of democracy through the participation of young people in the work, among others, of elements of the PZPR, PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], people's councils, and self-management organs. It is also possible in this way to ensure proper representation of the interests of the younger generation, influence on the decisions adopted, and joint participation in management. Meanwhile, side by side with such milieux as, for example, the PKP [Polish State Railroads] Station, Polam, and the Rzeszow WSK [Transportation Equipment Plant], where the participation of young people in union and self-management life is evident, there are also some, as in the areas of Kolbuszowa, Sokolow, Trzebowisko, and Zolynia, where youth organization activists are not to be found in any of the structures of the social and self-management movement.

It was stressed that in order to win the trust of young people, it is essential to create realistic conditions for their needs to be resolved, primarily by the young people themselves. This has to do first of all with the acute housing problem. Thus far five youth housing cooperatives and six collectives for building single-family homes have been formed in the voivodship. Their activities so far have been hindered by objective difficulties, but also by bureaucratic delays and formalistic barriers on the part of certain elements of the administration. As a result, so far only three cooperatives and four collectives have obtained a partial localization. At the same time, there is insufficient initiative and interest from the authorities of some units and from youth itself in the production of construction materials: bricks, hollow blocks, tiles, etc. These obstacles and restrictions should be eliminated quickly. A major role can be played in this by party collectives and PZPR members employed in offices of the state and economic administration.

Young farmers are also still waiting for similar assistance, since many of them, especially in our area, are taking over from their parents farms that have not received enough investment and that are poorly equipped technically. Thus, providing easier access to it and easing up on the criteria established by the governor in this area is becoming a current necessity.

Another theme of the discussion was, among other things, matters affecting the relationship between the party and the youth unions. The principle in effect in this regard were mentioned once again: there can be no

return to the old methods of direction and command, and these organizations should operate autonomously. This autonomy, however, cannot mean independence in the sphere of ideology. In this context, the duties of young comrades and their responsibility for the aspect and form of socialist youth unions were discussed.

Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon dealt with this question. It is the PZPR members active in elements of the youth movement who bear primary responsibility for directing the tasks included in the resolutions of the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee.

"The party," the Central Committee secretary stated further, "does not have a closer ally in its educational work than the socialist youth unions. Therefore, strengthening them and giving them their proper place in sociopolitical life at all levels should be a daily concern of individual PZPR echelons and organizations. It should be expected that the managements of the four existing youth organizations will engage in closer cooperation, and create a permanent level for on-going contacts and cooperation."

Waldemar Siegon presented the measures that are being planned on the national scale in order to solve housing problems more quickly and to meet the needs of the thousands of young families dreaming of their own "M."

The speaker devoted a large part of his presentation to matters arising from the current sociopolitical situation and from the development of the international situation.

The plenum adopted a resolution defining the tasks of PZPR committees and organizations, the state and economic administrations, and elements of the educational front in further implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum in Rzeszow Voivodship.

Organizational matters were also considered.

The plenum released Ryszard Mazur, member of the Voivodship Committee, member of the Executive Board, and secretary of the Voivodship Committee, from his duties, at his own request. He has been transferred to work in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, and is managing the Department of Science and Agricultural Education in that ministry.

Considering the request of Jan Kwolek, the plenum released him from his duties as KW secretary. He is being transferred to work in a management job in the state agencies.

Franciszek Karp, KW first secretary, cordially thanked Ryszard Mazur and Jan Kwolek for their self-sacrificing and dedicated work in the management of the PZPR voivodship organization.

Marian Magon, a member of the KW Executive Board, was elected KW secretary for agricultural affairs. Marian Magon, born in 1937, has a higher education in agriculture. After completing his studies, he worked in the Meat Plants, and was later the PRN [County People's Council] Chairman in Rzeszow. From 1974 to the present, he has served as deputy governor in Rzeszow.

The Plenum entrusted the office of KW secretary for propaganda affairs to Zenon Cyprys, a KW member. Cyprys was born in 1944. He completed law studies at the UJ [Jagiellonian University]. From 1975 to 1979 he worked for the Regional Court in Rzeszow as its president; he later managed the Administration Department of the KW, and recently, he has been a judge in the Voivodship Court.

From among the members of the KW, Jozef Krol, a deputy Rzeszow governor, was coopted into the KW Executive Board.

The Plenum also made changes in the composition of the voivodship echelon. Zofia Szymoniak was discharged as a KW member, Mieczyslaw Lagowski as a deputy KW member, and Renata Lepka as a member of the WOKI Council. From among the deputy members of the KW, Piotr Baran, a deputy director of the Leather Industry Plants in Rzeszow, was coopted into the KW, along with Eugeniusz Misiak, a scientific worker in the AR Department.

The Voivodship Committee also adopted a resolution forming a KW Historical Commission, and confirmed the members of it.

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## PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

## Party Instruction

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 28 Jun 83 p 5

[Article by (KOS): "Party Instruction"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /Party training should be a basic activity at every party organization. It should, but in practice the situation varies. In general it can be stated that this domain of activity leaves much to be desired at certain party organizations. This could be ascertained at the meeting of the executive board of the Kielce City PZPR Committee, which evaluated the training activities of the city party echelon during the second half of the 1982/1983 training year./

It is a fact that this year the party instruction of PZPR members has markedly improved. More space is devoted to aspects of current economic policy (application of the reform); popularization of the resolutions of individual Central Committee plenums and of the role of the party and its members in the community, the work establishment and the institution; attitudes of PZPR members; and traditions of the worker movement. The important topic of state-Church relations, particularly in the educational community, has also been considered. Unfortunately, the curriculum devotes little attention to discussion of the causes and genesis of crises in the PRL as well as of the role and function of worker self-government. On the other hand, trade unions and their importance to the current socio-economic situation are extensively discussed.

It is worth noting that during the current party training year classroom attendance has improved and a greater number of party members attend the courses. Some courses were open to non-party members as well. The level of instruction has been good at most plant and academic party committees (especially at the Swietokrzyska Polytechnic). Special mention also is deserved by the instructional activities at many basic party organizations (POPs), especially those active at the /Kielce City Health Care Team (ZOZ), the Industrial ZOZ, the ELTOR Enterprise for Electrification and Technical Service in Agriculture, the Food Management Bank, the Open-Strip Mines of Road Materials, the Bureau of Studies and Projects at the ZSI [expansion unknown], the Kielce Periodicals Publishing House, the editorial team of this newspaper, Highschools No 6 and 1, the "Fossil Minerals" Cooperative, and others./

It is disturbing, however, that party instruction has not been undertaken at certain POPs, among others in: /KPIB [expansion unknown], the CHEMINAR Industrial Fittings and Chemical Equipment Works, the Geological Institute, the Province Tuberculosis Clinic, Highschool No 2, the Directorate for the Expansion of Kielce City, the Regional Greenery Enterprise, the MPO [Municipal Sanitation Enterprise], the Children's Hospital, the "Fish Center," the Province Center of the Chief Technical Organization [NOT] and others./ The executive board of the city party committee will investigate the causes of the absence of party instruction at these organizations.

The current party training year is nearing its end. Selection of candidates for the new WUML [Evening University of Marxism-Leninism] course already is under way and at the same time a course for PZPR candidates has been held since April. The best lecturers from the city party committee, who had during the second half of the training year presented 168 lectures in coordination with the City Center for Ideological-Upbringing Work, plus 36 lecturers at the Society for the Popularization of Knowledge [TWP], deserve commendation. The most active lecturers include: /Waldemar Bil, Jerzy Pajak, Boguslaw Morawski, Marian Winiarski, Stanislaw Chowaniec, Kazimierz Bielecki, Tadeusz Nowacki, Andrzej Kelner, Jerzy Piotrkowski and Adam Jaskola./

The executive board of the City PZPR Committee adopted recommendations intended to energize training activities during the new party training year.

The executive board also considered cadre matters. Among other things, it opined positively on the candidacy of Engineer Jacek Dybaly, currently director of the Department for Local Economy and Environmental Protection at the Province Office, to the post of deputy mayor of the city (in connection with the transfer of Rajmund Pastuszka to the post of director of the Department of Public Transit at the Province Office) and granted recommendations to Kazimierz Biernat, for the post of director of the KSM [expansion unknown], and to Stanislaw Rozanski, currently deputy school inspector at the Municipal Office, for the post of director of Academic High School No 1 in connection with the retirement of the current director of that high school, Stanislaw Ornatowski.

#### Difficult Matter--Party, Youth

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 2-3 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Leslaw Gnot: "A Difficult Matter: The Party and Youth"]

[Text] The secretary of a plant party organization in Lublin reported: "In general, in our organization party work has been not bad. The older comrades have been particularly active. Meetings and training proceed regularly and the mood is not bad. Our people are part of worker self-government, our trade union is growing, and [a branch of the] Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] has been established. The worst problem is that of youth. The young do not want to involve themselves in anything. They are indifferent and reluctant. This is a difficult matter./ [printed in boldface]

The deep and dramatic crisis undergone by the party and the entire society has indeed affected most painfully the attitudes, views and feelings of the young. And to this day, despite signs of improvement in youth communities, the consequences of that crisis still persist. Space does not permit an analysis of the causes of this phenomenon and hence mention should merely be made of several cardinal findings enunciated at the plenum of the Lublin Province PZPR Committee devoted to problems of youth and the implementation of resolutions of the 9th Central Committee Plenum:

--The younger generations are unfamiliar with prewar Poland and remember neither the nightmare of the Occupation nor the vastness of devastation, neglect and backwardness. They thus cannot appreciate the achievements of People's Poland and the scale and importance of the transformations achieved. Their attitude toward these matters is that of reluctance and mistrust. Hence they are so susceptible to the propaganda of total negation.

--Our educational mistakes are revenging themselves on the rising generation....Improper interpretation of the slogan "Everything for the Young," which has resulted in a demanding attitude coupled with absence of obligation and commitment, as well as in the petty-bourgeois philosophy, dominant in the 1970s, of emphasis on material standards and money-making coupled with a gradual decline of deep ideological-political work.

--Particularly strong pressure exerted by hostile propaganda, false interpretation of history, distortion of patriotic and religious feelings in the direction of chauvinism and intolerance, exploitation of moods of exaltation inherent in every rising generation for the purpose of combatting the socialist system, the people's state and its ideals and slogans.

--Exploitation of the growing difficulties, ensuing from both the mistakes made and the objective unavoidable economic processes, to promote the opinion of the hopeless situation of youth, of the lost generation.

--Hasty and unjustified opinions on both sides, creating unnecessary and harmful divisions--"The young are worthless," "The old do not understand anything."

This perforce incomplete and abridged list eminently demonstrates the extent and scale of problems and doubts that have to be surmounted in order to regain trust and credibility in the eyes of the young, promote the activism of young party members, open the party to the young and, lastly, review the masses of youth in its organizations as well as in elements of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), trade unions, worker self-governments--wherever the young can and should act to the benefit of the country, the society and themselves.

#### Ideology and Housing

At the meeting of the local party organization at the Lublin Housing Cooperative (LSM), which was also attended by invited members of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], two extremely characteristic topics were in evidence: the older activists discussed problems of socialist education and ideological fervor, intensity and commitment. The young discussed housing, or rather its lack, the difficulties encountered in implementing the principle of sponsorship of housing construction, the growing cost of housing and the growing delays in the

allocation of housing. But the discussion revealed that this divergence was only apparent.

For ultimately the young admitted that something has to be believed in, that some broader goals are needed. And for all their reservations, pretensions and grievances, they visualize that something in no other terms than those of the attainment of a system of society with justice and social equality. As for the older people, they agreed that, since the young want to work with their own hands in order to hasten the allocation of housing to them, they should be properly helped in this.

But not every attempt has such an idyllic outcome.

The inoculation of our youth with the understanding and affirmation of socialism is an incredibly difficult and complex process. It requires prolonged and patient action by the family, the school, the organization, the work establishment, the party and the mass media....How far are we still from combining and integrating all these factors!

But work in that direction has to be done. Here every initiative, every action is valuable.

In Krasnik a meeting of generations was initiated--both older activists and youth were invited for discussion with lecturers, activists and scientists. Some branch party organizations at the Truck Factory (FSC) initiated joint party and youth-organization training. Many experienced activists, experts in various domains of social problems, are beginning to work with youth.

The return to the "roots," to the ideological principles of socialism, must be universal among youth--in the school, in the organization, in the work establishment. And who else but the party and its members can accomplish it? This is self-evident.

This in no way conflicts with the desire of young people to lead a settled life. And this does not concern such a basic problem as housing alone. There is nothing wrong with the desire to possess various material boons that make life easier. But that desire should be an incentive for good and intense work and a rational life. And it should not be the only goal in life. We all--young and old--must have greater and most important ideals which should be the motive power of our actions. Hence also as regards the young, and primarily the youth organizations, party organizations should focus not only on developing ideological-upbringing work but also on providing the conditions for the attainment of the material needs, desires and aspirations of youth--through its own intense labor. This is a fundamental prerequisite.

The current widespread initiatives of many ZSMP elements in establishing housing cooperatives, promoting private home building and cooperating with construction enterprises represent a well-chosen attempt to stimulate the activism of youth in achieving its plans for life. Equally valuable--though unfortunately infrequent lately--are the initiatives taken by the Union of Rural Youth (ZMW) to encourage farming among young peasants. But some minimalism still persists in the manner in which certain ZSMP and ZMW circles view their tasks, limiting them to the organization of entertainment, excursions and camps or, in the best case, assistance for youth clubs. Of course, these matters are important and make

those organizations much more attractive to youth. But they alone cannot suffice. They are not enough, far from it!

Recently something has clearly moved in some youth organizations. ZSMP circles are gaining in membership at the Krasnik Bearings Factory, the Swidnica Transportation Equipment Plant, the Truck Factory. These factories are mentioned in many articles evaluating party activity. This is no accident: wherever the party organization performs well, a favorable climate arises for the development of many forms of social activism. Even such a difficult matter as the activation of youth can then be tackled and moved.

#### Matters to be Resolved

Housing is not the only vexation as regards youth. There is another problem: the proper interpretation of the occupational and professional and advancement prospects of the rising generation. For a long time we had proclaimed in this respect just one slogan: migration from town to country and conversion from physical to mental work. When a highly skilled worker was assigned a clerical occupation at the bottom of the ladder--that was a promotion. The educational and science system was geared to achieving the highest indicators of effectiveness without adequate analysis of society's needs for properly trained manpower.

Hence the disappointment felt by the young and ensuing from the conviction that its academic degrees and knowledge are worthless, that it has been deceived. This model should be changed, and both in its organizational and psychological aspects at that. Given the presence of a huge manpower shortage, the jobless graduates of higher schools with Master's degrees who work in commission stores are an anachronism.

On the other hand, it must become a universal conviction that a promising career can be made by earning the qualifications of a good worker, farmer or artisan. Such careers already are being made in the material sphere, but the point is that the system of social values should recognize this.

Incidentally, should not the managerial and administrative personnel, in the economy, administration and other fields be rejuvenated more rapidly and boldly? Each generation enters upon life with moods of rebellion, with the desire to change the world and improve it. This is a historical law. The point is though: who and how will utilize this vigor and tendencies? It would be a mistake to attempt to shape the youth movement into one affirming and apple-polishing toward the authorities. We do not need any tame organizations limning praises of the leaders. The point is that the moods of discontent with the present and the desire to change and improve the world should be channeled not against the principles of our system of society, not toward disturbing public peace and tranquility, but toward struggle against whatever malignant growths have arisen in that system, whatever constitutes its deformation and deviations.

Let us exploit the nonconformism and absolutism of youth. Let us patiently explain to it its misconceptions and misinterpretations, but let us also translate into reality whatever is just.

The rising generation continues to be the principal objective of attacks by hostile anti-socialist forces. And if we at all stress the need to counteract these forces, this applies particularly to youth. Here too specific methods are

needed. No one is more sensitive than youth to such sins of our propaganda as officialism and lack of direct rapport. Hence too direct rapport, sincere talks and discussion and patient explanations should play a special role here. This will not be accomplished by television, radio or the press. This can be accomplished through direct action--at party organizations, through contacts at work, in leisure time and at home. This is seemingly evident. But I did not find in the extensive publications on the broad range of the party's work with youth any topics headed: How are you bringing up your children, comrade? What do you talk about with your younger fellow workers?

#### Partners Today, Successors Tomorrow

One more matter: rapport with youth at schools and work establishments, demolition of prejudices and attraction to our side succeed wherever the rising generation is treated as a partner--without keeping a distance, but also without offering special inducements and prolonged coquettishness.

Sincerity in contacts and commitment to all--even the most difficult--matters offer the best road toward establishing rapport, integration and cooperation.

Even now the activization of youth is an exceptionally difficult problem to many activists. Yet in the last 2 years we have encountered many such--at first glance--difficult problems and, gradually, not without obstacles but consistently, we have been solving them.

#### Party Future Begins Today

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 2-3 Jul 83 pp 3,5

[Article by Ludwik Krasucki: "The Future Begins Now" under the rubric "Thoughts of the Party"]

[Text] Not only our social thought but also party thinking, which, given the natural features of a vanguard detachment, constitutes part of that great whole, has been specifically affected by the events of recent years. Plunged into dramatic days, weeks and months, our thought acquired a short-term coloration. The future became immediate and narrow. This had reflected the actual situation of the economy and politics. In the economy, the severe crisis caused priority to be given to the problem of balancing resources with needs for the current quarterly period, semiannual period, or even literally for the next few days. In politics the dominant question that emerged was how to cross another transom on an obstacle-strewn road without irreversible mistakes, losses and casualties.

This does not mean, of course, that long-range elements had been absent from the party's undertakings and strategy, as indicated by many resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary Congress, the economic reform, and the complex whole of measures to promote socialist democratization. But public thinking was and still is being dominated by short-term questions. It has been in this direction, besides, that the enemy started to exert pressure by causing tension through the successive announcements of dates [for strikes, work stoppages, etc.], starting immediately after the martial law had been proclaimed.

In the light of what I tried to describe tersely but accurately above, normalization must mean a longer time frame of our thinking, a broadening of the perspective, growth of interest in matters of near and far future. Living from day to day, as thinking in terms of days counted on one's hand used to be called, is indispensable in particular situations. But it can in no case become a permanent feature of a party appointed for the purpose of setting ambitious and far-reaching goals.

We should not think it peculiar that in the past decade "the price of time" or "the race with time" have often been mentioned. Toward the end of the 20th century the price of time is rising for every nation and state and the race with time is speeding up. We live in times of every kind of speed-up, both positive and negative in nature. Whoever lags behind, stays behind. Whoever accepts staying behind is liable to backwardness and arrears which will not be overcome by generations. Are not we paying to this day an extremely high price for having been, as an independent state, active participants in the first industrial revolution? The more than century-long partition of Poland proved, in addition to everything else, to be a wasted age also from the standpoint of *raison d'etat* and experience in statehood. Today we perceive that the nearly 40 years of altogether rapid development of our country have not been enough to overcome the backwardness stemming from that period. The thesis of the price of time and the race with time is just. All that is needed is to infer from it all kinds of well-considered conclusions instead of voluntarist conclusions. Such too is our party task--because we are speaking here of the party above all else.

Soon now, at the coming plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee, the Declaration "What We Are Fighting For, and Where Are We Going" will be accepted. It is to play the role of a short-term program, but for many years ahead. Intensive work is under way on the premises for the country's development through 1990, which will more or less coincide with the time frame of that Declaration. But it is also time to intensify the work on a long-range program covering an entire stage in the building of socialism in Poland. The Central Committee commission that was especially appointed for this purpose is becoming more active. The political documents commencing with the speech of Gen W. Jaruzelski at the First PRON Congress contain a growing number of precisely such elements. Indirectly this is a testimony to the progress of normalization. It is simply that we are again becoming able to think in long-range terms.

This task, like any other task relating to the state of the social consciousness, concerns the entire party. The province, the branch of industry, the city, the city-quarter, the *gmina*, the work establishment, the research center and the scientific institution--they all are affected by the question of what we should fight and aim for during the next 7 years and subsequently over a much longer time frame. It is certainly too early for long-range programs. But it is time for reflection, exploration, discussion and calculations. It can be concluded that every party organization can provide a convincing example and proof of the party's constructive activity in every community, large and small, as regards these questions.

These questions are, at the same time, great ideological questions, in the broad meaning of the term at that. One side of the coin is problems of theory and doctrine relating to the scope of the implementation of principles of social justice, the material common ratio of egalitarianism, the ultimate vision of the state of social consciousness and political and social relations. But this in

itself is not enough. The party's responsibility for Poland always was and remains, after all, responsibility for the complex whole of questions relating to economic development, scientific and technical progress, effectiveness of management, the ability to accumulate resources in order to improve living conditions, and the development of civilization and culture. The answers to the related questions also are linked to the ideology of the leading party. These answers are a criterion of the party's ability to lead the working class, from which it originated, and the entire nation on the road of progress and development. They are a criterion of our party-minded feeling of responsibility.

We recently celebrated the birth anniversary of Karl Marx, who was the first to prove that ideas, theoretical concepts and political slogans cannot be revolutionary if they are divorced from the realities of the material existence of large communities: classes and societies. It is time to rethink all the obligations ensuing therefrom to our party thinking, our ideological activity. It is time to lengthen the perspective of our concern for Poland and assure appropriate resources of will, energy and knowledge for that concern.

#### Party Ethics--Strength in Attitudes

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 2-3 Jul 83 pp 1,3

[Article by Tadeusz Piatek, scientific associate, Higher School of Engineering in Radom: "Strength in Attitudes" under the rubric "Party Ethics"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The article "Party Ethics" by Editor Boguslaw Morawski struck the heart of the matter so far as party members are concerned. Inspired by its lively contents and originality of treatment, I decided to take part in the discussion under way. I believe that that discussion will produce certain theoretical-cognitive and practical-useful, chiefly educational, effects./

At present, following the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress, the ideological-moral aspect of party members has become particularly important. The resolution of the 9th Congress draws attention to moral aspects of intra-party life, irrespective of the functions exercised by individuals, and especially to: mutual trust, respect for human dignity, a demanding attitude toward oneself, honesty, civil courage in bringing evil to light, feeling of responsibility, and objectivity in evaluating the world and individuals. The PZPR statute specifies even more lucidly the moral aspects of party members. It specifies 10 basic obligations of members, of which as many as six refer to moral duties. This also applies to rights of members: of the six general rights specified, three are of a moral nature. This warrants stating that our statute is a corpus of norms of intra-party life that at the same time represents a distinctive moral code of the party.

I wish to take a position on one of the views of Editor Morawski. He states: "What we need most at present in shaping the desired attitudes of party members is party ethics as a system of knowledge."

I share this view partly. It is true that there is never too much of ethical knowledge, but this does not concern it alone. In itself, ethical knowledge does not--directly--result in changing the values in the moral attitude of the individual and party members. At present we need concrete living personal examples, morally valuable attitudes and positive social facts.

I believe that /so far emphasis has chiefly been placed on the theory-and-program aspects of socialist morality rather than on socialist morality, including party morality, as a social fact./ Such a practice was bound to divorce theory from life, words from deeds, and to engender varying attitudes and the wearing of false faces as the occasion dictated.

In practice, we are dealing with a socialist moral system, within which we distinguish the morality of party members. Allow me to express the following view: the transparence of the socialist moral system and its concrete implementation /in practice/ are of cardinal social significance, particularly in the current era when the economic crisis is being surmounted. /Postulative socialist morality is mere moralizing unless it is accompanied by concern for providing the conditions promoting its practical application./ Appeals for conscientious work, and publicization of social evil by means of criticism, combined with the honoring of undeserving individuals or isolation of brave and critical individuals, demoralize and lead nowhere.

I view the greatest chances for a positive solution of our present-day problems and outlining a realistic vision of the future to lie in the moral values of human attitudes, and especially the attitudes of party members: sensitivity to good and evil, conscientiousness at work and in interpersonal intercourse, objectivity of appraisals, goodwill and respect for human dignity, and concern for one's own dignity. If our attitudes are to manifest themselves in the form of concrete actions, behavior and ways of meeting needs, let us avoid evaluating these attitudes on the basis of words, declarations, slogans and sympathies. The struggle for the proper attitudes of party members, which, in another article, Editor Morawski justly termed "the operation of truth embodied in oneself," is at present of supreme importance.

One more dissent from Editor Morawski's statements: He writes that responsibility ensues from the fact of voluntarily joining the party, and that it is the same for all. I consider this to be an insufficient argument. /Responsibility ensues only partly from the fact of one's joining the party: the principal genesis of responsibility lies in the participation in and co-decision on party affairs. Since that participation and co-decision vary, responsibility also must vary./ Greater responsibility must be expected of party functionaries, secretaries and members of executive boards. But differentiated responsibility need not entail--contrary to what some believe--usurping the privilege and monopoly of being right as well as the existence of separate systems of obligations: one for "rank-and-file party members" and the other for party echelons and functionaries, such that some individuals have extensive rights and others hardly any.

I deliberately enclosed rank-and-file party members in inverted commas. For in this place I wish to express yet another opinion: /from the standpoint of the socialist moral system the term "rank-and-file party member" is erroneous and simply immoral. It tacitly implies that an individual's title or post in the hierarchy is decisive to his social and moral value. The obverse side of this

problem has to be perceived: the quality of performance of one's duties depends on the individual's moral values./ Among other things, this was and is the reason why we acknowledge and declare one morality but follow another in our daily life. I support the view of comrade Zofia Grzyb that we cannot accept a situation in which two-faced, nihilist, conformist, cynical, etc. attitudes are tolerated and disregarded by us. In struggling against such attitudes let us propagate committed, deeply idealistic, morally correct and critical attitudes. For it is in the latter attitudes that I perceive the main wellspring of the party's strength and self-identification.

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## POLISH CATHOLICISM COUNTERACTS 'CREEPING SECULARIZATION'

Warsaw WIEZ in Polish No 3, Mar 83 [signed to press 13 Jul 83] pp 3-15

[Article by Wojciech Wieczorek: "Further Questions About the Shape of Polish Catholicism"]

## [Text] I

Polish Catholicism seems to be stronger today than ever before. Although registration of denominational membership in official statistics was given up after the war, sample sociological research and simple observation allow us to believe that the number of Poles declaring themselves Catholic reaches almost 90 percent. Variations below or above this figure depending on the place of living, social group, profession, age or sex do not change this picture in any significant way. It is, therefore, an absolutely dominating denominational group, including almost the whole society. This is undoubtedly the effect of war losses (extermination of Jews), as well as of postwar territorial changes in the East and West (including the flight or deportation of the German population), as a result of which the question of national minorities, usually also leading to denominational minorities, lost statistical significance. On the other hand, it is known that openly-manifested Catholicism has not been associated with any privileges at all in the postwar Polish State, but on the contrary--it has practically been associated with discrimination in public life, although of various kind and intensity. The fact that it has never crossed some absolute boundary (this would have happened if, e.g., the cult was banned or churches closed) does not change the essence of this phenomenon either, though it undoubtedly has been a relieving factor. At the same time the whole society, including the Catholics--how could they have been excluded?--has been undergoing strong and long-lasting indoctrination in the materialistic and atheistic spirit. It is only against this background that this highly probable putative average of 90 percent may be impressive. It also demonstrates the strength of the Church as an institution around which "the whole nation" rallied. The fact that a Polish cardinal was elevated to St Peter's See dotted the "i" in this respect and was a spectacular illustration of the weight of this Church in world Catholicism.

Incidentally, this is a new phenomenon in some sense. "Polonia semper fidelis" has always been a fairly loved daughter of the universal Church, but it has not been a spoilt daughter, it usually gave more than it took. The results of the conclave over 4 years ago make one change this view. The

matter is worth attention, the more so in that--by analogy--the attachment of Poles to Rome has always matched their attachment to a Europe which, delicately speaking, paid it back in much worse currency.

But this is only a digression. On the other hand, the fact that a specific "asymmetry" of mutual relations has somehow been overcome in the universal Church, that Poland, which has for centuries been in the peripheries of Roman Christendom, as well as of Christendom in general, has been bathed in the splendor of its center from day to day--has brought, is bringing and should bring consequences for herself, too. After all, the distinction was so great that it had to touch national imagination and strengthen national self-awareness. Moreover, beginning with August 1980, it has coincided with an important trial, which is still in progress, and has causative interrelations with it.

This last sentence leads us into the sphere of political events unusually loaded with emotion, which are not the main subject of the present discussion, though. But we will have to mention them every now and then. Otherwise we could not think of the main subject, i.e., the problem of the quality of Polish Catholicism and the shape of its spiritual formation. In the light of what has happened in Poland it is no less important now, than it was in the past; indeed, it is more important. When undertaking it we must be aware of the unavoidable simplifications, however. A more authoritative picture of the actual state of affairs could only emerge from adequate research--and even then it would be difficult to say how deep it penetrated the occurring phenomena. What, then, are the chances of a columnist, whose bases are only his own observations and intuitions? Thus, whatever is written below may only have the character of hypotheses or questions directed "at everybody" and revolving around several chosen reference points.

## II

First we have a matter to be settled on the agenda. Over 23 years ago Juliusz Eska discussed here the problems of the formation of Polish Catholicism in an article entitled "Pole-Catholic" in which he pointed out certain deficiencies in its beauty carried by tradition. The theses of the article indicated very clearly and with emphasis the exceptionally strong roots of Catholicism in Polish culture. They were undoubtedly directed against combining religion and national ideology and against the symbol of this phenomenon, some notional fashion deriving, according to the author, from an inadmissible mixture of the spheres of national and religious value, leading to negative effects for both. Because "national awareness--which should stand over differences in world outlook--and religious awareness--which should stand over national differences--block each other in this situation and they mutually inhibit their development in the desired and necessary direction."<sup>1</sup> This is accompanied by insufficient understanding of the universal character of the Church and of the need of pluralism in social life, as well as particularism and signs of national and religious intolerance, which is "sometimes connected with a kind of national-religious megalomania."

This logical argument, harshly judging the mentality of Polish Catholics also contains the statement that "in giving the world outlook differences the rank of absolute boundaries they [The Catholics - W.W.] become a factor contributing to distrust and dissension in social life and, in the longer run, they inhibit the process of national integration and the development of national awareness. Thus, tragically involved in notions which tell them to doubt the full national value of theirs, they question their own univalence." These statements, read after almost a quarter of a century, must be the cause of our special embarrassment today--and not only since today. They prove how wrong can logical thinking be when it does not take into consideration all the existing premises. After all, who became the "factor causing distrust and dissension" during the lengthy postwar period, often "attaching the importance of absolute boundaries to world outlook differences" (e.g., in access to responsible functions in social life)? Who inhibited (i.e., in this way) "the process of national integration and the development of national awareness?" And, finally, who questioned "the full national value of others thus raising doubts about their own value?" Was it the Church and the Catholics? In other words, it was determined by the context of the external situation. The fact that the author of "Pole-Catholic" dealt exclusively with the internal problems of the foreformation of Polish Catholicism, without trying to evaluate the activity of "the others" may justify him to some extent, the more so that at that time, during the "skid" after the October euphoria, this context had not been outlined clearly enough in our minds yet. But hence the growing ambiguity caused the statements quoted above, contrary to the intentions with which they were written. For the sake of accuracy one must also add that although they were written by Juliusz Eska, they reflected the state of minds of the whole group of "WIEZ" at that time. We do not want to deprecate our own tradition with all the benefits of its inventory. The more so that I still believe that this tradition includes observations and ideas which are not outdated at all. We will have to return to this matter again.

In reality, however, the state of affairs was such that, after a passing October "thaw" nothing actually changed in the basic experience of the postwar Polish Church and Catholicism. (...) And the essence of this experience consisted in a determined defence of the Church's own, mainly spiritual assets, which were threatened by another, materialistic outlook. Thus there was constant pressure on the Church, which was received also as a threat to national awareness by a wide spectrum of social opinion, often based on instinct. There was also a converse relation. Namely, the feeling of threat to this awareness itself led people to seek protection under the cloak of the Church. In other words, a situation renewed itself and lasted to some extent, in which the Church--as Eska rightly wrote in his article--"not infrequently was forced to fulfill a number of functions, especially in the field of cherishing national awareness, and to undertake activity which did not belong to it by its nature. Consequently, the Church, or rather its representatives, often became authorities in secular matters, serving national life under the conditions of those times which, however--irrespective of noble intentions--strengthened the tendency to a certain type of clericalism."

There is nothing to add or take from this. And let us leave clericalism in peace for the time being. The divergence between intentions and the meaning

of political reality was caused more by late drawing of conclusions from the situational context, in which fighting unquestionable vices of Polish Catholicism became actually a problem of secondary importance in view of the urgent need to defend its basic existential necessities. The more so that they were taking a course convergent with the needs of national life. And Church and national tradition provided well-tried and effective models in this respect<sup>2</sup>.

Evidence of this effectiveness appeared actually already in the 1970's, when state authorities slowly began to acknowledge the importance of the Church in national life. It is worth noting here that this tendency appeared quite a few years before John Paul II was elected and it was the consequence of both, the course of action of the late Primate Wyszynski and the socioeconomic situation of the country, which was more and more tense and loaded with catastrophe. And during the pilgrimage of the pope in 1979 and after August 1980 the extent of influence of the Church and its moral position revealed themselves emphatically.

And so it stayed. Today it is a universally acknowledged institution, enjoying, at least in public expressions, respect. And for all of those people who were hard hit by December 1981 it is not only a source of support and assistance, but also of their own identification. "Poles-Catholics" manifesting their outlook ostentatiously have somehow multiplied, sometimes including also those who had forgotten how to pray in the past. Is this supposed to mean that this critically-evaluated mentality appeared better prepared for the requirements of... Polish history--and is going through its renaissance? There is something convincing about it. The matter does not seem to be so simple, however, so let us try and explain it in another argument.

### III

There is no doubt that resistance to materialistic ideology had its source in the attachment to Catholicism, which was so deeply rooted in our culture. And that the strength of the so-called countryside Catholicism, with the whole variety of its national and religious stereotypes, manifested itself here and it did not have a disintegrating influence at all. On the contrary, both in the naturally traditional village communities, and among new emigrants from the countryside who increasingly define the sociology of cities, especially of workers' and "new intelligentsia" communities, this religious symbolism remained and strengthened as an important cause of social ties. Especially the history of building the church in Nowa Huta provides a striking example of this. One can also risk a hypothesis that this tie-creating function of religious symbols demonstrated itself stronger in the sphere of necessities of national life than in the sphere of purely religious needs. It was growing stronger as the cultural void created by the shallow propaganda of imagined successes (this is an older invention than Gierek's time) was becoming more and more painful and as the misery of this life, also in the economic field, demonstrated itself. A "Pole-Catholic" could easily be popular in such social context by simply copying behavioral models carried by tradition and somehow ingrained in the subconscious of the widest strata of the Polish

society. Is it, however, the same "Pole-Catholic" that we were accustomed to by older times?

This is where one can have doubts. Adjustment does not equal adjustment. While "from the front" the "Polish-Catholic" mentality was an effective "defensive adjustment" in the name of preserving one's identity, different threats manifested themselves "in the rear," to which it was less resistant. One should, as a matter of routine, point out to the processes of industrialization here, as well as to horizontal and vertical social mobility accompanying it (i.e., internal migration, mainly from villages to cities and the so-called social advancement consisting in the change of a professional and social position, usually connected with educational advancement) which--while undoubtedly transforming the sociocivilizational shape of the country--brought with them unavoidable pathological side effects. These effects were more painful, as the above-mentioned processes were introduced more and more by force, without taking notice of the harm being done. Indeed, we should include among these effects symptoms of social disintegration and uprooting. This is where their real source lies--they were created as a result of displacing huge masses of people into new conditions of existence, usually characterized by serious shortages in elementary infrastructure, which is indispensable for normal life (including a chronic shortage of apartments at the top of the list). And what about higher, spiritual levels, exposed to ideological control, which blocked every authentic cultural process?

Anyway, we have already spoken of the cultural void. It greatly contributed to the crisis of many traditional values in newly created communities, uprooted and unadjusted to the new and still-crippled forms of existence. One may recall here the Polish version of the family crisis, educational problems with juveniles or the problem of alcoholism, lacking any inhibitions and growing in geometrical progression. Also religious values have not withstood this crisis to some extent. Only it has been less visible and not univocal. But the crisis is evident.

The strength of the "Polish-Catholic" mentality consisted not only in being a religious formation, but also an integral component of a wider cultural formation that was shaped, I believe, in ancient times. Hence--as Eska indicated--it was no less than a formation of generic Polish culture, which is inherited subconsciously as it were, and undergoes social control in the environment of this culture. Now, there is no doubt that this environment was seriously ruined as a result of postwar sociocivilizational changes. This happened not only in the cities, but also in the countryside, which was exposed to various types of oppression and demographically exhausted. And in the new environment, which was deeply atomized due to factors mentioned above, this social factor has naturally been weakened considerably, if it has not disappeared altogether. On the other hand--apart from an increase in the level of education--pressure increased not so much for the competing indoctrination as for the secularized way of life, which was so much more attractive, as it was simply "easier," freeing one from many, especially moral, rigors. One could also speak long time ago about the effects that could generally be observed from autopsy as well as those resulting from the picture achieved in the sample sociological research mentioned above. At the same time, proper

caution should be maintained in evaluating these effects. For, if one stated straightforwardly that a trend indicating a fall of religious zeal can be observed then it could be received with disbelief, if not with irritation, in a country of full churches and mass pilgrimages. But the matter is not in the quantitative aspects of the problem, although they will also be mentioned later. It is the symptoms of growing distance and even skepticism towards religious truths given to believe, which are sometimes commented in very different ways that are more significant and, even more so, the phenomena of "evasive" attitudes towards the dictates of Catholic morality and church discipline. The "lonely individual in the crowd," in the Polish crowd, lacking the more or less rigid corset and social control of the environment, allows himself some, delicately speaking, "reductions" in the direction of the minimum or even "zero level." At the same time--please forgive me this not-very-happy travesty--the process of some "creeping secularization" developed, the more dangerous that it is more difficult to discover behind the facade of those full churches. Full also because there are simply not enough of them for the statistical mass of the faithful.

Quantitative indicators that can be traced are sometimes alarming. For instance, it is estimated that, on the average, among those almost 90 percent of Catholics living in our country only half are practicing Catholics. And in some big city communities, e.g., in Lodz, the indicator of practicing Catholics fell to 15 percent. This is almost a "mission" area! I would not be calmed down by the situation in the countryside, to which it is worth paying more attention and where symptoms of erosion of at least religious zeal begin to be visible "with the naked eye." This is, by the way, a subject in itself, requiring separate research assumptions. It is also easy to imagine that on the borderline between the practicing and non-practicing there is a "grey" area characterized by diversified intensity and "selectiveness" of participation in religious practices. If, for instance, it is not bad with participation in the Sunday mass, then participation in other events decreases or becomes "formal." Maybe this illustrates best the "creeping" progress of secularization, the dying of religiousness "from within." On this background it is better not to investigate what is the religious awareness of--one would think--believers, the knowledge of the truths of faith. Although Poles have never been great theologians and it is not our aim to turn them into theologians, what they can demonstrate seems to be below the catechism level of primary school. And this does not predispose one to raptures.

The situation is similar--or even worse--in the field of practicing the principles of morality which, after all, is not the last in the hierarchy of Christian virtues. What we can observe in the territory between Zgorzelec and Suwalki and between Szczecin and Przemysl can sometimes be deeply humiliating. It demonstrates that the Pole-Catholic--so strong and adamant elsewhere--somehow does not want to, and is not capable of, resisting the temptations as well as the miseries of contemporary Polish life. Naturally, one can say that the conditions are at fault and that man is, in general, a sinful being. But one's conscience feels strange when one sees a church full to the brim and then learns about the extent of alcoholism or the number of divorces and "curettages" committed by this same parish flock. It would be possible to say various things about it and not comforting at all, if we consider the Decalogue. Anyway, what can be seen is sufficient.

What is this "Pole-Catholic" like today, then?

#### IV

Maybe it is worth making the reservation that if this picture turned out to be rather black, it was not dictated by the intention to fit the absolute ideal of Christian life which--like any ideal--must remain...an ideal. One should not lose the feeling of reality either. A considerable increase of symptoms of egoism, hypocrisy and plain dishonesty that we see every day, vanishing criteria of what is good and what evil, what one should and what should not, what is "the state's," what "one's own" and what "nobody's," etc.--all these symptoms can somehow be explained in the context of realities of life, which does not mean that they are justified in moral categories. At the same time they prove that a "Pole-Catholic," deprived--to a considerable extent--of the cultural prostheses and supports indeed is no longer quite the same. This hypothesis may also be stretched to embrace other aspects of the matter. For the symptoms of degrading spiritual values mentioned above seem to be accompanied by a relative or--if we may use the expression--selective decrease of authority of the clergy. I mean here something more than refusal to observe the traditional forms of expressing respect, which are rather obsolete for today's customs. Thus we have another problem to investigate, namely, to what extent can we speak today about the tendency to clericalism among "Poles-Catholics." It seems that the situation in this field does not allow for univocal definitions. Especially their strong ties with national ideology in the nationalistic sense, which was represented by the National Democratic formation in the past are doubtful and at least considerably restricted. The "Pole-Catholic" today is characterized rather by manifestations of national identity, which is not exactly the same thing, and covers quite a wide range of political choices that Polish Catholics would be ready to accept. This is accompanied by an increased degree of tolerance for the differences existing between them in the political sphere.

Thus we can see that besides the sad symptoms, there are also phenomena worth our attention. Phenomena which provide evidence that the course of secular or--to use religious language--"earthly" matters is gaining autonomy, that a tendency which has for some time now constituted the contemporary "mark of the times," and is fully approved and assimilated by the post-council Church, is breaking through. Only it is a pity that this is happening at the same time as visible losses in the qualitative substance of Polish Catholicism exposed to the pressure of "creeping secularization" in the actual, nonreligious meaning of the word. They are harmful not only from the Catholic point of view. Maybe this is the price of sociocivilizational shocks. It is also possible that the inertia of Church conservatism on the one hand, and the aggressiveness of the fighting atheism on the other, unexpectedly met in causing this state of affairs.

Let us return to the main stream of this discussion, however, for conclusions can already be drawn from the two courses of thinking presented above. Most of all, we have to call here on something that still constitutes the strength of the "Pole-Catholic," i.e. on manifestations of national and religious

identity, because this is a phenomenon worth our special interest. One is reminded again of the results of Stefan Nowak's research, famous at the time, which indicated that Poles tend to identify most with their family and motherland, disregarding other indirect reference groups. But it was the Church--somehow weakly represented in this research--that frequently became the symbol of this motherland. Consequently, it absorbed these national and patriotic preferences.

This emphasizes again the high position it occupies in the sphere of national life, especially in the most difficult moments, the position which was verified many times since the Swedish invasion. But this does not excuse us from asking further questions about the shape of Polish Catholicism. This is so, because while noting with satisfaction the fact of its massive character, one cannot close his eyes to the quasipolitical or even political motivation, which can also be seen in it somehow. The contemporary "Pole-Catholic" uses it not only in an instinctive or "genetically-acquired" way--which betrays his own origins and confirms his certitude that despite all changes this is the same "type" within its species--but also in a way forced by current circumstances of national life, updating the traditional forms of political behavior. For the heart of the matter is not only to get protection under the cloak of the Church, which is understandable and was long ago summed up by common wisdom in the well-known proverb saying that "when in fright, go to God." It also concerns a certain tendency, equally old, but of growing intensity in our times. Namely, the tendency to treat the institution of Church as a fighter for Polish interests. All Poles, believers, semi-believers and even nonbelievers are ready to expect this. We do not have to convince ourselves how much these expectations grow when the nation is in some special need nor how understandable they are. Nevertheless, for the sake of clarity in the mutual relations between religious and national affairs, the sacred and the profane in this respect, one must ask: Is this tendency, which is "instrumental" in the final analysis, a normal, healthy phenomenon, or not? And what is its relation to the universal mission of the Church?

In other words, previous doubts are brought to life again, only in a slightly modified form. They are undoubtedly fostered by the outline picture of the state of Polish religiousness. And further, more specific questions follow: Would such "instrumental" Catholicism equip us sufficiently to oppose effectively the pressure of "creeping secularization," which trickles into our thinking and behavior so unobtrusively that we do not even realize what poor Catholics we are? And, finally, does it not influence somehow, even indirectly, the style of catechism instruction, which must, after all, respond to the expectations of the faithful to maintain mutual ties?

V.

These questions must be left open. Nevertheless, since they were asked with a critical intention in mind, they do not cover the whole picture. It is time to supplement it with the shades omitted so far.

It would have been an unjust simplification not to notice certain tendencies "parallel" to those described in Polish Catholicism--but in the opposite . . .

direction. The first of them, the more visible one, appeared as a resultant of various factors. The pastoral influence connected with the millenium period of the Great Novena must be emphasized here. However, two specific facts mentioned earlier seem to have been of crucial importance--the massive character of this Catholicism and the ecclesiastical fact of the election of a pope of Polish nationality. Also the consequences were mentioned, the rising temperature--sometimes in an atmosphere of sensation--political forecasts connected with it, increasing the "instrumental" attitudes of Poles towards the Church. Let us also recall the explosion of justified national pride. What remains to be said is the great increase of interest in the affairs of the Church and its teachings--living up to its massive character--and finally, a clearly returning flush of religious zeal. It can be documented in various fields--if only in the growing curve of calls to holy orders, which was quite satisfactory in comparison with other countries.

In no way can we overestimate this liveliness in the Polish Catholic community. Mainly, because it has decisively strengthened the "defence bulwarks" protecting against the flood by "creeping secularization." Secondly, because it constitutes something of a wide opening for another tendency which--it seems--exists independently, but more "deeply," and hence is more difficult to discover with the help of sociological techniques or any of the so-called scientific analyses.

What is meant here is the phenomenon of a deeper experiencing of the truths of faith, which escapes this analysis. Nevertheless, some symptoms of "parameters" of this can be registered. We can, e.g., presume with a high degree of probability that the pope's pilgrimage in June 1979 left behind not only the emotions of a spectacular event, but also evoked the need for religious reflection. The kind of reflection that encourages one to ask himself the basic, "existential" questions, which can often be also a reaction to the experienced misery and idleness of existence. If someone tried to take me at my word and told me that this is a classical example "alienation," a typical "refuge into religion," it would only confirm the fact that the reality of our country provides more than enough sources of this "alienation." But satisfaction with this statement alone would be hiding one's head in the sand. It seems that it is more important to analyze the sense of these questions and to find out who is asking them.

There is no doubt that the phenomenon mentioned above cannot be restricted to the so-called elite circles. Among others, it marked the spontaneous creation of new KiKs [Clubs of Catholic Intelligentsia] after August 1980, which were created mostly on the level of counties and were rather far from the threat of "overintellectualism." One could then see that even "simple Catholics," who did not formally have intelligentsia status, can surprise by internal maturity or by the attitude of readiness to exchange ideas on religious subjects.<sup>3</sup> And this is not the only example. The "Light and Life" movement, actually semimassive, contributed a lot to it, as well as other more or less spontaneous initiatives aiming at deepening faith--in parishes, specialized pastorates and professional groups. One should not overlook either the substantial participation of young and middle age people in them, i.e., the categories which constitute the demographical majority in our country.

Incidentally, this phenomenon is in sharp contrast with the vision of religion we were fed, i.e., with the vision of a languishing relic for the consolation of old people standing over their graves. Most of all, however, it colors the picture of contemporary Polish religiousness with shades far from black or even gray. Because this phenomenon consists of symptoms indicating that it is changing significantly "from within," but also in the sense that it creates special, active "antibodies" that can be found on the opposite side of the "creeping secularization." The fact that Polish society is, on the average, better-educated demanding today plays a similar role here. Because it is also demanding in the question of better understanding of faith, towards which people turn not to give way to their devotion or because they allegedly wish to "seek refuge from life"--this is a young and dynamic population--but also to learn from the Church how to live. How to live so that life is better and one does not have to regret it, because there is only one life given.

The answer of the Church must be good enough for these questions. The post-council Church has this kind of an answer. Since it is directed towards people who--if one may say so--grew on the cultural substratum of "Pole-Catholic," the interrelations of religion and culture should undergo a deeper reflection than in the past. The point is that they cannot be perceived only from the sociological point of view. They also have their theological aspect, related to the fact that Church is rooted in the people's world. It does not exist outside: outside people, i.e., outside nations, and this means, outside their cultures. In its historical existence the Church has inspired such cultures and tried to permeate them with the Christian spirit and the cultures, in turn, have added to the ways faith is understood various "national peculiarities." We might again recall Eska's article from 23 years ago.<sup>4</sup> And the phenomenon of interrelations between religion and culture itself, their mutual influence, has a deeper character than that consolidated in simplified and very inadequate stereotypes that have developed in the course of a specific historical experience. New light was thrown on it by postcouncil theology and especially by the teachings of John Paul II. It is worth reminding here, e.g., his homilies delivered in Gniezno or speech at the plenary conference of the Polish Episcopate in Czestochowa or, finally, his wonderful homily from the Krakow Green of June 1979. There is a place in these reports, which are being read anew today, for both the autonomy of the order of culture--including also the "secular" category of the nation--and for subsequent emphasis on the merely inspirational function of religious values in creating culture. There is no place here for either a monopoly of religion in the sphere of culture, or vice versa, for we are dealing with qualitatively different orders.

To be more specific: e.g., someone shaped in Polish culture, which is permeated with the Catholic spirit, does not ipso facto have to be a believing Catholic, though he should at least be aware of the cultural context in which he lives. This does not disqualify his Polishness in any way, however. It should be open for anybody who feels it and is ready for the consequences resulting from it. The situation is similar in the political sphere: any attempts at making the Church political or, especially, "partylike" in the

"instrumental" spirit are inadmissible. The same concerns the sacralization of political events. Thus the Church, while fulfilling its pastoral mission, has the right to intervene in public life when moral principles and the common national welfare require it.

The way in which this welfare is understood and how it is defended depends on "earthly" calculations and can be a subject of discussions. The question of principles, on the other hand, is indisputable. They derive from Catholic social ethics, the essence of which can be found in the concept of man which is promulgated by the whole of Christianity. It points to man's unusually high dignity, rooted in religious mysteries. It is, at the same time, the greatest culture-creating value in Christianity. It was developed in a way that meets the needs of our times in the postcouncil Catholic Church, especially in the doctrine on human and citizens' rights or, e.g., in the encyclical "Laborem exercens." It does not identify nor speak against any political or social system, but it requires from each that it acknowledge it and put it into practice. And the Church is to bear witness to this value and its consequences in public life--for culture, and for the nation--which is its special subject. This concerns both the Church as an institution and the Church as a community of the faithful. The value under discussion concerns all people and hence, naturally, also the "Pole-Catholic."

This is how I would see an outline answer to the question of how to live. It has an integral character, for it concerns both the individual man, by making him aware of the source of his personal dignity, and the society which is to protect this dignity. Thus it calls on both the Decalogue and the greatest commandment in Christianity, in the spirit of which "man's environment," with all its cultural, national, class, denominational and any other complexities, should be permanently shaped. It is, at the same time, a serious answer that can appeal to people who use their brains and want to be treated as adults--in the Church, as well as in the society, and the state whose citizens they are. This is an acceptable answer for the recent fissure of Polish Catholicism.

But it is also clear that it destroys the traditional stereotype of "Pole-Catholic," while leaving intact both his Polish and his Catholic identity. Because it concerns not so much the formal routine of religious life or the obsolete and partially disintegrating religious-cultural folklore, as conscious participation in the life of the Church and society. Moreover, it actually fosters authentic development of new religious customs on the basis of permanent traditional foundations. Mainly, however, it ceases to tolerate things which caused most objections in the historically-shaped formation of Polish Catholicism; this tendency to national and denominational xenophobia with its symptoms of lack of tolerance, social insensibility or even--it happened--"Polish-Catholic" fanaticism. One might say that this is the result not only of the clarity of teachings of postcouncil theology, but also the weight of Polish historical experience in modern times, which has trained and clarified many of those phobias and from which the coming generation is drawing conclusions.

## VI

We should not delude ourselves, however,. Everything that was written above can be found mixed and entangled in real life. Even if certain phenomena and tendencies were isolated from it here, it is difficult to decide on this basis which of them belong to the future--irrespective of the validity of our perceptions. This is specially true as regards the last tendency, which raises hopes. I admit that some "wishful thinking" can be found in the attempt to describe it. But everyone has the right to have wishes. And, seriously speaking, it is difficult to define its strength and scope and it is also doubtful that it will be able to break through "by itself." Catholics, of all people, should not have a predilection for thinking in determinist categories. One would find it difficult to consider them followers of the party supporting the eclipse of the moon. I mean that one cannot just look at the changes occurring in Polish Catholicism from an intellectual refuge, one should also have a hand in them.

Naturally, this is connected mainly with the level of catechism instruction or with the special responsibility of the clergy. But also the laity should have something to do here, and quite a lot too, according to the postcouncil spirit of the times. The more so in that there are things to be done. Because the wave of interest in religious matters started by the Pole on the papal throne and growing again after the post-August earthquake, the wave that carries with it visible signs of religious renaissance, divides in very different ways. By the force of an atavistic habit it also pours into the old "Polish-Catholic" forms, in which one could find something of the tendency to "some kind of clericalism," and to "some kind of national-religious megalomania" and--especially after December--to "instrumentalism." Only--to repeat the ceterum censeo of WIEZ from almost a quarter of a century ago--they are faded forms and, contrary to the impression they might give, weak, and cannot be maintained in the perspective of the coming times. The waves of euphoria come and go, similarly to special political circumstances which place the Polish Church in "the eye of the hurricane." The feeling of responsibility for the nation requires not only prudence and wise diplomacy, but also firm principles. Thus, more than ever before, it must be a Church of humanist attitudes that bravely calls for our human rights, dignity and justice, but also one that demands them for others. A Church in which there will be no room for "pious" antisemitism or no less "pious" enmity towards the "Lutherans" or "Orthodox," which will teach respect for other nations (...) irrespective of the fact that for denominational or political reasons, or both, rightly or not, they do not seem "fitting" to us. Finally, the Church that is open for those who had left it, ready to help and for an honest discussion. In other words, the Church which is not "anti," but defends principles everywhere and always.

Today these are actually theoretically unquestionable axioms. The problem is how far have they reached into the religious community, which includes the question also of how much they have become the daily bread of pastoral practice and how much does the laity feel responsible for them. And how much responsibility it can feel. Let this question remain open too. But the answer to this question will be of crucial importance, if we consider the

confused picture of contemporary Polish religiousness. It will determine whether this religiousness will fall back to the old-fashioned forms--which cannot be totally excluded--and will sooner or later give in to "creeping secularization," or whether it will renew itself, giving to its formation the mark of religious maturity and the mark of humanistic maturity to Polish culture, which feeds on it.

And there is more to it. Maybe it is worth recalling once again in the end that Poland lies in Europe, that it spiritually belongs to the circle of "Mediterranean culture," with which it shares common spiritual experience despite the physical and political distance. And, as in the past when she received Christianity from there and later absorbed various trends, including those opposed to Christianity, today she cannot remain insensitive to what is happening in this culture. On the other hand, while participating in a culture one is not only the object of its influence, but also its subject, depending on one's own input which--obviously--can be diversified. So when symptoms of crisis appear in this culture, which is much more secularized than ours, as well as changes in spiritual values indicating, among other things, a readiness to return to its Christian sources, then the role of the specific Polish experience from the cultural borderland, with its product--"Pole-Catholic"--may be worth some attention. Only this will remain restricted, if it will be brought down to a fascination by its massive character and the current political function of the phenomenon. Soon objections would be raised against its less attractive peculiarities with accusations of nationalist provincialism or even antisemitism coming first, even if such accusations are obsolete. No, similarly to the majority of Polish products, this stereotype of Polish Catholicism, which is known to the world, does not qualify for export. Indeed, the supposed threat of the "Polonization" of the universal Church after the last conclave has already caused tremors of panic as meaningful as it is funny, in the West. It would be different, though, if the Church in Poland and the Polish Catholic community fully lived up to the historical trial taking place in many spheres of their ethos and activity, and the values developed in the melting pot of national experience revealed their universal character, enriched by those aspects of human fate and struggle that is not known very well by people in the West. This would be a genuine contribution to not only Polish culture. This vision was brought nearer by the work of Primate Cardinal Wyszyński thanks to whose significant influence the Polish experiment of the encounter between Catholicism and a marxist state assumed these and not other forms. However, let us repeat that the trial is still in progress, and the stakes are really high.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Juliusz Eska: "Polak-katolik" [Pole-Catholic], WIEZ no 11, 1959. The remaining quotations are from the same article.
2. The author has twice attempted a "limited rehabilitation" of the "Polish-Catholic" model. Cf. Stefan Frankiewicz, Cezary Gawrys, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Zdzisław Szpakowski, Wojciech Wieczorek, Kazimierz Woycicki: "Dzień w Polsce" [Nine Days in Poland] in a collective report from

the pilgrimage of John Paul II to Poland, in the fragment concerning his stay in Czestochowa, WIEZ no 7-8, 1979; also: "Widziane z dolu, czyli mutacje polskosci" [Seen from below, that is Mutations of Polishness], WIEZ no 7-8, 1980, especially in the 4th, 5th and 6th chapters of the sketch. The most valuable publication on this subject, however, was the sketch by Ewa Jablonska-Deptulowa, entitled "Religijna ideologia suwerennosci narodowej w XIX wieku" [Religious Ideology of National Sovereignty in the 19th Century], published in no 4-5 of WIEZ of 1982.

3. Another interesting problem is connected with it, though it has nothing to do with sociology of religion. Signals came from these regional KiKs indicating dislike of the word "intelligentsia" appearing in their name. Arguments were used that this constitutes a barrier preventing people from joining club activities and arising from doubts on whether they fell under this category. There is basis to believe that this reserve was not necessarily the result of intimidation by the social "parlor," but also of insufficient trust of the social stratum whose behavior, snobbery--often were nouveau riche manners--and especially tendency to conformism, were not viewed in the most favorable light. These were the beliefs of the simple people about their intelligentsia. The problem is in the fact that this semantic opposition was derived from these people, from "ordinary Catholics," who did not pretend to intelligentsia's honors.
4. And especially his lecture at the session of the KiK in Warsaw, which was devoted to the teachings of John Paul II. Cf. Juliusz Eska: "Kultura narodowa a chrzescijanstwo" [National Culture and Christianity], WIEZ no 6, 1980.

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## CEAUSESCU'S VIEWS ON WORKERS MOVEMENT EXAMINED

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/Discussion by Univ Reader Dr Ion Ardeleanu, Dr Marin Badea, Maj Gen Dr Ilie Ceausescu, Univ Reader Dr Ion Coman, Dr Romus Dima, Univ Reader Dr Mihai Fatu (Timisoara), Univ Lecturer Dr Ladislau Gergely, Univ Prof Dr Vasile G. Ionescu (Suceava), Univ Prof Dr Gheorghe I. Ionita, Univ Prof Dr Stefan Lache, Univ Reader Constantin Mocanu, Univ Reader Dr Mircea Musat, Univ Prof Dr Nicolae Petreamu, Univ Lecturer Dr Stelian Popescu, Univ Lecturer Dr Gheorghe Sbirna, Dr Gheorghe Surpat and Dr Gheorghe Tutui/

/Text/ The Ninth RCP Congress, held 18 years ago, inaugurated a period of creative progress and all-around development of the party's and state's activity with a marked innovating effect on all activities. Studies in historical science also took a noteworthy turn. Nicolae Ceausescu's stimulating advice, frequently addressed to the historical front, to pay the closest attention to the Romanian people's past and to write history not according to subjective wishes or the political needs of the moment but as it was, as the events happened, and in keeping with real life inaugurated the trend toward truth and scientific integrity. He pointed out the necessity of uniform investigation and presentation of the nation's history and of complete integration of the history of the workers movement and that of the RCP in the general history of the Romanian people. By following those guidelines history became a science of the truth and a force generating high patriotic feelings and also capable of creating a climate of mutual respect and acquaintance among nations and of helping to bring about principled relations among the countries and peoples of the world.

Now that 18 years have passed since the historic Ninth Party Congress, the researchers in the field of history can take satisfaction in the fact that by following the party leadership's directions they have made an important contribution to scientific knowledge of the Romanian people's past and to the present generation's greater respect for their predecessors' sacrifices and achievements. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "We are indebted to our ancestors for Romania's freedom and independence today. We honor that historical past because we honor all those who did their utmost so that Romania would exist as a free and independent state today. In honoring them we honor the Romanian people, as well as the past, present and communist future of Romania."

Held in the spirit of those directives, the discussion of the conception of the RCP and its secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu of the workers movement as an integral part of the national history is a contribution to the Romanian researchers' efforts to determine the Romanian people's past in accordance with the historical truth.

Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We must realize that the RCP is not a thing apart from the nation and the people, that the Romanian nation has just one history, and that the RCP was born in the social struggles in the course of the people's history. The RCP's history is the history of the Romanian nation, and therefore the nation's history is the only history that will reflect the Romanian people's entire development."

#### A Policy of Alliances with All Progressive and Democratic Forces

ION COMAN: The achievement of complete national-state unity in 1918 opened up extensive prospects for Romania's development on the path of economic and social-political progress. Due to historical necessity and the masses' struggles, extensive changes were made in a brief period of time that entailed the disappearance or attenuation of some economic, social and political factors hitherto considered stable, as well as modification of the relations among the main social components. All the social-political forces acutely felt the need of a comprehensive analysis of the nation's possible developmental processes and trends as well as the need of new measures to meet the strategic and tactical requirements.

The efforts of the Romanian workers movement and the RCP to study the inner mechanisms of capitalist society and to adapt the masses' revolutionary struggle to the new conditions created by the natural evolution of that society were made in this connection. Its long political experience enabled the workers movement to examine in depth the problems presented by that historical evolution and to prepare its revolutionary strategy and tactics on that basis.

The fact is noteworthy that in these years of great social-political upheaval and vast revolutionary changes in several countries of the world, changes punctuated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, the representative forces of the Romanian workers movement realized that priority must be given to knowledge of the Romanian situation and its distinctive features according to which the general laws of the revolutionary theory were to be applied. The daily SOCIALISMUL said in 1920, "The Marxist theory that guides us requires us to know first of all the circumstances in which we live, the Romanian environment, and the soil in which we must dig and each of us must lay the foundations of our organizations."

The RCP's effort to study the evolution of the structure and condition of the working class resulted in the documents of the party organs and organizations, the United Trade Unions and the Worker-Peasant Bloc as well as the articles published in the workers press. Determination of the structure of the peasantry was of vital importance to the effort to ascertain the social structure of Romania. The agrarian problem became a chief strategic consideration because the main task of acquisition of political power by the working class and the peasantry could not be realistically approached, either theoretically or practically, until that problem was clarified. The end result of the historical process

whereby the working class accomplished its mission in Romania clearly depended on its alliance with the peasantry. The peasants were a major concern of the communists not only because of their large share in the total population but also because of their contribution to the national income, their revolutionary potential, and their predominant role in the social and national struggle.

The primary necessity of the worker-peasant alliance, as a form of social-political collaboration based on the vital interests of the main social classes, was stressed in many socialist and communist resolutions, motions and manifestoes and in the efforts made in the villages for the main purpose of enlisting the peasants alongside the industrial proletariat in the struggle against the ruling classes.

As we know, the Communist Party's ties with the peasantry were to suffer heavily after the Comintern was formed because a wrong slogan about the agrarian problem was received from abroad. Some leaders of the Comintern thought the agrarian reform, breaking up the land into millions of small holdings, delayed the assertion of the new society too long by depriving the cardinal principle of transferring the production means to the people's ownership of one of its main components. The Romanian communist militants, who knew the country and the people well, never gave up their reservations about that opinion. Beyond the measures advanced concerning the forms of ownership (all based on the desire to eliminate the landowners and transfer the land to the peasants' ownership), the main criterion of the Communist Party's attitude was regarding the peasants as natural, essential and permanent allies in the revolutionary struggle and in socialist construction and revolution. It differed in that very respect from all the bourgeois parties, which assumed the right to represent the peasantry either as a distinct social class opposed to the other classes or as a subordinate social group whose political potential could be ignored.

VASILE G. IONESCU: Another problem resulting from Marxist analysis of the Romanian situation concerned the ways the working class gains political power, being a main objective of abolishing exploitation of man by man and creating a new life. Due to the historical circumstances, the view circulated in the ranks of the Socialist Party that political power can be acquired only through a worldwide process on the basis of tactical directives from a single center, or it was the older view about "importing" socialism from the West after its victory in the economically developed countries. Though they were expressed and demonstrated differently, both concepts agreed on underrating the Romanian conditions and the role of the native working class.

As opposed to those views, the idea also arose that was based on the theory that the controlling factors for gaining political power and accomplishing the socialist revolution would appear under the internal conditions peculiar to the development of Romanian society. Upon comparative analysis of cases from the international revolutionary movement it was unequivocally concluded that "The form the revolution will take depends on the existing economic, political and even traditional conditions, so that the forms future revolutions will take will of course differ from the one in Russia because all those conditions differ from one country to another." Therefore the Romanian socialists had to distinguish "what is characteristically Russian and what is a phenomenon to be repeated in any proletarian revolution wherever it may arise." (SOCIALISMUL 19 November

1918) Accordingly the idea of the "model" in a revolution was not accepted in the theoretical discussions that led to the party's qualitative.

Analysis of Romania's situation convinced the Socialist Party, as expressed in its program documents, that the bourgeois system had become an obstacle to the nation's progress but also that there were no immediate prospects of turning the ruling, exploiting class out of power. Therefore more attention was paid to coordinating the effort to defend democracy with the historical mission of the working class, since they realized the accomplishment of the socialist revolution was a lengthy process which had to be thoroughly prepared and in which all the progressive forces of Romanian society had to be enlisted along with the proletariat. On the eve of the founding of the RCP it was realistically concluded that there was no good reason for the "illegal effort" to be organized to drive the exploiting classes from power, whereas use and defense of the democratic rights and freedoms compatible with the existing political regime were some of the means the working class could use to advantage to prepare the way for the socialist revolution.

The new developmental stage after 1918, which clearly included consolidation of the bourgeoisie's power, considerably complicated social relations. Not only were the class confrontations not attenuated, but the contradictions of the bourgeois regime were aggravated, while the growing hostility of the working masses manifested itself in the extensive revolutionary actions in 1918-1920 under the leadership of the working class. It was the beginning of a new historical stage with new tasks for the progressive forces in Romania, tasks involving the eventual liquidation of the existing political system and transition to the exploitation-free society.

In order to accomplish that aim, which was its historical mission, the Romanian working class needed a sound and adequate political organization. The reorganization, which meant unification of the revolutionary movement throughout the whole country and transformation of the Socialist Party into the RCP in May 1921, was the outcome of the objective requirements of Romania's socioeconomic development and can be understood only in that light.

Thanks to the tradition of the socialist movement's development prior to 1918, the lessons learned during the war, and study of other countries' revolutionary experience, the qualitative change in the revolutionary party of the Romanian working class was accompanied by an extensive theoretical discussion of the essential problems of the revolutionary process not only in general but regarding Romania in particular. Except for some views reflecting obvious reformist influences or leftist leanings, this discussion was characterized by extensive opportunities to promote the policy of using the Marxist theory as a means of investigating and interpreting the Romanian situation and of trying to make an original contribution to clarification of the political and economic problems with which their experience was confronting the working class and progressive forces in Romania.

Accordingly the arguments about the position and role of the working class in Romanian society after World War I centered upon the correct dialectical interpretation of the economic, social and political developments, coming to the conclusion that the only class under Romanian conditions that could direct the nation's development in accordance with all the workers' vital requirements was

the working class. Moreover the process of forming the RCP was also based upon that conclusion.

GHEORGHE I. IONITA: When we speak of the history of the RCP we are speaking and naturally must speak of this party's ties with the masses. To the best of our knowledge contact with the masses was not only an aim but an accomplished fact even in the most difficult years of illegality. I would mention only the existence of about 60 legal, semilegal, and illegal mass organizations founded, led or influenced by the RCP which were tied to the Communist Party by thousands of threads and through which the Communist Party itself was deeply involved in the lives of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia and the most varied social strata and categories. And in that case can the history of the Communist Party ever be regarded solely as the history of that party and can it still be studied apart from the history of the Romanian people and the masses? Unquestionably not!

Furthermore other parties of the working class also existed and operated alongside the Communist Party, whether they were called the PSDMR /Social-Democratic Workers Party of Romania/, the Unified Socialist Party, the Socialist Party (Constantin Popovici), the Socialist-Peasant Party or the like. In one way or another they all confined their efforts, initiatives and progress to the general interest of the working class and the masses as a whole. The history of their activities has become better known to us in recent years through a number of works and articles written by the students of the period.

Nicolae Ceausescu himself gives the RCP credit for having helped us eliminate the errors of the past and the well-known distortions in connection with the presence of the various workers parties and groups in Romanian politics. Abandoning the old rules and labels with which we used to burden analyses of the activities of these parties and groups, we are now presenting their merits as well as their weaknesses and mistakes realistically and objectively. I feel that these parties and groups collaborated with the Communist Party in many respects and even against the misunderstandings and tensions that existed among their leaders at some points, while succeeding in taking steps in their daily efforts to correctly resolve the vital economic, social and political problems that affected the interests of the many. But I do not think the presence of the socialist and social-democratic deputies in Romanian Parliament between the wars has been thoroughly studied as yet, nor their stand in defense of the interests of the working class and the masses in general. Since the Communist Party did not succeed in sending its own representatives to Parliament (except for the sporadic presence of Lucretiu Patrascanu and other communist deputies in 1931) due to the well-known difficulties, it would be appropriate to gain a more precise knowledge and understanding of the attitudes of the socialist and social-democratic members of Parliament. Judging by the data we have from investigation of the parliamentary discussions in those years, I think a careful study would lead to a precise determination of the truth about the merits of the socialists of the period, of course in connection with clarification of their limitations as well.

Further thorough study of Romanian politics in the period between the wars can eloquently bear out the fact that the history of the Romanian people and that of Romania are as one by nature, so that they cannot be understood apart from each other.

LADISLAU GERGELY: The RCP militated for unification of all workers regardless of nationality in the struggle for socialism against exploitation and oppression, thus making a valuable contribution to the establishment of friendly and cooperative relations between the Romanian people and the national minorities. As it says in the draft program prepared for the Congress of May 1921, "The working class must devote all attention to the great decisive battle to be joined with capitalism when the hour of reckoning comes. The minorities problem must be viewed by the workers in that light." The idea was repeated at the RCP Congress of October 1922, where it was pointed out that "Emancipation of the national minorities... is impossible without the victory of the proletarians."

MADOSZ, a mass organization created and guided by the RCP, made a major contribution to the implementation of those aims. The RCP's policy of defending the rights of the minorities in Romania was consistently maintained throughout the period between the wars and in the difficult years of World War II. I would like to say on this subject that many of the documents of the workers movement, and especially the illegal or semilegal press, exaggerated a number of aspects of the minorities' repression by the central or local Romanian authorities for propaganda purposes at times. Therefore we must not allow ourselves to be deceived by such materials but must evaluate the reported facts in each individual case by checking them with the legal framework provided by the laws of the Romanian state and bearing in mind that no state can overlook actions that undermine its stability or internal social order.

MARIN BADEA: There undoubtedly are a great many specific historical examples to bear out the scientific viability and outstanding methodological value of presenting the history of the workers movement as an integral part of the general history of the Romanian people. In connection with our discussion I should like to remind you of the historical image of a phenomenon that is very well-known now, in other words some of the conclusions reached by Romanian historians about one of the historical phenomena that have been constant subjects of scientific investigation, namely the struggle of the working class and the progressive and democratic forces in Romania against the fascist danger or the image of their efforts to defend the national sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, or the Romanian people's essential right to an independent existence.

To be sure the working class joined the actions of the antifascist struggle on the particular terms of its demands or considerations, whether they were theoretical or actually political in nature, but it consistently realized, especially in the years 1934-1939, the necessity of forming a common front of antifascist struggle in which all progressive and democratic forces of Romania would be enlisted and take resolute action toward real and intensive consolidation of the antifascist and anti-Hitlerite resistance, so that firm measures would be taken in all areas (but especially in that of foreign policy until the fall of 1940) to repel any attempts on Hitlerite Germany's part to interfere in Romania's internal affairs, to abandon any tendencies toward concessions to the fascist bloc and to strengthen the actions that could secure the power to resist the Hitlerite assault. The communists consistently favored a policy of resistance to safeguard Romania's independence and integrity, appealing to all progressive and democratic social-political forces to unite in a broad antifascist patriotic front.

The way the antifascist and anti-Hitlerite resistance was conducted in Romania and the historical facts, events and processes that contributed to the recovery of a scientific historical picture of the Romanian resistance in the years of World War II are among the most striking proofs of the need of presenting the history of the workers movement as an integral part of the Romanian people's general history. The historical facts are as conclusive as can be, and the interpreted elements already in the arsenal of Romanian historical thought definitely prove the existence both of a quite distinct historical initiative on the communists' part (whether in very strict scientific analysis of the facts or in determining the ways to rescue the Romanian people from the danger of a national disaster) and of a real historical process of rallying all the social-political forces interested for any reason in helping to carry out the communists' initiative and to win the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation opened in 1944.

ROMUS DIMA: In the years since it was formed the RCP has been confronted with a multitude of problems unprecedented in the old workers movement in Romania. It has succeeded in coping with the new situations and in asserting itself as the true representative of the workers interests by relying on its long experience in the struggle for the rights of the exploited and oppressed, on its contact with the masses, and on its revolutionary ideology. That is attested by the communists' contributions to discussions of party methods, working class unity, the agrarian and minorities problems, etc.

It is unquestionably to the credit of the communists in Romania that by combining illegal with legal operations after the RCP was outlawed they managed to maintain contact with the masses and to recruit a large number of workers through the legal and illegal mass organizations (especially the UTC /Union of Communist Youth/ the United Trade Unions and the BMT /expansion unknown/) for the struggle against the bosses' offensive and capitalist exploitation and in defense of the Romanian people's vital national interests.

The determined uprising of the working class in January-February 1933 to obstruct the government circles' plans to escape from a crisis on the backs of the masses is a significant example of its involvement in historic events critical to the fate of the nation. The Craiova Trial of the leaders of these uprisings vividly demonstrated the solidarity of the various strata of the population with the proletariat's cause and their determination to use all forces and means available to them to quash the mock trial and free the arrested militants.

The communists' opposition to the fascist organizations, which had begun to loom more and more ominously on the Romanian political scene in the 1930's, is another significant example. That period was one of the most troubled ones in the history of Romania, the labor movement and the Communist Party. Under the communists' leadership, the antifascist movement took on huge proportions, comprising increasingly broad masses of people of various categories and political persuasions. For example, the victories of the democratic forces' candidates in Mehedința and Hunedoara counties speak volumes for the prestige of the popular front communists' policy and their growing influence among the masses, as well as the many antifascist actions mounted in Romania in the following years, under the royal dictatorship and especially under Antonescu's fascist dictatorship. The acts of sabotage and partisan uprisings initiated by communists in various parts of

Romania struck hard at Antonescu's fascist military regime and hampered its efforts to continue the Hitlerite war.

In the golden book of great events in the experience of the Romanian people and their struggle for freedom and independence history has also entered the critical contribution of the proletariat alongside other patriotic forces of the Romanian nation under the RCP's leadership to the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for national and social emancipation opened by the insurrection in August 1944.

GHEORGHE I. IONITA: Several times at international scientific meetings on history I have happened to hear the following question asked (perhaps ingenuously, for that too is possible) by some foreign historian concerning the RCP's role in the crucial events in Romania in August 1944. Some of them ask, for example, how we Romanians can say that those memorable events were the work of the Communist Party when it was going through a period of complete illegality, was brutally persecuted, and its membership could not have been large enough under those hard conditions to bring about events like those started on 23 August 1944.

To all those who wonder about and ask us such questions I always replied and still reply that we Romanian historians have never written and nowhere maintained that the RCP was the only element that brought about the triumph of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution for national and social liberation but that thanks to the flexibility of its tactical and strategic policy, this party succeeded in combining very extensive forces who followed it in this hard struggle fraught with responsibilities and sacrifices. The insurrection was not an exclusively communist action, which would have involved only the card-carriers, but a far more extensive action that united under the Communist Party's banner varied and numerous social and political forces interested for one reason or another in victory over Antonescu's dictatorship, in extricating Romania from the Hitlerite military venture into which it had been dragged, in turning its weapons against Nazi Germany, and in establishing a government of broad national representation.

With this formulation of the problem (the only one that entirely corresponds to the nature of the events in August 1944) there is no occasion to try to write a separate history of the Communist Party's insurgent action in isolation from the very composite and extensive action of all the patriotic forces of the nation and consequently of the Romanian people. For otherwise what could such a formulation mean but a denial of the role of the PSDMR (with which the RCP established thorough collaboration as the United Workers Front in April 1944) and other political groups and parties with which the communists collaborated closely and some of which adopted the communists' viewpoint unconditionally (Plowmen's Front, MADOSZ, Patriots' Union, Patriotic Defense, Socialist-Peasant Party, et al.), as well as the role of the bourgeois parties themselves, which agreed to collaborate with the RCP and the PSDMR on 20 June 1944 (in the agreement of the National-Democratic Bloc), and of the other political forces (the army, for example, including the Royal Palace circles), who understood the purpose of cooperation in order to carry out the insurgent act. Therefore there was a much broader front than some foreign historians imagine who ask us questions like the foregoing.

Of course this is only one of the examples I could cite of the complete integration of the workers movement in the general struggle for national progress from

the Romanian people's more or less recent history. We can maintain with conviction on the basis of such examples that there can be no question of nor any point in making artificial distinctions under any circumstances between the history of the nation and the people and the history of the RCP and the revolutionary and democratic labor movement.

GHEORGHE SURPAT: The historical facts show that while the RCP was completely integrated in the broad national and patriotic anti-Hitlerite movement, it was distinguished by the superiority of its strategic and tactical conception, by a comprehensive and profound understanding of the vital national interests it was fighting to defend, and by its combination, on the strategic level, of the aim of national liberation with that of social liberation. The RCP's activity in the period of preparing the insurrection was devoted to the major requirement of rescuing the Romanian people from the catastrophic situation into which they had been driven by fascism. To that end it advocated unification of all interested patriotic political forces and leaving to a later stage the other aim of turning the exploiters out of power and creating a new society.

#### Consistent Patriotic Stands

STEFAN LACHE: To clarify the points we are discussing, it is particularly important to determine the consequences for Romanian politics in general of the temporary division and the reunification of the Romanian labor movement. Analysis of this problem is especially necessary because many of the specialized works and studies that have taken up the organizational evolution of the Romanian labor movement still tend to present it in itself while giving secondary consideration to its implications for social-political activity. In other words, it has not been studied in sufficient depth.

As we know, the Socialist Party Congress convened on 8 May 1921 decided on the change to the RCP. It was a historic moment of vital importance to the revolutionary movement in Romania and to the organization of the masses' struggle for social and national justice and for socialism. The RCP asserted itself from the start as the legitimate representative of the proletariat throughout the nation, as the guide and leader of all workers organizations throughout united Romania, and as a determined fighter in defense of the entire Romanian people's vital interests. For reasons we do not intend to analyze here, some members of the former Socialist Party did not observe the decision ratified by the Congress of May 1921 and formed a Social-Democratic Party later, in 1927. The split caused by the formation of the Federation of Socialist Parties and later by that of the Social-Democratic Party in 1927 interrupted the natural course of the development of the Romanian workers movement and seriously impaired its chances of emerging as an avantgarde force of the Romanian nation and as a primary factor in determining the course of major events in Romanian politics. It should be noted parenthetically that the political division of the working class in Romania reflected the general international phenomenon within the workers movement after World War I and especially after the formation of the Comintern. The oppressive and evil period of division, with its elements of mutual distrust and bitter polemic debates, was gradually overcome by the revolutionary actions themselves of the working masses, who proceeded from the vital common interests and the necessity of a united effort to protect the vital national interests. Along with many other joint actions, the great antifascist and antiwar demonstration of

1 May 1939 was, in its preparation and in its execution, an actual implementation of the United Workers Front.

In the difficult years of the war and Hitlerite domination, the leaders of the workers parties took steps to reinforce the working class' capacity to respond to the antipopular and antinational policy of Antonescu's dictatorship, in view of the nation's vital interests, which were more important than the disagreements and differences among them. As we know, they actually concluded the agreement of the United Workers Front in the first half of April 1944.

The united action of the communists and the social-democrats was a political act of national importance. It helped to develop the militant potential of the working class as well as its ability to mobilize all the national forces that accomplished the historic act of 23 August 1944. Moreover there was an inseparable tie between consolidation of the workers' unity and the achievement of some radical revolutionary and democratic reforms in Romania in the following period. The communists and social-democrats took the same attitude toward the vital social and national problems, publicly supported the same claims and demands, and militated with combined forces for the proper position of the working class in political affairs. The United Workers Front fully demonstrated its importance in the course of the great political actions that led to establishment of the democratic revolutionary regime on 6 March 1945, to the accomplishment of the agrarian reform, to the victory of the democratic forces in the parliamentary elections on 19 November 1946, and to the great socioeconomic and political reforms in 1947 that prepared the way for the socialist revolution.

The start of the new stage of Romanian society's development, the stage of socialist revolution and construction, depended to a great extent upon complete unification of the workers movement and formation of a united party of the working class as a leading political force in society capable of uniting all the nation's forces around it. The documents of the Unification Congress held on 21-23 February 1948 quite rightly pointed out that the unification, the formation of the united working class party, was a signal victory of all the revolutionary forces in Romania, reflecting an objective necessity of primary importance to the success of the revolution and to socialist construction in Romania.

GHEORGHE SBIRNA: In the course of our discussion, I think it is also important to point out the notable contribution the Romanian workers movement has made over the decades to indoctrination of the young generation in the revolutionary spirit and to guidance of the youth movement toward objectives of major importance to the nation's progress and happiness.

As we know the young generation, a vital component of modern and contemporary Romanian society, has participated purposefully and resolutely under the socialists' and communists' encouragement in the discussion and promotion of the great innovating and stimulating ideas for socioeconomic, political and cultural-ideological progress. The book of the people's history records the names of many inspired youths who wished to bring the advanced ideas of their time to successful achievement even at the supreme sacrifice and to fight for fulfillment of the people's vital aspirations.

The revolutionary movement of youth has been an important part of the struggles for national and social liberation, of the revolutionary workers movement, and

of the RCP. The working class party's documents have constantly pointed out the need of correct guidance of the young generation's energies and its enlistment alongside the Romanian people's most advanced forces in the front ranks of the battle for national and social freedom and for national independence and unity. Thanks to the socialists' and communists' constant effort to indoctrinate and guide working youth and the youth movement in general, the best elements of the young generation have supported, in thought and deed, the workers movement's progressive and patriotic stand on the vital problems that troubled Romanian society, the solution of which determined Romania's development on the path of national and social progress and its advancement among the nations of the world to its full creative capacities.

After the unification of the national state, when the workers movement was facing new tasks due to the need of democratic reform and consolidation of Romanian society and of solving some far-reaching problems confronting the Romanian people, the communists' effort to stimulate the revolutionary youth movement proved quite successful. The formation of the UTC in the spring of 1922, only a year after the RCP was founded, was accordingly a high point in Romanian social-political activity. Upon consolidating its ties with the other youth organizations, the UTC made an important contribution to the political, socioeconomic and cultural objectives the RCP was fighting for. Under its experienced leadership, youth played a considerable part in the patriotic and democratic forces' whole resistance to Hitlerite rule and the anti-Soviet war in order to extricate the nation from that war and commit its entire economic and military potential to the fight against Hitlerite Germany.

It is unquestionably to the credit of the RCP that after 23 August 1944 the UTC succeeded in rallying large masses of urban and rural youth to the great revolutionary reforms and the victory of socialism, which placed Romania in a leading position among the states of the world. Causing millions of youths to understand their high patriotic responsibility and involving them in purposeful socialist construction are undoubtedly significant proofs of the outstanding part the workers movement and the RCP have been playing in Romanian affairs.

MIHAI FATU: I would venture to say that the results of the political alliances promoted by the PSDMR and the RCP are among the most convincing demonstrations of the patriotic position of the workers movement and its role in national politics. When one follows the red thread of political alliances from the second half of the 19th century, it is almost self-evident that the political movement of the working class, represented by the Socialist Party and later by the RCP, was born with the awareness of its definite affiliation with the Romanian nation and the Romanian people, that it was the result of the Romanian people's internal troubles and was historically destined to serve their interests, that the Romanian workers movement did not evolve along lines foreign to the people or Romania and served no interests opposed to the Romanian nation, and that it related to all other parties, groups and personalities on the Romanian political scene as a national force inspired by the desire and resolve to collaborate with all those who wished to serve the national interests.

The RCP has made many efforts to establish cooperative relations with the most varied political forces or personalities who served the national interests at one time or another. Of course the RCP was always clearly aware of its class

character as the party of the working class, relating to all other political forces as a party belonging to the class which, in defending its own interests, was also the most consistent defender of the vital interests of the Romanian nation and the country. The RCP related from those positions both to liberals, peasants and radicals and to socialists, social-democrats or other political forces with which it came in contact. The uses of the political alliances promoted by the party of the working class, namely the RCP, has been an essential aspect of its political struggle, the struggle of the working masses against the forces opposing progress.

Ever since it appeared on the national political scene, the PSDMR had made many approaches to carry out certain actions in alliance with political forces belonging to the bourgeoisie, including the liberals (Cf. the parliamentary elections of 1894, 1911 et al.). But the most telling point at which the Romanian workers movement figured as an effective, activating force in the great changes that concerned the Romanian nation was 1918, the year of the unification of all areas inhabited by Romanians in a single state. When Iosif Jumanca said at Alba Iulia that "Social-democracy is not identical with lack of national feeling," he reminded the 1918 generations of countless incidents that had accredited the Romanian working class party over the years as a profoundly national and patriotic force. This statement was made at a time when the historical role of the workers movement was distorted by a number of bourgeois political schools trying to establish the false idea that socialism is synonymous with lack of national spirit and merely an international movement with no roots in the peoples' inner consciousness or any national character.

The RCP adopted and furthered the idea and use of political alliances with the nation's progressive forces to effect general social and political reforms essential to the Romanian nation's progress and the masses' vital interests. The attempt to form electoral cartels (1922, 1924 and 1926) was resumed on new levels. Its effort to bring about common understandings and actions with the Peasant Party, since that party had a large mass of peasants on its side, was a clearly political move on the part of the RCP.

The effort to bring about some agreements and even "blocs" with parties and organizations popular among the worker-peasant masses, with social-democrats, socialists etc. was actually annihilated by the interference of the Comintern, which bitterly criticized the Romanian communists for the agreements made by the Worker-Peasant Bloc with the social-democrats and peasantists in the communal elections in 1926. Almost until 1934 there followed a period of evident involution of the RCP's activity in the field of alliances, with serious repercussions upon the party's fulfillment of its role as a national force and guide of the workers in the great historical processes that Romania was experiencing. The party was separated from the masses to a great extent by the outside pressures upon it, and isolated from the influential political forces that represented the interests of major social categories and enjoyed their effective support.

The new international and internal conditions created by the establishment of the Nazi regime in Germany and the growing danger of Romania's partition and loss of its national sovereignty and independence gradually led the RCP to reappraise its alliances policy. Although it was highly illegal, the RCP was recognized by many political parties and groups and even by the government as well as various political, cultural and scientific personalities as the only stable force in the

fight against the dangers that threatened the country. In 1934-1939, the RCP was a solid core around which major national forces rallied, including some from the democratic-bourgeois parties, who were in government or aspired to management of affairs of state. After the internal political events at the beginning of 1938, the RCP looked for and found ways of making some contacts, especially with distinguished personalities in the governments that followed (Armand Calinescu), and on 1 May 1939 it succeeded in organizing the great demonstration against the fascist danger and Nazi Germany in defense of the nation against the internal and external perils that threatened it. I do not think we err in stating that at these points the RCP fully demonstrated its responsibility in matters of national defense and behaved as a real government party.

In 1934-1939 the Romanian communists proved their ability to deal with the great problems that involved Romania's existence as a united national state resulting from the Great Unification in 1918. Thanks to its cooperative relations with the social-democrats, socialists, national-peasantists, radicals, trade unions and later with the guilds, its power to reach the masses and its ability to get them out into the streets and lead them, brilliantly demonstrated on the occasion of the great demonstration of 1 May 1939, the RCP asserted itself as a true national party no longer reacting automatically to the directions and directives of the Comintern. The refusal of many leaders as well as the cells of the party to conform to the change that had been made in 1939 in the Comintern's attitude toward Nazi Germany and the rejection of some slogans that flagrantly conflicted with the highest interests of Romania and the people and led to aggravation of the disagreements with the Comintern leadership and to its well-known directives handed down to the RCP in the spring of 1940. But even though the RCP leadership no longer initiated joint actions with the political forces with which the party had previously collaborated, the local RCP organizations made extensive use of the wealth of experience acquired in the antifascist struggle in 1934-1939. In keeping with their patriotic convictions, the communists offered up their lives to defend the country by force of arms. They could be considered "governmentals" in the sense that they supported the national defense measures taken by the government. Despite the difficulties caused by the changes in the international balance of power in favor of fascism and territorial revisionism, the year 1940 showed that the RCP was still able to influence the masses and lead them in the national defense effort.

In the years of the military-fascist dictatorship and the Hitlerite war the RCP proved itself to be the force capable of coordinating all the political units that brought about the victory of the historic action of 23 August 1944. In those years the party's history became completely identified with the nation's history, and it completed and lent a new direction to that history. Whether they liked it or not, even the old political enemies had to accept the communists' hegemony in determining Romania's new prospects and to admit publicly that the crisis to which Romania had been brought by the Antonescu regime and Nazi domination could not have been solved without the communists. Neither the king and his entourage nor Maniu, Bratianu, Gheorghe Tatarascu, Titel Petrescu, Ralea, Topa, Dr Lupu or the brilliant generals on the general staff could any longer deny the historically determined and ordained role of the communists in those historic circumstances. What followed after 23 August 1944 was only a natural consequence of the previous situation. As the party in power (23 August 1944-6 March 1945) and later as the main government party (after 6 March 1945),

the RCP became completely identified with the history of the people and of the progressive and democratic forces' effort to build the socialist and communist order in Romania.

CONSTANTIN MOCANU: Comrade Fatu said that the RCP was "governmental" in a certain sense, namely a government force even though it was illegal, and that it was a kind of far-sighted political sentinel watching how the country is progressing and what must be done in order to progress further. I think that interpretation is correct. But the RCP did not become a government force in the true sense of the word until 23 August 1944, when the first communist, Lucretiu Patrascanu, was appointed to the government. The RCP's influence broadened more and more until it came to control the government decisively, and not only the government but also the governing of the country. This aspect, one among many that can be mentioned, shows us the irresistible growth of the communists power and of their increasingly massive involvement in the major processes and events of national history.

MIHAI FATU: I thought a fundamental evaluation of the nature of the opposition of the labor movement, and especially of the PSDMR and the RCP, to the social-political system based on exploitation in general and to the various governments that succeeded each other in this system in particular, would be useful for the clearest possible understanding of the way the labor movement has been integrated in Romania's social-political activity. The opponents of communism have maintained that in its illegal period (1924-1944) the RCP could make no policy or any modification of state policy and that it could not be considered a national party because of its unalterable opposition to the political system as a whole. Therefore I should like to inquire whether in the main the RCP's status as an illegal opposition party separated it from the national situation or whether it involved it more completely in the innermost mechanisms of social development, making it look beyond what officialdom was interested in considering.

It seems to me that the status as an opposition party was in many respects a motive force for accelerated social development working against the government circles, who for readily understandable reasons opposed social progress beyond certain limits as well as the changes required by the laws of social evolution. Accordingly it would do no harm to place more emphasis on the aspects that made the RCP's political opposition a factor for progress, just as a more differentiated evaluation of its constructive role would be necessary because there were situations in its history where it took a not entirely correct stand on certain problems of obvious national importance. But it is true that the RCP's mistaken attitude toward the formation of the united Romanian national state was strongly influenced by the Comintern.

In many other situations the RCP, although it was illegal and oppressed and had a number of decimated personnel, realized that in spite of its unacceptable official status it had a duty to militate for a number of socioeconomic and political objectives that figured in the government parties' programs. I should like to remind you, for example, of the attitude taken when Romania felt more and more threatened by the external fascist danger and Horthyite revisionism and revanchism. Did the RCP not appeal to the masses in 1939 to respond to the orders to mobilize? Did it not express its resolve to take up arms if the country fell victim to Horthyite and fascist aggression? The answer can only be affirmative. I do not think the significance of the RCP's attitude in 1939 has been adequately

indicated as yet. The communists were "governmental" in the sense that they realized that there was a higher, general national interest above class conflicts and disputes with government parties that had to be pursued at all costs.

VASILE G. IONESCU: In connection with the problems concerning the RCP as an opposition party, I should like to mention that it was not the only party of the kind in Romania. Both the PSDMR and the National-Peasant Party, as well as the Liberal Party, were in opposition in some periods. But the question arises, "In opposition to what?" To the position of the government existing at the time, of course.

We can discuss the problem of opposition in connection with the question raised here whether or not the RCP was "governmental." If we consider the period between the wars and all the parties in the political arena, even those with programs that encouraged development of the productive forces after 1918, we see that they tended to become parties with conservative stands. Nevertheless the RCP's opposition differed from that of the bourgeois parties. It was an opposition in principle to what was essentially obstructing the development of Romanian society. It was primarily an opposition to the existing social-political order in general and at the same time an opposition to particular aspects of it. Therefore I do not consider the term "governmental" the most suitable one because it usually means the party with the power to govern. To be sure the RCP was one of the political forces of society, and in essential matters of Romania's evolution (I am not referring to the 1939 phase alone) it helped to influence national politics. Study of the archives shows the decision-makers' constant concern with the RCP's position on one or another of the problems on the agenda. Therefore in a certain way the RCP's positions could be influential. The party, while illegal, stimulated Romanian politics by the means it employed. But it influenced events by other means and for radically different purposes than those of the bourgeois parties. Although it influenced the government and state activity at some points, I do not think we can say it was "governmental."

NICOLAE PETREANU: The working class party began as an opposition party from its inception. After it became a Communist Party it operated as an opposition party not from the electoral standpoint but by virtue of its program and its options as a leading force of the working class aiming at acquisition of power and revolutionary reform of the society based on exploitation and construction of socialist society. That main objective, aimed at radical social reforms, placed it from the start on the other side of the barricade, in irreconcilable conflict with all the parties that were serving the interests of the ruling classes, interests calling first of all for perpetuation of the order, namely the existing social-political regime. The RCP's appearance on the national scene and its political actions demonstrated that it was capable of perceiving Romanian society's requirements correctly and of solving the problems that were arising in keeping with the working people's interests.

The RCP was faced with extremely involved internal and external problems. To begin with the external ones, the RCP appeared at a time when the international communist movement was convinced that worldwide communism was coming soon. With that strategic outlook, they were emphasizing the so-called "class against class" tactics, which had many implications. It is no accident that the Communist Party did not find the best solutions at first to the problem of united action with the

social-democrats and had an inflexible attitude toward dissents of the bourgeois parties. It did not clearly see at the start the stage in which Romania was, wrongly supposing that Romania was on the brink of the socialist revolution, as Soviet Russia had been, to say nothing of the fact that the RCP belonged to an international organization, the Comintern, created by Lenin, and that it was accordingly bound to certain norms, sometimes quite difficult, that seriously affected its political policy and its procedures. Because of all this the party did not evaluate all the internal problems correctly and needed more time to determine Romanian society's real immediate requirements and to formulate its political objectives from the standpoint of the national necessities. For example, in matters of international solidarity the emphasis was on the necessity of defending the Soviet Union, a correct requirement under the international circumstances but one which often overshadowed that other indispensable aspect of the behavior of a true Communist Party, namely patriotism. The party documents of the 1920's rarely appeal to the workers' patriotic feelings, while internationalist appeals abound. After 1933, when the international situation changed considerably and the national interests came to be more and more directly threatened by the aggressive forces of fascism, major corrections were made in the RCP policy as the communists took a highly realistic attitude focused on the demands of vital national importance that were confronting the entire people.

#### Workers Movement's Aims of National Freedom, Independence and Unity

STELIAN POPESCU: For the Romanian proletariat, born in the nation's economic and social-political realities, the ideals of national freedom and state independence and unity were significant constants that unquestionably characterized many actions of the workers and socialist movement over the years. It is sufficient to say here that back in 1821 and later in 1848 and 1859 miners, tradesmen, journeymen and other elements of the incipient working class joined forces with the entire Romanian people to win national freedom and the right to a worthy existence among the nations of the world. In 1877 the leading Romanian socialist circles as well as the labor organizations enthusiastically welcomed the proclamation of Romania's state independence, realizing that it was essential to the Romanian people's progress as a nation and also to the further development of the workers movement. Members of the socialist circles, young physicians and students enlisted as volunteers, placing their lives and knowledge in the service of the noble cause of independence. Many workers as well as labor organizations subscribed to the fund to equip the army and especially to purchase weapons.

Inspired by a genuine patriotism, the working class party discussed from revolutionary positions not only vital internal problems of Romania's social development but also external problems of primary importance, militating for an effective policy of international assertion of the Romanian people's right to national independence, equality and dignity. As they said at the RCP Congress in January 1910, "We wish to preserve every nation's independence, for that is the only way to establish the true lasting ties among peoples whereby each nation shall make its own cultural contribution to the community of human civilization." All the stands taken by the Romanian socialists show a clear comprehension of the major tasks confronting Romania in order to complete its united national state and to defend its territorial independence, sovereignty and integrity in the difficult circumstances of international affairs dominated by the policy of the great imperialist powers.

The Romanians in the areas invaded by the Habsburg Empire found reliable support in the party of the working class. The memorandist movement in 1892 was favorably received by the social-democrats, who participated in the meetings and demonstrations organized by memorandists and in the propaganda work in support of their demands. The Romanian socialists welcomed the initiatives of the League for All Romanians' Cultural Unity, believing that the League should also concern itself with all Romanians arbitrarily torn from the body of the nation and should enlist the peasant masses in addition to the urban elements in order to acquire a mass character that could lend it the necessary militance.

Of course the Romanian workers and socialist movement's attitude and activity in the national struggle were saddled with certain limitations due to inexperience as well as some theories and practices of the Second International.

Romania's participation in World War I and its entry in the struggle to create the united Romanian national state in the stage of its completion again brought out the realistic and profoundly patriotic attitude of the working class and its close integration in the entire people's efforts to achieve the great ideal of national freedom and unity. There were extensive strikes and demonstrations in the fall of 1918 in Transylvania, the Banat and Bucovina (in Arad, Cluj, Brasov, Timisoara, Valea Jiului and other centers) in the course of which Romanian, Hungarian, German and Serbian workers demanded the end of Habsburg rule and political self-determination for the oppressed nationalities.

As an integral part of the Romanian people, the socialists had an important favorable effect upon the political programs adopted at the time, collaborating closely with the political groups working for unification. Their enlistment of the representatives of the Socialist Party on a basis of parity with the PNR [Romanian National Party] representatives in the Central Romanian National Council, a body that played a decisive part in the act of 1 December 1918, is a striking example of their share in the actions that led to the unification of Transylvania with Romania. The massive presence of the working class in that body and in the local guards and national councils, under whose leadership preparations were made for the historic event, lent the struggle for national unity a profoundly democratic character aimed at fulfillment of some major social demands and radical improvement of the working masses' living conditions once state unity was achieved.

MIRCEA MUSAT: While regularly making every effort on behalf of the Romanian people's unity, the working class party also opposed any national repression and condemned keeping any peoples in a dependent state or oppression of any nations by other nations, the policy of the invading states. The Romanian socialists warmly embraced the ideals of freedom of the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs and Bulgarians, bringing out the significance of the national struggle and its role in accelerating the process of social emancipation. The newspaper MUNCA said the socialists favored "the unification of the peoples as well as all Romanians." On the same subject EVENIMENTUL LITERAR said, "Politically speaking it is evident that the socialists must recognize every people's right to self-determination and self-government. There can be no measure here other than the consciousness and will of the people themselves. If any people demand their right and fight for it, the socialist will not be the ones to withhold their sympathy." The Romanian socialists fully proved their ability to perceive the characteristic features of

the struggle for national liberation that had engulfed countries on various continents. "No one is more opposed than the socialists to oppression in any form, including that of a foreign yoke. We also recognize that unification of all people speaking the same language is a right and a historical necessity."

The peoples' movement for national self-determination and abolition of foreign rule also included the struggle of the masses in all the Romanian regions.

The conclusion of the process of forming the Romanian national state in the memorable year of 1918 was the outcome of the struggle of the masses, the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the progressive bourgeois circles and the main social classes and strata, the work of the entire people and the Romanian nation as a whole. Actively militating for completion of the Romanian national state's unity and declaring themselves in accord with the decisions to join the motherland, the Romanian socialists said in a program document, "We are happy to greet the Romanian people's liberation and we respect the decreed ties of unification. The new Romania of today is to become the socialist Romania of tomorrow."

History proves that the formation of the united Romanian national state was not the result of any chance circumstance or of the agreements reached in the mass of negotiations. The peace treaty merely sanctioned an actual situation created by the struggle of the masses. The creation of national and state unity was the natural accomplishment of the Romanian people's age-old aspirations to unity and of the dream for which countless generations of their ancestors had fought and sacrificed themselves and the fulfillment of the objective necessity of historical development itself.

The formation of the united national state marked Romania's entry into a new stage of its socioeconomic development characterized by rapid growth of the productive forces and accelerated capitalist development. At the same time the big monopolies' penetration of the Romanian economy and the exploitation of the working masses by native and foreign capitalists increased and the class contradictions were increasingly aggravated.

Postwar Romanian society presented the picture of a young and vigorous nation historically embarked upon the natural course of its political-administrative unity favorable to unleashing its creative energies on both economic construction and revolution. The initial difficulties were borne by the masses of workers and especially by the proletariat and peasantry.

The masses' pronounced aspiration to freedom and democracy and their desire to give the nation a progressive all-around development were characteristic of Romanian society of this period. The broad front of those engaged in the effort destined to secure Romanian society's advance on the path of democracy and progress included all Romanian citizens regardless of nationality. The Romanian workers' friendship and fraternal collaboration with the workers belonging to the national minorities were constantly strengthened in the struggle for a new life.

ION ARDELEANU: As it has been said in the course of our discussion, the Romanian socialists and working class were separated by artificial barriers until the Great Unification in 1918, but they faced the same problems and underwent a

comparable evolution, with formation of the united national state as one of their main objectives. Therefore in the first years after the aim of national unity was accomplished the working class together with the Romanian people's revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces concentrated their efforts upon defense of the gains they had made, consolidation of national independence, and defense of the nation from the dangers that threatened it.

The patriotic position of the workers movement became very evident in the course of the actions against the revisionist, irredentist and revanchist threats from the foreign reactionary forces. History has recorded the battles fought by the working class, its revolutionary organizations and the other democratic and progressive forces in 1929-1933 against the seizure of the country by foreign capital, as well as the antifascist, antirevisionist demonstrations in 1934-1937, the intensive antifascist and antiwar demonstrations of 1 May 1939, and the stormy demonstrations in 1940 against the territorial losses imposed on the country by the fascist Dictate of Vienna.

Throughout the period between the wars the working class and its political organizations militated for a good-neighbor policy of collaboration with the adjacent states. The effort to restore relations with the Soviet Union was a constant in this direction. In 1929, when the Briand-Kellogg Treaty was being discussed in Parliament, the representative of the Social-Democratic Party declared that "Romania's foreign policy must resolutely pursue complete normalization of diplomatic relations with Russia. To this end, the signing of the Moscow protocol can be a welcome inauguration if both countries will form a sincere policy of peace and rapprochement." In another context, at the parliamentary session on 18 March 1931, in connection with the draft law for the foreign loan, the social-democratic deputy Lothar Radaceanu said, "The present loan has been negotiated on terms so unfavorable and oppressive for Romania that the social-democratic parliamentary group is justified in stating that so far from bringing any real or tangible relief to the economy and public finances, it will considerably aggravate the already very heavy burdens of the state and the masses of taxpayers for a long time, and it will confirm the state of serfdom to foreign capital that Romania has reached... Having come to this conclusion and considering that the whole burden of the loan will fall upon the working masses and consumers, who will nevertheless not benefit from it, the parliamentary group of the Social-Democratic Party will not vote for the submitted bills."

Being highly illegal but continuing to operate in the lead of the democratic, patriotic forces, the RCP raised its voice very loudly against the revisionist maneuvers against Romania's territorial integrity. The resolution adopted by the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of July 1936 pointed out quite emphatically that "The triumph of German imperialism would lead to the triumph of Hungarian fascism, Bulgarian fascism etc...., to the partition of Romania for the benefit of the neighboring fascist countries, to the foreign enslavement of the Romanian people, and to seizure of all the nation's resources by German imperialism." A few years later the resolution of the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of June 1939 stating the RCP's position in case Romania was attacked pointed out that "If Hitlerite Germany unleashes the war in Europe and against the USSR and attacks Romania with the aid of Horthyite Hungary, the communists will deem it necessary to defend every inch of Romanian soil. We the communists will join the front ranks of the fighters to repel fascist aggression and we will fight the war to the finish."

As we know, the resistance force of the working class and its political organizations succeeded in checking for a while the aggressions of fascism and the rise to power of the Iron Guard, the agency of Hitlerism in Romania. But the perfidious policy of the heads of the Romanian reaction and Romania's international isolation created the well-known circumstances that led to the grave violation of the nation's independence, the curtailment of its territory, and the establishment of the military-fascist dictatorship. Thanks to the working class and its communist Party, however, the Romanian people found the necessary strength to escape from the impasse and to win the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation in August 1944 that restored Romania's sovereignty and independence.

ILIE CEAUSESCU: Determining a correct attitude toward the problems presented by the Romanian people's effort to defend the nation's territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence was one of the main concerns of the Romanian workers movement and working class party from their first appearance on the Romanian political scene.

The Romanian socialists had already formulated their positions on matters of national defense by the end of the last century, thereby emphasizing the necessity of developing military thinking of their own as contrasted with that of the ruling circles. Since those circles had created a standing military corps in Romania, the socialists defined their attitude toward the army and its place and role in the order based on exploitation, demonstrating by this effort that they were not indifferent to the cause of national defense nor to the way it could be secured.

In substantiating their attitude toward the army the Romanian socialists allowed for the fact that the great majority of the military were sons of urban and rural workers and that the bourgeoisie and the ruling classes had reserved for the army not only the role of defending the borders, its basic function, but also that as a means of supporting the existing regime and suppressing the masses' revolutionary struggle. Accordingly the socialists made an intensive revolutionary effort in the army's ranks to help soldiers understand the true meaning of the mission of the military corps and the necessity of supporting the revolutionary political party of the working class in the struggle against exploitation and in defense of the vital national interests.

In his study "What Do the Romanian Socialists Want?" Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea formulated "demobilization of the standing army and arming of the people" as a distinct demand of the Romanian socialists. In view of Romania's position at the time, it can be seen that the idea of demobilizing the standing army was unsuitable. To do so when Romania was surrounded by empires pursuing an expansionist policy would have been an inopportune measure. But the Romanian socialists' recommendation to arm the entire people reflected an objective reality for Romania, a small country with a policy solely of defending its territory, and therefore it was fully justified.

Later on the Romanian socialists became convinced that it was vital for Romania to maintain a military force that would guarantee the independence and interests of its people. They regarded the role and mission of the Romanian army differently than those of the armies of the imperialist states, correctly pointing out

that strengthening the national defense forces is not to be confused with militarism. In formulating these ideas the representatives of the Romanian socialist and workers movement considered not only the threat to the small and medium countries of the great empires and their greed for conquests and enrichment but also the necessity of accomplishing the vital and proper aim of the people of throwing off foreign domination and forming the united Romanian national state, an aim to be supported by the armed sons of the nation.

The original and distinct idea of arming the entire nation, whereby the socialists expressed their deep patriotic feelings, and their close involvement in the Romanian nation's affairs clearly emerge from many documents drafted by the workers movement in the last decades of the last century. As contrasted with some political circles who took a narrow, one-sided view of the people's participation in national defense, in the workers movement's conception the idea of the "armed nation" was closely associated with the people's social and national emancipation. This idea had developed in constant ideological confrontation with representatives of the ruling circles, who expressed their fear of the demand to arm the masses as a "dangerous" measure.

At the start of the 20th century the army and life in the barracks was regarded by the Romanian socialists as a school of patriotic and revolutionary education for the nation's sons in uniform. Without denying the role of armament and combat equipment in strengthening the army, the socialists thought that in organizing national defense first consideration should be given to the "soldier as an intellectual and moral value." They recommended an intensive effort to indoctrinate recruits so that the young soldiers could be active in the party and labor unions after they were demobilized. The idea of arming the masses and the need of revolutionary activity among the soldiers was closely associated with the effort to overthrow the order based on exploitation. Of course the military questions were an integral part of the Romanian proletariat's general struggle with the ruling classes for a better life. The experience the Romanian socialist acquired in treating these problems was a valuable contribution to the RCP's scientific substantiation of the military doctrine of the entire people's effort and a worthy patriotic contribution to reinforcement of Romania's defensive strength.

While clearly presenting the problem of disbanding the ruling classes' army, an army called upon to serve not only defense against foreign enemies but also consolidation of the political regime based on exploitation, the RCP documents included the idea of converting it to a new, revolutionary army to protect the people's gains and interests and the nation's sovereignty and independence jointly with the organized and armed masses. This revolutionary undertaking was subordinated to acquisition of political power by the working class in alliance with the working peasantry and to socialist construction.

The party documents often called revolutionary work in the army an antimilitarist effort. But the Romanian communists did not think the antimilitarist effort or demobilization of the bourgeois army required disbanding the standing army in general, as it was sometimes interpreted. The very recommendation to enlist the troops in revolutionary work, the party activity among the troops, and their indoctrination in the spirit of nonparticipation in repression of workers strikes and peasant uprisings, as well as the effort to improve their living conditions, actually confirmed the idea that the standing army must be maintained and democratized in order to properly perform its tasks of defense of the nation's territorial integrity and independence together with the entire armed people.

The Romanian army's full, unequivocal and unhesitating adherence to the objectives of the revolutionary process opened on 23 August 1944, as well as its complete and effective participation in the revolutionary reforms that changed the face of Romania, inevitably led to the conversion of the military corps to a new and integral part of the new order.

And so there is no question that they way the RCP initiated and conducted the revolutionary process of transforming the old Romanian army into a new and popular one dedicated to the socialist cause, as well as its effort to further strengthen the army's fighting power, demonstrate the communists' profound patriotism and their unreserved involvement in the effort to defend the national interests and make a worthy contribution to revolutionary theory and practice in matters of military construction.

### Socialism Built With the Aid of the Working Class and Its Party

GHEORGHE TUTUI: The RCP's involvement in contemporary Romanian history has always been characterized by a high sense of political responsibility. It has followed the ascending path of its predecessors' struggles for social and national liberation and consistently pursued Romania's rise to new heights of social progress. A conclusive example of this is provided by the communists' involvement in the preparation and execution of the revolutionary act of 23 August 1944, an event of critical importance to achievement of the ideals of social and national justice and to preservation of Romania's independence, sovereignty and sacred right to self-determination.

The victory of the insurrection, which opened up a process of radical revolutionary reform of Romania's existence, also marked a new and higher stage in the history of the working class party. I think we can now state even more emphatically that the nation's history is identified with the history of the masses' revolutionary struggle under the RCP's leadership and that the party's involvement in solution of the vital problems that faced the Romanian nation was the logical consequence of the maturity of social-political processes that had been going on for decades.

The RCP's role as a main national political force in the preparation and execution of the act of 23 August 1944 is vividly illustrated by its basic strategic policy. In collaboration with the other revolutionary and democratic forces, it called the entire people to arms to carry out a decisive aim, namely liberation of the whole country from Hitlerite and Horthyite domination and participation alongside the other states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition in the struggle to secure the final victory over Nazi Germany. The specifically military actions and fierce resistance to the Hitlerite or Horthyite troops (which actions involved millions of people on and behind the front, mobilized the whole nation, and formed the background of the social and class movements) gave the RCP both the cachet of a defender of the Romanian nation's vital interests and a real opportunity to enlist all the nation's citizens in its service regardless of their social origin, religious belief or nationality. By approaching each social category or group differently and by explaining with sound arguments the significance of the anti-Hitlerite battle to be fought to save the nation, the RCP succeeded in inspiring the entire people with a single will and in forming a broad patriotic front extending from the last soldier up to the king or, in other words, "from peasant to bishop."

Regarding the subject of our discussion, we may say that propagating the feeling of love of country and strengthening the wills of those who were fighting for its liberation and independence were among the most important contacts established between the party and the people and between the party's history and the nation's history.

The picture of the party's complete integration in the affairs of the Romanian nation in those troubled years would be incomplete if we did not include in it some points taken from the documents of the National RCP Conference in October 1945. I would cite as an example the decision approved by the conference to change the name of the party from the Communist Party in Romania to the Romanian Communist Party (Article 1). So far from a formality, the party's new name signified the RCP's theoretical orientation toward a clear position as the Romanian people's Communist Party which defends and represents not only the workers' interests but also those of the Romanian nation in general, and which plans to accomplish the revolution within one united and independent national state. By taking the new name of the RCP, by the statements in its charter concerning continuity between the RCP's effort and the movements for social and national liberation before the workers movement appeared, and by emphasizing its historical mission to carry on the battle for social and national liberation fought by the old socialist movement, the RCP asserted itself as a mature party wishing to rid itself of factional ideas and practices and to distinguish itself as a revolutionary party of the Romanian nation, consistently militating for the people's social and national freedom and the nation's sovereignty and independence.

GHEORGHE SURPAT: The reality of the unique history of the Romanian people is particularly striking in the period of socialist construction. The history of the socialist period inherently includes the history of the workers movement and the party of the working class, which became the leading political force of all society and the entire nation. Using the wealth of combat experience acquired throughout its existence and taking account of the objective laws of the new social order, the Romanian nation's past, and the Romanian people's level of social development and basic traditions and interests, the RCP defined the stages of Romania's development, devised policies suited to every one of those stages, and made an extensive theoretical and practical effort to solve the socioeconomic, political, ideological and cultural problems presented by construction of the new social order.

The uniform socialist economy, the people's social-political unity, and the community of vital interests of all social classes and categories were created in the course of socialist construction. The party is performing its role as the vital center of the whole social system. It has a pronounced mass character, numbering over 3.2 million members, workers, peasants and intellectuals, Romanians and national minorities, men and women, and representatives of all generations. Integrated in society, the party blends its activity with that of the state, the mass and public organizations, and the administrative bodies in the socioeconomic units. It coordinates its existence with the existence of society and its work with the work of all workers collectives in material and intellectual production.

The RCP's transformation into the leading unified political force of all society is an essential feature of contemporary Romanian history. In the course of

socialist construction the RCP, originally an avantgarde detachment of the working class, has become an integrating force of society as a whole and of the entire political and social mechanism. The RCP's historical mission, which makes it the vital center of the nation, consists of conducting the whole task of socialist construction on the basis of knowledge of the objective laws and of developing the communist ideology basic to the aims of the working class and the entire people in the struggle for revolutionary social reform. Within Romania's political and social system, it is the RCP's vital role to coordinate and direct the nation's efforts to secure its economic and social progress. And so it is impossible to treat the party's history apart from the nation's history, just as it is impossible to treat the history of the workers movement in previous periods in isolation.

I should like to illustrate the foregoing statement by one example. In a critical period for the future of Romania, namely at the National Party Conference in October 1945, the RCP emphatically recommended basing the nation's economic and social progress on development of a strong national industry. The RCP's policy of national industrial development was substantiated at the same time by pointing out the serious consequences of keeping the productive forces at a low level and by exposing the antinational substratum of the theories that "Romania is an eminently agrarian country" and "the peasant state," which theories were repeated and propagated intensively in those years by the conservative forces, who denied the possibility of industrializing Romania and especially the possibility of developing heavy industry on grounds of lack of resources, traditions and trained manpower as well as the competition of the developed countries. Actually that unscientific and antinational policy condemned Romania to remain in the state of an underdeveloped agricultural country, with serious consequences for the people's material and cultural living conditions and for national independence. In opposition to the representatives of the "historical" parties, the RCP saw the nation's socialist industrialization as a profoundly revolutionary task that would base the national economy on advanced technology and secure the all-around development of the national economic complex. The party thereby radically changed Romania's economic policy and guided it along a necessary and effective course that could give it a higher economic development.

LADISLAU GERGELY: In speaking of the many effects of the workers movement and the working class party on the course of Romania's contemporary history and of the telling role of the party in creating the structures and superstructures of Romanian socialist society, we must point out its particular merits in creating equal living and working conditions for all workers regardless of nationality. Today it is clear to all those of good faith that application of the RCP policy to the minorities problem guarantees the minorities equal rights to advancement in all social activities and enables them to preserve and cultivate their own languages, traditions and characteristics that lend them their own identities and personalities within the great socialist family of Romania. Unrestricted development of the minority cultures at the National Cintarea Romaniei Festival and the effort to broaden knowledge of their histories and progressive traditions in the course of their coexistence with the Romanian people are constant and basic concerns in the RCP's activity, in close correlation with the efforts to construct the fully developed socialist society.

The statement, supported by proofs in socialist Romania's social and political situation, that the minorities problem has been entirely solved in Romania does

not mean that it is an absolutely closed process in the sense that the particular problems of the minorities will no longer be an objective of the party's general policy from now on. On the contrary, as Nicolae Ceausescu says, "We are obligated to make every effort in the future to enforce full equality of rights consistently and conscientiously and to provide for all workers' participation in social and economic management."

The correctness of the party's minorities policy, its consistent application and its humanism are the foundations of the minorities' firm dedication to the RCP and to the socialist fatherland. This dedication lends new dimensions to the very concepts of fatherland and patriotism. There is but one fatherland, Romania, and all of us regardless of nationality are its sons. Our problems are in common and all that remains to be solved, overcome or constructed is an obligation of us all, Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities dwelling in these regions. The common goal, common interests, friendly mutual aid, and the realization that the minorities can make a better life for themselves not by isolation but by effective commitment and participation are results of the RCP's long practical and educational political activity among the people and unquestionable evidence of its historical role in raising Romania to ever higher stages of progress and civilization.

CONSTANTIN MOCANU: Thanks to some essential new features produced in Romanian society by the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, after 23 August 1944 the relationship between the party's history and the people's history acquired a new, more lasting and more uniform basis than ever before.

The class structure of Romanian society became essentially uniform. With the socialist reform of all Romanian socioeconomic activity, the working class bearing the socialist ideal from the start of its political organization evolved toward becoming a new social class itself in the sense that it ceased to be a proletariat and acquired characteristics typical of the socialist period. The RCP itself underwent considerable changes and became a true mass party developing in close interaction with the life of the entire Romanian people. As Nicolae Ceausescu well said, under the present circumstances the most appropriate idea to express the connection between the party and the people is that of a nucleus, the vital center of the whole nation. In the report to the 10th Party Congress the RCP secretary general mentioned that the party's political activity leads to a symbiosis between the party members and workers who are not party members, all working together to carry out the party policy. "The party is the nucleus around which all society gravitates and which radiates the energy and light that activate and secure the operation of the entire mechanism of the social order. The party is regenerated constantly in its turn under the impulse of the powerful rays of energy and light that are constantly beamed toward it from the Romanian socialist nation."

The period of socialist construction once again demonstrates the correctness of the idea of treating the nation's history uniformly by completely integrating the RCP's history within it. But uniform treatment does not mean any leveling treatment blurring the differences that still exist and will continue to exist in society. In fact no absolute unity is ever conceivable in society, any more than such unity can exist in nature or the universe. Its existence would refute the

dialectical laws of change and progress. To be sure the RCP is the nucleus and vital center of the people and the nation, but this situation has a series of characteristics that bring out more specifically its role as a guiding and leading political force of society and distinguish it from all other social units. As the entire people's leader, the party is not identified with the people, does not disappear into their ranks, however, and does not lose its nature or its quality of being itself as a distinct entity and as a leading and organizing force. Of course a party history can also be written from this standpoint as a special study, but a history to be integrated naturally in the single history of Romania.

NICOLAE PETREANU: The historic period inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress stands out as the richest in revolutionary achievement and the most significant of the way the working class and workers movement asserted themselves in the nation's political, economic, ideological and cultural activity by undertaking the task of nationwide importance of serving the interests and aspirations of the Romanian people as a whole. Motivated by the innovating spirit of the RCP secretary general's directions, the RCP greatly strengthened its ties with the broad masses of workers, inspiring their unswerving confidence in the aims of building the fully developed socialist society on Romanian soil and tirelessly rallying them to creative effort to implement those aims.

The 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th RCP congresses and the national party conferences, conducted in the profoundly revolutionary spirit instilled in the RCP's and state's activity, immeasurably strengthened our enthusiasm and confidence in our own forces and our aspiration to be ourselves in freedom and self-determination. That period, wherein the Romanian people knew how to show their creative power and wherein their destinies and the directions of their future development were more thoroughly understood, is inseparably linked with the name of Nicolae Ceausescu. Today we see more clearly than ever that the work of socialist construction is the natural result of the tireless effort of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and all the workers regardless of nationality and the result of the general policy of the RCP, the vital center of the Romanian nation from which flows the bold thinking and the power that inspires and galvanizes all energies for the task of revolutionary social reform.

The RCP and its secretary general feel that emphasis upon the party's integration in society has an objective determination in the changes that are being made and will be made in Romanian society and that it is required by the very extensive and complex tasks themselves of building the fully developed socialist society and by the goals set by the 12th RCP Congress and the National RCP Conference of December 1982. The party's complete integration in society and the ever closer correlation of its activity with the work of the entire people, who are deeply involved in the task of contemporary construction, are all grounds for viewing history as a dialectical expression of the unbreakable unity of the nation's past, present and future. In that view, history acquires new potentials for formation and development of socialist awareness and becomes an important component of intellectual experience and a formative factor in the education and formation of the new man.

By virtue of his creative work, the breadth and value of his conclusions, and the practical measures he recommends, Nicolae Ceausescu's activity is a brilliant contribution to the treasury of ideas of scientific socialism and revolutionary

experience, ideas that stimulate and lend substance to Romanian historical science. The party secretary general's edifying example is a constant spur to historians, who by mastering his conception of the study and knowledge of history as a single and uniform phenomenon in the Romanian nation's evolution are ever better serving socialist Romania's present by advancing it on the path of socioeconomic progress.

Of course it is difficult in the course of one discussion, however comprehensive, to draw all the conclusions and lessons from the points of exceptional theoretical and political value made by Nicolae Ceausescu at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982 and at the National Party Conference in December 1982 about the integrating, uniform treatment of the Romanian people's history. Study and knowledge of history as a single and uniform phenomenon demonstrate the basic factors that determined social evolution on the ancestral land. Those factors always include the indigenous character and uninterrupted continuity of life and later of state organization, defense of freedom and independence, opposition to exploitation and oppression, and the sustained effort to develop the productive forces and to secure material and cultural progress. The telling role of the masses as true creators of history, the progressive stand taken by the working class in the modern and contemporary periods, and the historical role of the RCP in organizing and leading the revolutionary struggle and in building the socialist order stand out strikingly in this context.

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## ROLE OF MINORITIES IN NATION

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 13, 10 Jul 83 pp 14-18

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Ion Rebedeu: "The Nation's Prosperity: Striking Facts About the Present Stage of Romania's New Order"]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu said, "On the basis of the historical and dialectical-materialist conception of the nation's role in society and so also in socialist society, and in view of the fact that the nation will continue to play an important part in the progress of society and in collaboration with other nations for a long time and especially under communism, it is our duty to make every effort to develop the Romanian nation's new qualities and to consolidate and strengthen its unity as an essential factor for the victory of socialism and communism in Romania."

### Economic Development of All Counties Basic to Fully Equal Rights

While the volume of investments in the Romanian economy as a whole was about 5 times greater in 1981 than in 1965, the investment funds allocated to the counties kept in a state of socioeconomic backwardness by the old regimes before 1944 increased by about 22 times in Salaj County, by about 14 times in Covasna County, by 6.9 times in Satu Mare County, and by 6.2 times in Harghita County.

Compared with the national increase by about 5 times in 1965-1981, the priority on investments in the hitherto underdeveloped areas increased the industrial output of Salaj County by 15 times, that of Covasna County by 7.6 times, that of Satu Mare County by 6.1 times, and that of Harghita County by 5.4 times. Consequently in 1976-1980 the growth rates of the industrial output exceeded the national average of 9.5 percent, amounting to 20.6 percent in Salaj County, 17.7 percent in Covasna County, and 11.9 percent in Harghita County.

While 36 percent of the total employed population in 1981 was in industry throughout the Romanian economy, that index was over 51 percent in Covasna County, over 53 percent in Harghita County, about 50 percent in Satu Mare County, and about 40 percent in Salaj County.

While 41 percent more apartments were readied for occupancy throughout Romania in 1980 than in 1976, there were 105 percent more in Covasna County, about 70 percent more in Harghita County, and 55 percent more in Satu Mare County.

## Active Participation in Social Management

Of the 369 deputies to the Grand National Assembly, 41 belong to national minorities, while 6,340 deputies to the people's councils are Hungarians, Serbians, Germans and other nationalities.

In the counties with more numerous Hungarian populations the percentages of Hungarian deputies are correspondingly higher, namely 27 percent in Cluj County, 40 percent in Bihor County, 47 percent in Satu Mare County, and 86 percent in Marghita County.

The minorities are represented in the Romanian democratic bodies according to their proportions in the total population, including the National Workers Council, the National Council for Agriculture etc. Of the total 1,591 members of the National Workers Council, 1,430 (89.9 percent) are Romanians, 124 (7.8 percent) are Hungarians, 30 (1.9 percent) are Germans, and 7 (0.4 percent) belong to other national minorities.

Over 11 percent of the personnel working in the party organs and staff, in the mass and public organizations, and in the press come from the national minorities.

Formation of the councils of workers belonging to national minorities has considerably encouraged their participation in management of public affairs and in the solution of their particular problems.

## Unrestricted Access to Science and Education

In Romania, 3,517 of the 29,244 scholastic units are teaching about 350,000 pupils in minority languages.

In school year 1982-1983, 1,074 units and sections in preschool education are teaching 56,510 children in Hungarian with 2,167 teachers, 1,307 units and sections in primary and gymnasium education are teaching 183,154 pupils in Hungarian with 9,572 teachers, 373 units and sections in high school education are teaching 47,620 pupils in Hungarian with 1,637 teachers, and five units and sections in vocational education are teaching 556 pupils in Hungarian.

In German, 279 units and sections in preschool education are teaching 12,543 children with 431 teachers, 324 units and sections in primary and gymnasium education are teaching 30,454 pupils with 1,567 teachers, and 65 units and sections in high school education are teaching 6,444 pupils with 199 teachers.

Students coming from the minorities number 12,733 of the total 173,941 being trained today in Romania. Of these, 8,900 students are Hungarian and 2,095 are German.

In school year 1981-1982, 838 textbook titles were published including 188 in the minority languages.

## Extensive Cultural and Educational Opportunities

Some 53 publications appear in the minority languages, in a total annual printing of 133,426,538 copies. There are 33 publications for Hungarian readers, in a total annual printing of about 85 million copies, and seven publications for German readers in a total annual printing of more than 19 million copies.

In Romania 14 theaters and theatrical sections stage 3,272 performances a year in minority languages for an audience of 1.1 million. Among these, 10 Hungarian-language theaters staged about 2,500 performances in 1982 for an audience of 954,607, and three German-language theaters staged 471 performances last year for an audience of 125,440.

Every year 293 book titles in minority languages are published in Romania in a printing of 2,263,000 copies.

Last year 2,528 program-hours in Hungarian and 781 in German were broadcasted on radio and TV.

Some 9,157 artistic units of the national minorities, including 232,686 members, participated in the last version of the National Cintarea Romaniei Festival.

The RCP sees an inseparable unity between socialism and the nation. On the one hand, socialism opens up a broad field for each nation's self-expression and development and for promotion of all states' national sovereignty and independence while inaugurating a veritable era of national resurgence. On the other hand, the nation (reorganized on a new, socialist basis in a far-reaching historical process which, as a process, involves a particular dialectic of continuity and discontinuity), its all-around progress, and its free and independent development assert themselves as a powerful force for mobilizing the masses' creative energies and as an essential factor in socialist and communist construction.

Especially since the Ninth Party Congress, which inaugurated a new era, the most fertile one in the nation's history, the idea of the nation's present and future has run like a red thread throughout the RCP's whole policy and conception concerning the relationship between socialism and the nation, and it is expressed comprehensively and in depth in the RCP Program and Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works. As the party secretary general pointed out, "The RCP consistently proceeds from the idea that the nation will have an important part to play both in the present stage and in the whole period of construction of the fully developed socialist society and transition to communism, and also for a long time in communist society itself." (1)

The development and prosperity of the Romanian nation are directly due to the far-reaching creative view taken by Nicolae Ceausescu of the socialist nation. Among the guiding principles of this view we may mention considerable development of the integrating function of the nation and the national state within socialist society; assertion, unrestricted for the first time, of the nation's potentials as an essential factor for social mobilization of the workers and as a permanent factor of growing instead of declining importance in socialist society; the highly comprehensive character of the nation, uniformly combining the

material and mental, economic and social-ethnic, objective and subjective, ideological and psychological, and linguistic and cultural aspects in one unique dialectical synthesis, so that in substantiating a policy for the nation's progress all aspects of national existence must be considered (in their particular conditioning and stratification of course) while economic, cultural and other biases must be avoided; only an all-around development of society can secure the nation's all-around progress; socialism opens up a broad field for assertion of the nation as a historical subject and for the national socialist awareness as a synthesizing expression of the national interests, as a measure of the strength and value of the nation, and as a projection of it in the future, playing an important and active part in the socialist evolution of the nation and in the defense of national independence; since the aims and ideals that govern the socialist and communist reform of society are consistent with the national values, the vital national inspirations, and the true national interests, the new order enhances the nation's role as a factor for progress and as a major catalyst for revolutionary democratic innovations, and the full expression and all-around development of the nation become essential to the victory of socialism and communism; the vital role of the socialist state and of national sovereignty and independence in the advancement and prosperity of the nation; and the fact that international solidarity must be based upon recognition of the effective and creative role of all nations.

In the light of Nicolae Ceausescu's creative, profoundly humanistic and revolutionary conception of the nation's role in the contemporary world, the correlation between socialism and the nation, and the nation's distinctive features and historic mission during construction of the new order, we regard the socialist nation as an integral, inseparable part of the uniform historical process of the Romanian people's evolution and a higher stage of the latter. Moreover it has considerably enriched itself by completely assimilating the true values of the past, that priceless cultural heritage to which the generations always return so that they may play a more telling part in purposeful and revolutionary historical creation with new perspectives and strength.

And so by a liberal process of recovery of national history and its highest values (socialist patriotism, national feelings, national dignity and pride, national interests and aims, independence and sovereignty, and the traditions of the struggle for the preservation of the nation and the people and for their free and independent development), the moral and intellectual values that determine the Romanian national character in a humane and most noble way have acquired new dimensions and a new brilliance, while the motive forces of the Romanian nation's socialist progress have been more firmly set on lasting foundations in a close, fertile and reinvigorating tie with the great ideal of socialism and with the revolutionary social effort that is fulfilling that ideal day by day.

#### New Foundations and Characteristics of the Socialist Nation

The Romanian socialist nation's advancement and prosperity, as well as its strong unity and cohesion, are based upon the radical structural changes that socialism has made in Romanian society, especially in the 18 years since the Ninth Party Congress. Among these the following are most noteworthy:

1. Abolition of exploitation; creation of the uniform socialist economy and of socialist relations of collaboration and mutual aid; elimination of the division

of the nation into classes with conflicting interests and endowment of all citizens and workers with the threefold capacity of owners, producers and beneficiaries; and intensive development of the productive forces, through industrialization and socialist reform of agriculture, better use of the available material and manpower resources, and sustained modernization of the economy, as a prerequisite for national sovereignty and independence, the nation's all-around development, and the rise of its standard of prosperity and civilization.

2. Further consolidation and development of the worker-peasant alliance on a new basis, and assumption by the working class of its class mission as a leader of society collaborating in close unity with all the other social classes, strata and categories, in keeping with its objective role and position in social evolution and with the values that determine its moral-political character and structure its revolutionary action.

3. Construction of the socialist state as one of revolutionary workers democracy, widespread development of socialist democracy, and formation of the appropriate productive and stimulating framework for participation of the entire nation and all its citizens in management of society and the state and in the discussion and solution of all problems concerning socialist Romania's present and future.

4. Formation of a uniform socialist intellectuality throughout society on the basis of the dialectical-materialist conception of the world, society and man, the content, nature and characteristics of which increasingly reflect, in all its aspects from the political and moral values to the cultural and artistic ones, the requirements for socialist social progress and the noble humanistic ideals formulated in the party's program documents; rapid development of education, science and art; all citizens' broad and unrestricted access to education and the cultural values; formation of a new kind of man through the combined action of the social changes and the educational, political-ideological factor; increasingly effective manifestation of the power of the nation's socialist self-awareness and of the role of revolutionary socialist awareness.

5. The party's emergence as a leading political force in society and a vital center of the nation which, by reflecting and fully identifying itself with the people's national interests and ideals throughout all of its theoretical, ideological-educational and practical activity, pursues the development and complete exploitation of the nation's creative potentials and energies, the consolidation and development of its economic power, the progress of its science and culture, the security of its dignity, strict observance of its sovereignty and independence, and the greater prestige of the Romanian socialist nation in the world.

The fundamental changes in the life of the Romanian nation in the years of socialism radically changed its character and its role. On the one hand those changes led to a restructuring and rearrangement of the nation's characteristics so that the general traits whereby the nation as a higher form of social-ethnic community went down in history as a factor for progress and civilization acquired a new content to a great extent and unprecedented social and axiological values, as well as new social and humane functions. It is sufficient to think, for example, of the ideological restructuring that has taken place in national awareness and culture, of the quite distinctive nature of the economic activity in

common, which stems from the new quality of the citizens based upon ideals and economic interests in common, or of the new political and social nature of the state, the new axiological significance that patriotism has acquired, etc. On the other hand the structural changes introduced by socialist society led to the historical development of the nation through the appearance of new traits peculiar to the socialist nation that demonstrate and establish its superiority.

The monolithic unity of the Romanian nation and Romanian society as a whole and the pronounced social harmony that characterizes the nation in all activities of all social classes and categories graphically reflects the innovating and eminently revolutionary process of socialist social leveling of the nation and society. Accordingly it is to the very great merit of the RCP and its secretary general that they conceived the promotion and intensification of Romania's social leveling as a general process based upon equality of the socioeconomic, living and working conditions of the social categories and classes and their levels of professional knowledge and also upon the citizens' and all workers' equal participation in politics and management of public affairs, to the point of forming the uniform socialist intellectuality.

To be sure the new form of the Romanian nation does not depend solely upon social leveling or the many equalities among the social classes, strata and categories that make up the structure of Romanian society but also upon the major changes that have taken place in the proportions of the various classes in the nation's total population and especially, as a socially and historically significant phenomenon, the considerably increased proportion of the working class due to the steady socialist industrialization of the country in the last 18 years particularly and to the structural modification of that class under the impact of the social changes. In addition to the profound underlying significance of the transformation of the working class into the nation's majority class, that quantitative shift has far-reaching qualitative implications on the national level. Nevertheless the fact that the cooperative peasantry has become a new and homogeneous class with a single social ideal whose existence is permanently linked to socialism and modern large-scale production, while the intelligentsia is a new social category closely associated with the working class and peasantry and completely devoted to the ideals of communism, is indicative of the great innovations made in the years of socialism in the social-political and moral-intellectual makeup of the Romanian nation.

The Marxist-Leninist solution of the minorities problem, harmonious collaboration among all Romanian citizens regardless of nationality, and the struggle against any forms of nationalism and chauvinism have made the unity and brotherhood between the Romanian people and the national minorities, as constants of Romanian history raised to qualitatively new heights in the Romanian society of today, important characteristics of the Romanian socialist nation.

#### Future of the Romanian Socialist Nation

The new characteristics and social leveling lend the Romanian socialist nation a strong unity and cohesion, as well as a particular power to accelerate the evolution of Romanian society.

The Romanian socialist nation's development is inseparable from the activity of the party as the vital center of the nation and all Romanian society and from

the party's consistent promotion of the national interests and aspirations, which lends it the quality of the nation's self-awareness.

As an unswerving course of historical evolution, the Romanian socialist nation's further progress is a comprehensive process that also requires overcoming some difficulties and harmonizing development by resolving the discrepancies that can arise among various aspects or fields of social activity as well as some contradictions caused by the growing complexity of the social system. As the vital center of the nation, it is the party's patriotic duty to note such discrepancies and contradictions promptly that can arise in or among various sectors and to substantiate suitable strategies to resolve them. The RCP is accomplishing this mission prudently and responsibly, while providing for the steady progress and all-around development of the nation and of Romanian society as a whole.

As contrasted with the narrow and simplistic views of the national communities' future, the RCP through its secretary general has creatively developed Marxist philosophical and social-political thought and substantiated the idea in depth that the nations will continue to exist in communist society as independent entities, distinct in form and preserving, in many respects, not only a certain character of their own but also their role as important factors for social progress and for a truly humanized and humanizing collaboration among people. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "There is every reason to expect that the nation will continue to exist in Communist society too as an important factor for international collaboration and peace as it acquires new characteristics and qualities. In that sense development of national pride and socialist patriotism is a highly important factor in the struggle for socialism and for international peace and collaboration." (2)

This view of the nation's future is based on analysis of the objective facts and developmental trends of our period, which analysis attests with the inevitable force of the facts the permanence of the national factors and the distinctive national characteristics and values, their complete and unquestionable legitimacy, their positive, creative and formative role in mankind's progressive evolution, the constructive, innovating potentials and great fertility of the socialist nation in instituting revolutionary reforms, and the fact that socialism, as it asserts itself more and more as an optimal social and political medium for the nation's full self-expression on all levels, necessarily brings with it a pronounced ebullience of the peoples' national existence. In view of those considerations we are quite justified in concluding that the nations' all-around development and progress, as an objective requirement and an important factor for progress in reorganizing society on a socialist and communist basis, lends the task of building the new order (in close correlation with the general laws and against the background of the peoples' new unity of ideals and action) a natural and regular trend toward increasingly extensive manifestation of the nations' diversity through each one's particular self-expression in the fields of material, social and intellectual creativeness.

Therefore the profound inner logic of contemporary history as well as the theoretical conclusions drawn from experience in building the new society, in correlation with the values and ideals communism is fully expected to fulfill, can already substantiate the theory that communist society will be composite, multilateral and variously "shaded" socially, psychologically, culturally etc. because

of the nations' very existence, and that the stage of communism, complete by virtue of the disappearance of any social inequalities or injustices and the essential social distinctions among people and the formation of the single working people, will not mean standardization or disintegration of all distinctive national elements, from culture and way of life to traditions and self-awareness, into one amorphous generality. On the contrary, it is to be expected that in this higher stage of social development too (without in any way underrating the historical importance of equalizing nations by closing the gaps that separate them and by their close collaboration on all levels) the nation will continue to figure as an element with many attributes that the human communities have in common and as a factor for social dynamism and human relations based on the principles of communist equality, collaboration, respect and social-human solidarity.

### An Important Motive Force of National Progress

The RCP's creative Marxist conception of the nature and historical role of the socialist nation is correlated, in its entirety, with a profoundly democratic and revolutionary view of the national minorities' position in the Romanian social structure and their contributions to construction of the new order and to the principles and values that structure the relations between the Romanian nation and the national minorities under the conditions of socialist society. In keeping with this view, when socialism inaugurated a new era in the nation's development it also instituted the social and political framework truly favorable to respect for every national entity's dignity and characteristics. It created optimal conditions for development of all the national minorities, including their cultures and languages, in close unity with the Romanian nation and provided for full equality of rights among all citizens, thereby securing the socialist unity and brotherhood of all the workers regardless of nationality as a major force in the effort to build socialist and communist civilization on Romanian soil.

In solving the minorities problem the RCP and the state proceeded from the historical truth that despite the policy of divisive incitement pursued by the reactionary circles and exploiting classes in the past, long coexistence in the same areas and their work and struggle in common for social justice and progress as well as their common aspirations to create a better and more worthy life in freedom have brought about solidarity and brotherhood among all the workers regardless of nationality, while their unity and that of the entire people, confirmed as a noteworthy constant of Romanian history, have been important factors in the struggle for social and national dignity and for progress. Unity of the workers without distinction of nationality guarantees victory in the struggle for the fully developed socialist society and the socialist nation's continued prosperity.

Unfailingly conforming to the idea that a people who oppress other peoples cannot be free, taking the lessons and conclusions from Romanian history into consideration, and consistently applying the values of revolutionary humanism and democracy in practice, the RCP solved the minorities problem in a Marxist-Leninist way by doing away with any national discrimination in the first years of the revolution for social and national emancipation and by providing, in the course of socialist construction, for full equality of all Romanian citizens' rights with no distinction of nationality.

One of the distinctive features of the RCP's minorities policy that has gained full expression in the 18 years since the Ninth Party Congress especially is its consistent guidance of society's efforts, in close connection with abolition of any national discrimination, toward provision for the economic, social and political conditions that can lend a real, practical and substantial content to equality of workers regardless of nationality, that can enable all citizens to benefit by the fruits of Romania's progress, civilization, social justice, political freedom and national independence, to make use of their creative potentials and capacities and to fulfill themselves as personalities, that can provide the fertile background for each nationality's own cultural self-expression in keeping with the ideological values that determine Romanian socialist society's intellectuality, and that can stimulate further consolidation of the unity and cohesion between the Romanian people and the national minorities as well as full development of socialist patriotism and love of country.

Considering the minorities problem inseparable from their overall policy of accomplishing socialist construction and revolution, the RCP and the state have made it really possible for all the workers regardless of nationality to actually enjoy worthy social and national conditions as well as rights and freedoms of which they could only dream in the past, in the course of their efforts toward harmonious distribution of the productive forces, intensified socioeconomic development of all areas of Romania, enhancement and development of socialist democracy, development of education, science and culture, promotion of socialist awareness, and intensified social leveling. Social and national equality are reflected first of all in the assurance of the right to work and to equal pay for equal work in accordance with the socialist principles of distribution and socialist justice. This fact is illustrated by the rapid increase in the investment funds allocated to the counties that were kept in a state of socioeconomic backwardness by the old regimes prior to 1944.

Meanwhile an essential fact should be pointed out concerning economic equality and its relationship to socialist ownership, namely every worker regardless of nationality is a collective owner collectively responsible for the property. Further modernization and socialist industrialization of the economy as well as balanced distribution of the productive forces throughout the whole country are essential and irreplaceable requirements to ensure the equality of all citizens regardless of nationality and to develop education and culture especially in the minority languages. It is quite obvious how wrong the theory is that the industrialization policy creates the "danger" of denationalization.

The right to instruction, free education and in this case the real opportunity to learn in the minority languages are another relevant aspect of the party's and state's minorities policy. In keeping with the values of consistent democracy and in the course of its broad task of developing socialist awareness Romanian society has provided for literary-artistic and cultural activities, as well as extensive cultural and educational opportunities, in every minority language. By providing for and encouraging political-ideological and cultural-artistic activity in the minority languages (at the National Cintarea Romaniei Festival especially), the RCP and the Romanian socialist state consistently militate for this activity to be characterized by a high socialist and revolutionary ideological content and to be based on and express, as the party secretary general said, the ideological and political language common to all Romanian citizens regardless of nationality, historical and dialectical materialism,

scientific socialism, and the party's revolutionary ideology. Of course this does not exclude but, on the contrary, calls for a wide variety of styles and forms within socialist culture in general and in art and literature in particular, as well as application of the advanced cultural traditions and the national characteristics. Romania's political-ideological activity today as well as its artistic and literary output have the noble mission of helping to indoctrinate everyone in the spirit of socialist patriotism, to strengthen the Romanian people's unity and brotherhood with the national minorities, and to promote the cohesion of Romanian socialist society more intensively.

The workers' equal participation regardless of nationality in management of all activities in all political, state, economic and social organs is one of the most important aspects of the revolutionary, profoundly democratic and humanistic solution of the minorities problem. The national minorities are represented in all Romania's democratic bodies in proportion to their share in the total population: Over 11 percent of the personnel working in the state organs and staff, in the mass and public organizations, and in the press come from the ranks of the national minorities.

All this indicates that the RCP has solved the minorities problem in a democratic way on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist conception and the principles of scientific socialism, achieving true equality of rights and demonstrating in this respect too the superiority of socialism and scientific socialism's conception of the accomplishment of new relations of friendship, brotherhood and equality among men.

In its actions to further improve all activities, to implement the decisions of the 12th Party Congress and the National Party Conference, to bring about a new quality of life and work, and to enhance the entire people's socialist unity, the RCP is consistently carrying out the idea, of value to the program, that the problems of all workers regardless of their nationality are solved along with the nation's general progress as the problems of developing Romanian socialist society are solved.

In pursuance of the idea that the unity of interests, intentions, action and ideals of the entire people and all the workers regardless of nationality, as well as their ideological, moral and political unity, are both an indication of the strength and cohesion of Romanian socialist society and a very extensive force behind Romania's social progress, the party is specially emphasizing further consolidation and enhancement of this unity, cultivation of feelings of solidarity, profound respect, friendship and fraternal love among all regardless of nationality, and growth of all citizens' love for Romania, the ancestral land, of their dedication to communist ideals, and of their determination to spare nothing to carry out the party policy, to make the common fatherland prosper, and to strengthen and defend national sovereignty and independence. To this end, especially since the Ninth Party Congress, the party documents and Nicolae Ceausescu's works have been substantiating in depth the necessity of strengthening the solidarity and friendship of all workers regardless of nationality and developing their patriotic awareness as an essential component of their revolutionary socialist awareness, their sense of responsibility for the present and future of their common fatherland as its free sons with equal rights, and their pride in being citizens of a free, sovereign and independent country building socialist society, the society of social and national equality and justice.

Patriotic education necessarily includes firm opposition to any manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, racism or anti-Semitism and refutation of imperialist propaganda and the reactionary circles who are trying to undermine the unity of Romanian society with more or less recent forms of chauvinism. That is the only way scientific socialism, further consolidation of friendship and solidarity among all citizens regardless of nationality, and the intellectual, moral-political, healthful and harmonious indoctrination of every member of Romanian society can be secured on the basis of the party's revolutionary ideology.

The party also believes cultivation of patriotism and friendship among all workers is closely correlated with international solidarity. In the RCP's consistently democratic and profoundly humanistic view, the existence and development of the nations is an increasingly important factor for international collaboration and peace and for cooperation among peoples and cannot be a source of dissension in any respect. As the RCP points out, national pride and socialist patriotism are not and cannot be opposed to other nations or any nationality but are to become important factors for the people's greater unity and for closer international collaboration with all peoples of the world. Development of the socialist nation and its sovereign and independent progress have nothing in common with national isolation but naturally and necessarily require ever closer international solidarity with all socialist countries, with the developing or unaligned countries, and with all progressive forces as well as widespread development (especially in a world of interdependences) of economic and cultural-scientific exchanges and of all-around cooperation and collaboration with all states with strict observance of the principles of equality, independence and sovereignty, mutual benefit and noninterference in internal affairs. Accordingly the relations among the socialist countries will surely serve as examples of mutual respect and mutually advantageous collaboration for all states of the world. As Nicolae Ceausescu mentioned, "In accordance with the principles of scientific socialism, the revolutionary conceptions of the world and life, the decisions of the 12th RCP Congress, and the provisions of the RCP Program, we must make an intensive effort toward patriotic indoctrination in the spirit of solidarity, brotherhood and friendship not only among the workers in Romania but also in the spirit of friendship, solidarity and collaboration with the workers and the peoples in the socialist countries and especially with our neighbors." (3)

The RCP and its secretary general have won the entire people's love and respect as well as notable prestige abroad by their vitally important contribution to creative development of the concepts of the nation, the minorities problem and the relationship between socialism and the nation, to formulation of the theory of the nature, role and future of the socialist nation, and to substantiation of the correlation between the national and the international and between patriotism and international solidarity, by their policy of advancement and all-around development of the sovereign and independent Romanian socialist nation and state, by the consistency with which they have been militating for application of the true democratic values in national relations, and by the foresight with which they have promoted and developed the principles of national equality, dignity and independence in the international arena.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Path of Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society," Vol 11, Political Publishing House /PPH/, 1975, p 378.
2. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech on Present Stage of Socialist Construction in Romania and the Party's Theoretical and Ideological Problems and political and educational Activity, Delivered at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982," PPH, p 42.
3. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Joint Session of the Councils of Workers of Hungarian and German Nationality," PPH, 1983, p 21.

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EMOTIONAL REPERCUSSIONS OF ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES NOTED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1701, 7 Aug 83  
pp 20-22

[Article by Ana Dragovic: "The Crisis in the Psychologist's Clinic"]

[Text] "One day a new patient, a factory worker, came to me. I offered him a chair, he remained standing, reflecting, dejected, and he said: 'What is being done is disgraceful, doctor,'" a Belgrade psychiatrist relates. Psycho-analytical procedure ensues.

We attempted to participate in a similar psychoanalysis in which we were aided by some of the psychologists, psychiatrists and industrial psychologists. We did not ask them for answers to the questions which they would put to a patient: "What is it that is being done," "What is disgraceful"; we were rather interested in the repercussions which the overall economic situation, which is described as a crisis situation, is having on our people's mental life.

So that we might remain consistent with the analysis which we have announced, let us attempt first to explain who would perceive our economic situation to be one of crisis and why. Let the figures speak about this: the average Yugoslav family today earns just enough to meet basic needs. The working class, then, which carries on production, is living on the verge of the subsistence minimum. Real personal incomes have dropped 10 percent this year alone. The weekly food costs of the average family have risen 20 percent in 6 months, and that assumes that none of the members of the family eats or drinks too much. The costs of hygiene and health care have increased exceptionally. About 90 percent of the total rise in the cost of living was brought about by higher food prices, and this has led to a large-scale revival of "connections" in rural areas. It has then be noted that in recent years the gaps have been closing between the best paid and the lowest paid, mainly so that the latter would be able to keep up with costs. By and large this means neglect for distribution according to work. And finally, the economists say that there can be no rise in the standard of living for quite a long time yet and that it will be a great achievement if the present drop in the standard of living is halted.

Let us go to one of Belgrade's real factory areas, Rakovica, to meet a man whose profession and working hours make it possible for him to talk to the

workers every day about their problems. "People perceive the present economic situation differently, depending on what they live on," says Jovan Nicic, industrial psychologist in the "21 Maj" Factory. "There are two groups of workers: those who depend solely on the results of their industrial labor and those who are only working in the city, while they have their other foot in rural areas. The latter are not greatly affected by the high prices and shortages since they mainly get what they need in the country. Thus a part of the crisis is not perceived to be a threat. The entire pattern of their consumption, including hygiene, education and cultural purposes, is such that this kind of situation does not threaten them.

"Second-generation industrial workers are in the worst position, those who grew up and went to school in the city, dependent solely on their pay. This kind of situation makes them apathetic and resigned, and in some it even brings about a certain measure of aggression. They usually put the questions: Why is this happening? Who is responsible? Would someone please tell me how much responsibility I bear? What can I do?"

#### Living Together

[Ana Dragovic] What direct repercussions do such words and reflections have on work motivation?

[Nicic] In our country there is no direct relation between work motivation and a penalty for idleness or reward for work. That is why motivation has been constant for years now, neither rising nor falling, it is independent of working conditions and of the results of work. Firing people for not working would be a revolutionary step.

[Dragovic] And work discipline is directly related to the motivation to work?

[Nicic] Work discipline does not presuppose only a disciplined worker. It concerns above all the quality and quantity of work. The present business and economic situation are not having any impact on work discipline either--it is neither better nor worse. That is because work discipline, just like motivation, has lost its connection with work.

Two young women in bathing suits were walking on the promenade along the Usce. They were getting a tan. They had been going up and down. Is this some inappropriate way of spending the summer or a new phenomenon in the social life of our society? This summer photograph was described to us by Mladen Kostic, psychologist at the Mental Health Institute in Belgrade. Aside from his everyday work, Dr Kostic also works in a youth counseling center and a marital counseling center. That is why we addressed to him the question of how young people feel and how they are getting their bearings in what is for them their first quite serious economic situation.

"I would first speak about young people who are unemployed," Dr Kostic said; "they often come and tell me, 'Why should I be in a hurry to study and complete my education when there is no job in any case?' Because of unemployment

the period of living with parents is extended still longer. This is a cause of many disagreements, conflicts and resentments. Some of them are frustrated, and many are unable to see any future 'of their own.' And then young people, waiting to become economically secure, are getting married later and later. Yet when the period of 'going steady' lasts too long, because of the impossibility of commencing life together, it often happens that their relationship even stagnates. Without life in common, family and children young people of a certain age become dissatisfied, they cannot 'prove' themselves either to their partner or on the job, since they do not have a job. The young women are afraid of pregnancy, because they are getting older, and there are many other problems which are involved here also. After several years of waiting for employment and possibly of working for a time many people have gone abroad to seek jobs.

"Those who are employed lack a motivation to work. We note passivity and a lack of interest, since, as they say, even when they work better and more efficiently, they do not see the results of their efforts. The negligent attitude toward work and toward obligations does not lead to consequences. The psychological experience is expressed by the sentence: 'What can I do about it?'"

[Dragovic] What repercussions does this kind of situation have on relations in the family?

[Kostic] A certain tension prevails in the family. Parents are unable to meet the demands of the children. This kind of situation creates emotional strain, behavior is less well controlled, aggressiveness and even neurotic reaction is frequent. Here is a case: The wife is unemployed, the husband is working for a specified period of time. They are living with his parents, which means that they depend on them for both financial help and housing. The couple are constantly in conflict. This situation is having an impact on their child, who lives in an atmosphere of stormy emotional reaction.

[Dragovic] What advice do you usually give them?

[Kostic] I try to indicate to them that they should seek a solution in what they have. They should find an appropriate pattern of life together which will be acceptable to everyone in the house. The conflicts between the spouses are not arising out of the nature of their relationship, that is, this does not mean that they "are not meant for one another" or are "incompatible"; external influences which make them less adaptable are the reason.

[Dragovic] What are the psychological consequences of that kind of life?

[Kostic] I think that the psychological consequences are being seen even now. If you move about a bit in the city, you will see that our coffeehouses are full, which, taken together with the datum that many people are in want, confirms the observation in psychology that taking in food and drink are the last two pleasures which people give up. However, this kind of situation does not last so long that the psychological consequences become evident in a sizable number of people, but it is certain that there is a kind of tolerance limit in

a psychological sense. One man told me that he felt somehow betrayed. He had embarked on all this full of enthusiasm, he had accepted and believed, and now he feels betrayed. Like a soldier who is still at the front: and the officers, how about the officers who led him there?

### Weekend Neuroses

The conversations with the psychiatrists revealed to us a paradox. In states of crisis and in situations which can be described as crisis situations, there is less neurotic behavior than in states which can provisionally be called normal or peaceful. It seems paradoxical, but the explanations are logical. In periods of crisis people face a situation whose resolution requires the complete personality.

"When the conditions of life are quite difficult, people have less time to devote to reflections about themselves. By force of circumstance they turn to external factors and problems," says the neuropsychiatrist Petar Opalic.

"There are fewer patients not because things are fine with them now, but because they have put off going to the psychiatrist. We can expect later on an entire wave of patients, since people are accumulating within themselves their unsolved problems. When we are faced by fear of the future, uncertainty, life in a state of tension, anxiety, we always have two possibilities," Dr Opalic concludes, "either we will come out of all that more mature and stronger or we will become neurotics."

When a man works, when he is narcotized by work, he is less nervous and more satisfied, the psychologists say. But then the "problem" usually arises, here is another wonder, at noon on Friday, which means just before the weekend or at the beginning of the annual vacation. These are referred to as weekend neuroses. The man simply does not know what to do with himself in his free time. Does this mean that our bosses have become the most important persons in our lives?

### Filtration of Information

We talked with Dr Ljubomir Eric, professor of psychiatry, about the ways and possibilities a man has of solving his dilemmas and problems.

"Whenever he is in a situation unfamiliar to him, whose causes he does not know, much less the consequences, man is extremely frightened. In this crisis people do not know the causes, they have scanty information, and they cannot examine the consequences. Information has been passed up to now through the filter of necessity, but complete information is indispensable if people's psychological commitment is to be preserved. In this situation people do not have a clear idea what is happening, they look for someone to blame, they want to see more responsibility. They feel a need to direct their aggressiveness somewhere; it is in man's nature to find someone to blame for what is no good. When people do not satisfy this need of theirs, the result is apathy, complete lack of interest in everything that is happening, passivity and listlessness, which in a collective sense is dangerous in and of itself. If people's needs for moral responsibility are to be met, from the psychological standpoint this crisis could be the step before enlightenment."

At the end of the interview Dr Eric made a suggestion to us:

"In the situation which is a key situation, a delicate one for society, the politicians and economists ought not to be the only ones involved in making some important decision. Perhaps a group ought to be formed in which by the nature of things differing specialized opinions would be heard. Let there be in the group a worker as well as a biologist, an ethnologist, a psychologist, an astronomer, as well as individuals of different age groups. After all, it is certain that the university student thinks differently from the 60-year-old. Then a more complete picture would be obtained concerning the decision proposed."

There are various crises, but no one has managed to avoid them for all time.

7045

CSO: 2800/460

## YUGOSLAVIA

### WORKERS FOUND TO HAVE LITTLE IMPACT ON DECISIONMAKING

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1701, 7 Aug pp 14-15

[Text] Who makes the decisions in workers collectives? Researchers from the Center for Workers Self-management in Belgrade are providing the answers to this delicate question: 88.5 percent of the workers say that they do not participate in making important decisions and 74.4 percent of the experts in production claim that is true.

In one poll 88.5 percent of the workers said that they do not participate in making important decisions in their collectives, and 74.4 percent of the experts in industry verified this.

Researchers from the Center for Workers Self-Management from Beograd have completed the voluminous study, "The Realization of Self-Management in Organizations of Associated Labor" as ordered for the needs of the Trade Union Council of Serbia. Along with a large number of conclusions on the "state of self-management" in 38 working organizations (from the narrow region of the Republic of Serbia) figures were also cited, regardless of the fact that the researchers stressed that the poll's sampling (1,289 workers) was not completely representative.

The research team, headed by Radomir Velimirovic, a scientific association of the center, took about 5 months to finish a real inventory of the working organizations' self-management acts, business information, statistical analyses, surveys and other documents, along with the use of other sources outside the OOUR--from the period between 1979 and 1982--and to compose the study of about 200 pages. The conclusions reached are interesting, as are the documentation materials and mentioned poll of workers.

Radomir Velimirovic told us that the study's mission was to verify the relations between the normative and real practice in the OOURs in order to see how the state norm is replaced by self-management and why that, which is independently passed, is not carried out. In other words, they wanted to see whether the site of decision making was the same as where those decisions are carried out. The general conclusion, according to Velimirovic, had to be that the concept of realizing self-management, which is crystal

clear from the "constitutional-legal viewpoint," is in practice not applied. With the qualification that there were model collectives, he added that nevertheless the irresponsible performance of self-management affairs predominated. "One should not blame the management structure and praise the workers to the stars" for this. The responsibility for this condition, claimed Velimirovic, must be shared.

Velimirovic stressed that special attention had been given in the study to informing the workers that there had to be a basic assumption about the proper participation in the decision making process. But these matters did not proceed as they would have. Generalizations made on the basis of information obtained during the research have led to the conclusion that the performance of the informative function "was not fully realized because it was more often turned toward the management structure, administrative organs and outside factors than toward the workers."

"If there is no information, or if it is incomplete, then decisions are made on the basis of someone else's will," noted Velimirovic. He added that besides an increase of the workers' demands for information, the question exists whether they, if they receive it, will be able to understand and use that information.

It is interesting that according to the poll there is a high level of so-called horizontal communication: 71.7 percent of those questioned claimed that they had received information concerning the problems and themes important for the collective from everyday conversations with their colleagues. More than 72 percent explained that they never talked with their director (a conversation which would help the spread of information is meant here), and another 15.1 percent rarely talked to him. This "informal" transmission of information, naturally, leads to the conclusion, drawn indirectly, about a significant separation between the manager and the production structure, that is the self-managed worker, from which logic dictates that these two "opposed" sides cannot have the same position and possibilities in the decision making process.

The management mechanism in collectives has a very great influence on the making of the most important decisions regardless of the fact that the workers pass them and not some management council. The form of self-management, therefore, is satisfied; but 62 percent of those workers polled announced that they have no communication or contact with their delegate to the workers council. On the managers' influence on the delegates: 45 percent of those polled felt that influence to be greater than that of the workers while 23 percent felt it to be "very great." Naturally, the answers of the managers concerning this theme differed from those of the workers: they feel they have less influence on delegates than ascribed to them by the workers. In any case, both responses show where the real authority is and how it functions...

#### A Struggle of Interests...

Data obtained in this research show that a small number of 'chosen' in the observed working organizations influence investment decisions. This verifies

verifies...claims that our working organizations are set up in a technocratic way.

The conclusion has been reached here that there are two opposing groups in a working organization: technocrats on one side and the workers on the other. In between these opposing groups is found a 'gray zone'--experts in production and administrative personnel, who are, it is usually said, divided but often closer to the workers, with the exception of the highest levels, whom we call 'experts in administration.' The workers' council should not be forgotten, as an expression of the will of all the employees. This means the workers, administration and management personnel, whose influence is significant but not decisive. The workers' council most often serves the technocrats as an 'outer shell' who carry out in a 'selfmanagement way' their own particular interests through it, presenting them as general interests. On the other hand, the workers' council plays a role as a 'mediator' between the conflicting interests. In other words, it is the place for creating a temporary alliance between different social groups, or the place for perfecting the pluralism of interests." (An excerpt from the study)

It is interesting to compare the answers of the workers and management to questions about the implementation of decisions. The first will give somewhat more than half of his votes (54.6 percent) in support of the claim about the efficient implementation of adopted decision, while the second agrees with this to the tune of 78.7 percent. One of the conclusions suggested in the study itself is that those who have the greatest influence in making decisions, naturally have the greatest interest in their implementation, and the greatest possibilities to see that they are done so. Can the technocracy, or some other power, bargain? However, what is interesting is the remark of those polled that decisions which directly affect the workers and their interests, even if they pass, are only partially or not implemented at all (the same is claimed for those decisions "passed" but not favored by management). Although these claims are relative, some of their political and psychological dimensions cannot be ignored, if for no other reason than they point to the existence of a certain atmosphere of conflict and rivalry between the managerial and selfmanaging levels as well as an atmosphere of distrust.

#### Even About "Pay"

Some 84.1 percent of direct producers say that in general they do not even participate or do so only "formally" in deciding about the distribution of resources for personal incomes.

Those questioned felt (71.1 percent) that the director and his colleagues have an overwhelming power in deciding about "pay," and it is interesting that at the bottom rung of influence are the unions and workers! Above them are "outside factors" (sociopolitical associations, banks...).

By its own name the workers' council shows that the influence of workers must be the greatest. The finding of the study is that the workers' council has

great influence on decision making (it does not consider, for the moment, who influences the council), but that conclusion seems a little strange in relation to the information from the first sentences of the text! What and whom the workers' council represents, if it is stronger than those who chose it, especially if we add the fact concerning the weakness of the ties between the delegates and their base? The answer to this question is most often found by pointing a finger at the technocrats and their huge power. But the question is whether this will remain this way.

Undoubtedly, various "outside factors" influence a large part of the decisions of self-managing organs, be they from the communal or wider regional base. For example, the selection of the director of a collective. The workers claim (74 percent) that they have absolutely no influence in this matter, while the "great" and "very great" influence of outside factors is measured at 64.9 percent. But, this fact is nothing new for us. A bureaucracy of any kind finds a way to tie up a broad area and cover its operations with self-management.

How stands the control of the activity of all the factors of the self-managing and administrative mechanism? Bad, really, very bad. According to those polled, self-managing workers' control is practically dead; it simply does not function there, where it formally exists. In this case, it must be said that it is really not clear to many what should be done to help these institutions, regardless of the fact that appropriate regulations define their tasks in a relatively precise way. Simply stated, it seems that such control bothers everyone: for some it is not proper that they control the "stronger"; and for the "stronger" it is not a problem, or at least not a great one, to prevent hostile "tinkering." And so some kind of consensus is reached.

The union bears responsibility for the state of affairs in self-management, and therefore, one chapter in this study is devoted to the role of this organization of the working class. As Radomir Velimirovic has told us, the findings of his team in individual working organizations show differences, but on the whole one cannot be satisfied with the role and scope, and even with the quality of the activity of the union. It has been concluded that there is too much formalism in the implementation of union tasks, and, therefore, the confidence of the workers in their organization is insufficiently developed. This is especially valid for the insufficient engagement of the Confederation of Unions in protecting the workers' self-managing rights, and the total absence of such activities.

One of the most frequently used words in this study is "responsibility." It should be said that besides the fact that there is not enough responsibility in performing the affairs of self-management, there is no limitation to acknowledging these facts.

"It is even stressed in some OURs," notes the study, that "no one accepts responsibility"; that is, "irresponsible relations toward obligations" are felt and that is valid for everyone "from porters to the directors of working organizations."

## Directors and Legality

The study concludes that "even commercial organs, despite their rights and privileges, do not perform the function of protecting legality...passing silently, that is, without the corresponding intervention in events which demand quick and energetic actions." This is illustrated by an interesting finding from a poll of 13 OOURS.

In the period from 1979 to 1982, there was "discovered" only one warning of a director for the illegality of the work of a workers' council, and only one instance of abandoning the implementation of a decision of the workers' council. But the director never informed the sociopolitical association about the measures undertaken to protect legality.

Along with the belief that indeed there can be irresponsible porters and that they can bear the responsibility for their own mistakes, we will only cite the fact that the study found that the question of the responsibility of commercial organs (directors) is raised "internally" only rarely, and that, if it is done, it comes first from "the outside." Why? Perhaps these are similar to the explanations about the "work" of the self-managing workers' control....

Our informant, Radomir Velimirovic, finds it appropriate to conclude from the results which the study presents (he adds: in no way negatively) that the key question is that of the responsibility for the implementation of the socially and politically verified concept of self-management. However, this poses a question, which seems to us to be not only formal. How and why is it easier for us to obey the decision of state organs than those which we, through self-management, adopt for ourselves?

12217

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## GROWING CONFORMISM IN LCY DISCUSSED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 83 pp 18-20

[Article by Branko Vlahovic: "How Silent the Members of the Party Are"]

[Text] Is it possible to increase responsibility in the League of Communists, but also in society at large, when opportunism and conformism are at the same time growing without interruption? Responsibility and opportunism can hardly "collaborate." If responsibility becomes stronger, opportunism and conformism will be displaced, and vice versa: as soon as there is an epidemic of opportunism, that is a sign that everything is not as it should be with responsibility.

The question with which we began the article is being imposed not only on members of the LC, but also on those outside its ranks, all those who keep up with political events. It is clear that we cannot overcome our present difficulties unless there is greater responsibility at all levels in society. That is why the word responsibility has been put to the greatest use in our political vocabulary for several years now. The more serious our economic situation, the more talk there is of the need to tighten responsibility. At the last plenum of the LCY Central Committee, which took up economic stabilization, all those who went to the rostrum devoted a section of their speech precisely to responsibility. If we think back, there was also a great deal of talk about it at last year's congresses, when it was stated without any sort of shilly-shallying that a considerable number of the party membership, numbering 2 million, are infected with opportunism, which has detracted from the LC's effectiveness in action.

There is quite a bit of evidence that an ever greater number of party members lack the courage to admonish their fellow or immediate superior, for example, when they err or to say in public what they know about abuses. Another indicator is the ever greater number of "anonymous" letters. Several surveys indicate growing conformism.

The most recent survey of this problem, which was conducted by Dr Ivan Siber, professor of political science in Zagreb, also confirms the large rise of conformism in the League of Communists. Since he has been researching the same phenomenon since back in 1966, by comparing these results and those which he obtained last year, it is possible to "measure" the growth of conformism among members of the League of Communists.

## One in Ten

Why is it that the tongue of many members of the LC is tied in knots and they rarely utter a few words at any party meeting? Nor is the number of those who utter only the word "present" in LC meetings negligible. Certainly no benefit is to be obtained from such party members. It is indisputable that the great majority of party members declare themselves in favor of self-management, the delegate system, equality among the nationalities, and so on, and they oppose all forms of nationalism, unitarianism and other evils. Probably because of their inadequate ideological capability, many are not even able to recognize the various forms of the evils in everyday life. But that is only one reason. The problem is much more serious in those cases when party members recognize the phenomenon, but remain silent out of opportunism and conformism. That accounts for the large gap between the commitments in principle and activity in everyday life.

The pattern of minding one's own business and "live and let live" is probably the most serious disease of a large number of primary party organizations.

Professor Siber holds that the entire organization of the LC must seriously ask how it is that more than 40 percent of party members believe that their comrades do not say what they think because they are afraid of the consequences and do not want to offend anybody?

What is behind such phenomena, and what are the actual experiences, are those nonexistent dangers, or do they actually exist? Back in 1976 Siber obtained results to the effect that one out of every five party members feels that his comrades in the primary organization are prepared to say what they think. Six years later the situation had greatly deteriorated: now only 1 out of every 10 party members feels that his comrades are open and ready to say what they think.

It is usually said that young people are the critics and are more frank. But Professor Siber's survey showed that one cannot speak of any greater militance on the part of young people. Siber says that he realized on the basis of the survey that young people justify their "withdrawal into themselves" by their not being well enough informed, which might possibly be accepted for the youngest members of the LC (under age 25), but not for those between the ages of 26 and 35. The older the members of the party, the more frankly they express their attitudes, so that one gets the impression that it is not because of their "being better informed," but primarily because of their greater confidence in themselves and their position, their achievements and their possible prestige.

Party members over age 55--a large number of whom are retired, though they are active in local communities, are much more active and more sincere in what they say. Some people explain this with the fact that these old party members have "nothing to lose."

Professor Siber explains the greater frankness and more critical attitude of party members enrolled in the party before 1945 by saying that enrollment in

the CP was more selective at that time, since the times did not allow for compromises, vacillation and conformism, but demanded a clear ideological stance and political action. The fact that in large numbers they are prepared even today to express their position is only a logical continuation of their revolutionary commitment.

#### Justifications

Why is it that LC members do not state their attitudes?

In the survey we have mentioned all of 32.2 percent say that they do not state their attitudes because they are not sufficiently familiar with the problems. Almost the same percentage of the respondents gave that answer 6 years ago. The second most frequent "justification" is the assertion that they do not state their attitudes because they fear the consequences. This was expressed by 25.7 percent of the respondents, and 16 percent do not wish to offend leadership structures. LC members are unfortunately concerned exclusively with their own interest, said 14.2 percent of the respondents, while 6 years ago this was the opinion of 9.4 percent. As we have already written, last year only 10.9 percent of the respondents said that they were willing to express their attitudes, while in 1976 21.4 percent felt that way.

The justifications for silence like those we often hear: "I am not sufficiently familiar with the problems" or "I am a poor speaker" are not convincing at all. This is in fact easy to prove. Even those "poorer" speakers, when their personal interest is threatened, do not worry much about rhetoric, but defend their interest with a vengeance. Unfamiliarity with the problem may serve as a justification in the case of problems which are not encountered every day. But who is in a better position to speak about the situation in a work collective than the party members and working people who make their living in it every day. In these cases silence is the result of personal calculations.

In analyzing the performance of the League of Communists in primary and opstina organizations, members of the Croatian LC Bylaws Commission noted that in certain primary organizations and organs of the LC no political-ideological measures whatsoever are taken against party members who make mistakes. Cases of opportunism, of "live and let live," and indeed even of coverup of errors, shortcomings and negative phenomena in certain primary organizations and indeed even in organs of the LC are obvious. There is no energetic reaction when those who have committed a crime, an economic offense with serious material consequences, or unlawful acts are members of the LC and have thereby brought discredit on the LC. Because of opportunism there is not enough initiative for establishing the political accountability of members of the LC and those who hold the most responsible public offices, from OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor], SIZ's [self-managing community of interest], banks, and bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities from the opstina to the Federation, for various failures, lawbreaking and breaches of the standards of socialist ethics.

Leaving to one side the honorable exceptions, the conscience of many people springs to life only when their personal interests are threatened or when they come into some sort of conflict.

#### Anonymous Complaints

The large number of unsigned petitions and complaints reaching leadership bodies of sociopolitical organizations is also indicative of the growing opportunism in the League of Communists and in society at large. One can also obtain from the anonymous complaints an answer to the question of why a considerable number of party members keeps silent? That is, the greatest problem is that even some of those who have the moral right to criticize negative things do not open their mouth. For those who themselves have "jam on their fingers" it is much better and also more honest to be silent.

Last year, for example, the Croatian LC Central Committee received 498 unsigned letters, and a year before that 457. The authors of the anonymous letters say that they were writing them because of relations in their own milieu, where they would suffer unpleasantness if they spoke out in public. Some say that they are well-intentioned members of the League of Communists, and that if the official bodies were to react, they would become involved in solving the problems they are warning about.

What do they write in the anonymous letters? A fourth of all these unsigned submittals speak about bribes and corruption. An equal number criticize breaches of personnel policy. The range is truly broad, they call attention to failure to honor the criteria in elections from managers to officeholders. Arbitrariness of willful individuals and unreasonable actions of the bureaucracy were mentioned in 61 submittals which last year reached the Croatian LC Central Committee. But members of the League of Communists who placate their own conscience with an anonymous letter also call attention to shortcomings in the work of the primary organizations of which they themselves are members and then to the unseemly behavior of individual members of the LC and the poor performance of leadership bodies. In most of the submittals and complaints, both unsigned and also signed, opportunism is indicated either directly or indirectly.

Certainly it would be much more worthwhile if members of the LC who write letters about evils were to speak out in the places where they live and work every day. In that way they would contribute at least in some way to having placed on the agenda the problems which are spoken about often in the corridors, but rarely in meetings. We are aware that it is much easier to say this than to carry it out in practice. One must also understand those who have become silent because they have felt someone's tyranny on their own skin.

We should be aware that in some places small groups of despots succeed in establishing a reign of terror. Thus it comes about that people who have called attention to the negative phenomena or who have written complaints begin to be discussed. Instead of speaking in meetings about whether the assertions called attention to in the complaints are accurate or not, the person who made a public statement about some negativity may find himself on the agenda. The

"group in power" attempts to prove that the person who criticized their performance is actually an idler, a caviler, and so on. Where party consciousness is low, powerful people deal with a "rebel" with ease. It matters nothing that later, after all the abuse that has taken place in practice, it turns out that what the "rebel" said was accurate. The abuse and the sleepless nights are hard to forget, and often they leave lasting consequences. If there were more solidarity and sincere behavior among members of the League of Communists, but also other working people as well, in work collectives, problems would be resolved much more easily, and there would also be less abuse of official position. The despots would either have to change their style or leave the collective. They are after all not so strong that they can break the "back," i.e., silence, a majority of the work force.

### The Critical Weather Vane

Although there are no statistics on the accuracy of the assertions in the anonymous letters, it can be said with confidence that the number which are well-founded is not negligible. Certainly the unsigned letters also contain a great deal of malicious and unscrupulous vengeance. Still, anonymous letters are an indicator of the working people's sensitivity to the increasingly obvious threat to public property, usurpation of power and the like. Let us recall, it is precisely thanks to anonymous charges that abuses of which the press has already written were discovered: in Cazma, the agrobusiness in Slavenska Pozega, irregularities in the use of housing and construction sites in Split, and so on.

What do members of the League of Communists think of themselves and of their performance?

On the eve of the First Conference of the Croatian LC, which was held in May, a poll was taken in a discussion of the 49 "first people" from primary organizations of major OUR's [organization of associated labor] in physical production in SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia. One question put to the party secretaries was whether the LC is operating effectively enough? A majority of the secretaries answered that it was not. They saw the reason to be that the actions planned are not carried out, and there is no followup on implementation of the stands agreed on and the resolutions. There are too many passive people among members of the LC. They proposed as a remedy more responsibility, more punishment, including even expulsion from the LC. In that poll the following question was also put to the secretaries: Do you feel that people speak openly and constructively about the real problems in the meetings of your own primary organization of the LC, or are they circumvented? Ten of the secretaries said that the real problems are circumvented in meetings, but 38 said that they are discussed frankly and constructively. When we compare these two responses, we see that the secretaries are also infected with opportunism. This is why we think so: they are much more critical toward the performance of others than toward their own milieu, where they themselves set the tone. It seems to us that that critical weather vane "I am good, he is at fault," was also heard from the secretaries, not because they are not aware enough to precisely evaluate their own performance, but because it serves them as a justification which runs approximately like this in internal conversations: "It is no better anywhere else."

In the survey conducted by Professor Siber it also turned out that individuals are much more critical toward others than toward themselves. Nevertheless, it is encouraging that a majority of members of the LC are dissatisfied with their own behavior. It is also interesting that their dissatisfaction is today much more pronounced than 6 years ago. They acknowledge that they are not active enough. In both surveys (1976 and 1982) one out of every three members of the LC justifies his own personal shortcomings by saying "that he is the same as others," and the others are poor. It is a "consolation" for such individuals that they are not the only ones who are inactive, but that this is an attribute of many other members of the LC as well.

The youngest members of the LC are least satisfied with themselves, and party members of the oldest age group are the most satisfied with their own performance and behavior.

#### Portrait of an Opportunist

What would be the political portrait of a Yugoslav opportunist? Aside from regarding himself as an exceptionally wise man, he is a constant source from which defeatism is spread. Thus in justifying himself the person who is silent also persuades others that it is best to be silent. In our opinion, this is essentially a man who is satisfied. Even though he is constantly grumbling to himself, he is not prepared for changes.

How can the party cure itself of the epidemic of opportunism and conformism, which are lulling a large portion of the membership to sleep?

When someone has been silent for years, one can hardly expect that he would suddenly change and become critical. But still there is no remedy. The leadership bodies must set the example of greater openness and concreteness for the party rank and file. The insistence on much greater agility of the party rank and file is quite understandable. That is, it constitutes more than 10 percent of the total population as well as more than 20 percent of the labor force. If a majority of members of the LC were truly active, the League of Communists, with its 2 million members, would be a strong factor and could correct many shortcomings with ease. Or, as Marijan Kalanj said in a recent plenum of the Croatian LC Central Committee, there are about 10,000 activists in the 113 opstina committees in SR Croatia. There are more than 41,000 members in the 13,841 primary organizations of the Croatian LC who are serving as secretaries, members of secretariats and members of presidiums of permanent action conferences. If at the least all of them were involved in practical performance of the tasks and implementation of the established policy of the LC, would our effectiveness not be greater than it is?

We feel that it is a good thing for members of leadership bodies to be called upon to set the tone for party action. Unfortunately, the phrase "negative phenomena in certain places" has been used too long in leadership bodies. Those places have to be named. Jure Bilic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, said in an interview published in the holiday issue of VJESNIK that there are leaders who have been subjected to quite a bit of criticism, who do not command respect, or who in turn objectively behave in

such a way that they are not highly regarded, although in certain cases this is unfounded.... We have to be more severe in cleansing our ranks of all that.

But who will say who these individuals are and when will this be said? If it is not said, one can only guess. The more specific the talk is, the more "ordinary" members there will be of leadership bodies, people in whom self-confidence will be restored and a desire to speak out frankly and critically about negative phenomena. It is pointless to call upon the rank and file to be more militant and critical when they speak in generalities in leadership bodies. Fear or opportunism and conformism must and can be cured if a climate is created throughout society in which criticism does not immediately signify jumping into a trench and waiting for the showdown until one is politically eradicated.

7045

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## RADONJIC GIVES DATA ON 'STALINISTS' IN LCY HISTORY

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 83 pp 11-15

[Interview with Dr Radovan Radonjic, professor at Titograd University, by Jelena Lovric: "Stalinism Is Not Inactive"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Twelve years ago the idea of Radovan Radonjic, who is today a Ph.D. and professor at Titograd University, to do his doctoral dissertation on the topic of 1948 in Yugoslavia was accepted with quite a bit of reluctance. Today it has been his lot to become concerned with the events which we usually refer to with the brief phrase "the historical NO to Stalinism" for the purposes of writing a history of the CPY/LCY. Radovan Radonjic, then, is someone to talk to who has something to say. Although on this occasion we wanted to hear something more about the bridge which at present links us to '48, we began with a question about Radonjic's thesis, which differed from those which came before, concerning the causes and consequences of the conflict with the Cominform. Very roughly and oversimplified--Was '48 the cause of the consequence of certain of our aspirations to self-management?

"According to some," Radonjic said, "the conflict was a consequence of the development of our self-management practice, an altogether different social practice. According to others, self-management was a mere consequence of the conflict, that is, something that we introduced, some say, out of necessity, certain others say even out of spite, but in any case self-management according to them came out of the conflict, that is, occurred after it. None of these arguments is acceptable. Here is why: both the idea and the practice of self-management were present in the Yugoslav revolutionary process from the very outset (establishment of the national liberation committees, for example), or in all those decisions of the revolution's leadership which departed from the general Comintern concept of how a revolution should be carried out. The desire to preserve an equal position, to make independent decisions about essential issues of our own foreign and domestic policy, was also an act of self-management in a way. However, because of the need to overcome the problems which were outstanding at the end of the war (economic, social and political) as quickly as possible and in order to create the preconditions for the transition to planned socialist construction, the elements of self-management were displaced to some extent. That is, there was self-management before the conflict, but self-management as a system of social relations was not developed to the extent that one might speak of the conflict having occurred between

self-management in the way we conceive it today and the statist-bureaucratic, centralistic concept of socialism.

[Question] Was there such a difference immediately before the conflict that it could be the reason for the conflict?

[Answer] There were differences. Many of our solutions were different from those characteristic of the so-called Soviet model of socialism. Although, to be honest, that concept of socialism, which was generally accepted at the time in the communist movement, was not called into question on our part either. It was not officially questioned, although in its implementation in Yugoslavia quite a few new things did occur, and Tito, incidentally, called attention to them in '46 and '47 and '48, mentioning that there was something essentially different in our country as compared to other countries and that this should be given maximum respect. Certainly the conflict speeded up the ripening of the awareness of what an independent position signified and the extent to which it was a *conditio sine qua non* of any effort to realize any new social relations, and it also exposed the essence of the problem: how on the soil of socialist social practice deformations could occur one of whose expressions was that hegemonistic assault on the Yugoslav revolution and its leadership.

[Question] Yet the self-management tendencies were pushed aside. Or, as one authority has said: "the struggle of the Yugoslav communists against Stalinism began with the attempt to prove that we were good Stalinists." How and why did the change of direction occur?

[Answer] The problems which began to emerge because of the strengthening of the role of the central bodies of government were having a sobering effect on all those who were reflecting at that time on the essential, strategic and tactical questions of the revolution. That is, it turned out that as the government-party organs were assuming more and more the role of inviolable arbiters in all questions--and that was the unquestionable trend at the time--people became correspondingly less interested in resolving many issues and in meeting planning targets in carrying out other tasks.

There are at least two other needs to be added to the need to create new space for the commitment of all potential, human potential above all--which is the most important component of the ripening of the awareness that self-management had to be developed. In trying to clarify the sources of the conflict, on the basis of a more thorough approach to Marxist science, which has now been freed of Stalinist interpretations, we have arrived at new knowledge concerning the society of the transitional period, and the endeavor to reveal the causes of deformations in Soviet social practice led the Yugoslav communists to an awareness of all the monstrosities in social relations brought about by the strengthened role of the state and the strengthened position of the bureaucracy. The more marked that awareness became, the stronger was the orientation toward our own self-management development.

[Question] What was actually happening during those years? At times one cannot escape the impression--from the way those events in 1948 and 1949 are presented--that it was sufficient to publish the Resolution of the Cominform to

win the people entirely over to the policy of our own party and against Stalin. However, that is not really the way it was: those were dramatic times with vacillation and resistance, with treason and uncertainty....

[Answer] Underneath the apparently good relations between the two parties and two states after the war, many disagreements were smoldering, so that the aggravation of relations that occurred in late 1947 was not any surprise, at least not for the leadership of the Yugoslav party and state. Nevertheless, no one believed that it was possible that things would go so far in the brutality of the pressure and the monstrosity of the accusations. But for the broad masses, for the public, for whom the dispute was revealed by publication of the Cominform Resolution, this was like a bolt from the blue, as we usually say. People experienced this as a serious trauma, as a tragedy, as a moment when all ideals were shattered, as something improbable and unprecedented, something in which they were unable to get their bearings. Two loyalties were in conflict within them: loyalty toward the first country of socialism, which until that time had been the irreproachable model of everything new and progressive, and devotion to their own revolutionary identity and toward what had already been created. It truly took both courage and wisdom to react in the right way at that time. It is a fact that even in the meeting that took place on 12 and 13 April '48, in which the Central Committee discussed the text of the response to Stalin's letter of 27 March, first Tito and Kardelj as well explained very clearly that what was involved here was not an ideological dispute, but relations between socialist states and that the basic issue was how socialism was to develop in the future: through a further spread of the borders of the Soviet Union or through authentic autonomous revolutionary processes within individual countries? Publication of the resolution had the effect of a shock, but at that point it was truly a salvation. There ensued a well-organized and extensive political-ideological campaign to familiarize the rank and file of the party and the broad working masses with the essence of the dispute.

Yet in spite of that there were in the party and in society at large a certain number of those who accepted the allegations in Stalin's letters and the resolutions of the Cominform. Why? Both the reasons and the motives are numerous. It cannot be said of a certain number of officials in the party and state and military officers that they were in error or that they were not well-informed. Which means that we are dealing with a deliberate act of treason motivated by a desire to realize certain particular interests and goals. It is already clear today that such people assumed--when the CPY leadership, headed by Tito, was removed, as had been hinted--that they would obtain new and higher positions in the party and state with the help of foreign networks of agents.

Those who declared themselves in favor of the policy of the Cominform also included a number of party personnel and others who had been recruited even before the war, while they were going to school in the Soviet Union or working in the Comintern, and then a number of dogmatic and doctrinaire people, those who simply believed that there was no other truth than Stalin's interpretation of socialism. And, of course, there was also human malice and spite, the settling of certain old accounts.

The number of those who came out in favor of Stalin's positions was not especially large. According to the figures we have, from the publication of the resolution up to 1963, which is when the record stopped being kept, 55,663 were recorded. By comparison with those who committed themselves to Tito's course and the policy of the CPY it is truly a negligible number. But in view of the international circumstances, even that was not to be underestimated.

[Question] There was some vacillation in the top leadership of the republics and kotars, and even defection into the woods?

[Answer] There was. Even at the very outset two federal ministers came out in favor of the policy of the Cominform: Zujovic and Hebrang. In Montenegro and Croatia the same position was taken by three members of the Central Committee, in Serbia an entire kotar committee actually defected into the woods, and in Montenegro this was done by two opstina committees. Among those who came out in favor of the Cominform Resolution there were all of 21,880 participants in the National Liberation War, 4,135 members of the Yugoslav People's Army, 2,616 members of various bodies and leadership organs of the CP, and all of 1,722 members of law enforcement agencies, 1,189 officeholders and assembly members of sociopolitical communities and their bodies, and, of course, there were also 5,626 farmers, 5,081 workers, and 4,008 university and secondary students. The breakdown was as follows by provinces and republics: 4,543 in Bosnia-Hercegovina, 5,007 in Montenegro, 6,953 in Croatia, 2,662 in Macedonia, 934 in Slovenia, 28,661 in Serbia, 1,514 in Kosovo, 5,389 in Vojvodina. Unfortunately, no records were kept on the ethnic composition of those recorded.

Questions are sometimes asked as to whether the Montenegrins were in the lead. The very fact that almost 10 percent of the total number were from Montenegro is eloquent enough. There are reasons to believe that there were also Montenegrins among those recorded in other regions, so that their relative share is certainly the highest. If we can speak of any particular reasons why the Montenegrins committed themselves to the Cominform Resolution in larger numbers than elsewhere, that is, why they, as some people say in jest, fell in the Russian campaign of '48, then it is undoubtedly Montenegro's traditional ties with Russia, the existence of a kind of confidence, of an illusion that Montenegrins always have the main point of support there, which also was very skillfully and constantly fostered and utilized on the other side. Probably socioeconomic conditions in Montenegro at that time were also more complicated than elsewhere, so that faster changes were anticipated and desired. It should not be underestimated that the entire Cominform campaign abounded in shots calculated to act upon a man's subconscious, to convince him that the road which Yugoslavia was taking could not lead to anything new and better, but that only the Soviet model was capable of that.

[Question] How many of the total number of those recorded were convicted?

[Answer] People often exaggerate when they talk about the number of people arrested and punished. In all, 16,080 people, no more, were convicted by the regular or military courts or punished by the protective measure of socially useful work. Others were whisked away, but not convicted, and most were only

recorded and kept track of. At that time it was not possible to respect legal process in every case and in every detail, so that there were cases when individuals were registered or arrested solely on the basis of a charge, without verification or evidence.

[Question] We must also speak about Goli Otok, not because it is the most essential thing in all this, although it is not inessential either, but more because recently we have been experiencing a virtual flood of talk about this topic. Do you think that Goli Otok was necessary?

[Answer] On the basis of what I have been able to learn, and I do not claim to have learned everything, I am convinced that there is no issue related to that period which our party needs to be ashamed of. That also applies to Goli Otok, which is being written about and talked about more and more today. I even have the feeling that a canard is being spread about, nor am I even far from the conviction that sometimes in some places an attempt is being made to use this prism in looking at our entire '48 and indeed even its historical purport and importance.

Goli Otok was a prison, a camp, to which those were sent who had declared themselves in favor of the Cominform Resolution, and that not all, but a portion of those whose offenses were objectively serious or thought to be serious. A strange logic is followed by those who condemn Goli Otok a priori, who regard it as a kind of black spot on the history of our revolution and our party, some kind of manacles by which they are tied to the ground and which prevent them from holding up their heads and looking the world in the eyes. Also strange are the attempts to equate Goli Otok with the concentration camps in Germany or with Stalin's gulags, to mark it as a place where we spewed out our own Stalinism. Goli Otok was a need of the moment, and there is no revolution, no leadership of a revolution, which would not have acted in the same way.

It is another question whether everything that happened had to happen on Goli Otok and who is to blame for that. No intelligent man, no civilized man can condone or consider necessary the various forms of physical punishment of people and the ways in which they were abused and humiliated. But at the same time no honest man in this country can relate those occurrences either to the idea or the program of '48, nor to the policy and commitment of the Yugoslav party and its leadership. Those things should be interpreted through the operation of certain other circumstances as well: the conditions under which a man was shaped on our soil, his psychology and his understanding of the seriousness of an offense and the possibility of correcting it, the fact that physical punishment for minor offenses was a legalized method both in the former Yugoslav Army and in the schools, the fact that the moral code of our revolution was incredibly strict, the fact that the inmates, who had a high degree of autonomy in regulating certain internal relations, included shilly-shallyers ready to betray both the party and the country. When it learned of these actions and those forms of punishment the Yugoslav party reacted quickly and resolutely: in 1951, at the time when the conflict reached its culmination, when it was not yet known what the country's destiny would be, a party plenum took up the question of the legality and actions of judicial and other

authorities toward those who had broken the laws of this country. From that time on the situation on Goli Otok was greatly changed.

[Question] It is a strange assertion that such inmates had a high degree of autonomy at that time.

[Answer] In what was called the Big Wire, in the central camp, which was located in the depression on Goli Otok, most of all the tasks, from programming ideological indoctrination and correctional work to economic and other jobs which the inmates had to do in order to obtain something to live on were managed by the inmates themselves. I have evidence to the effect that most of the mistreatment and abuses arose out of conflicts between different groups of inmates.

[Question] Some people who also feel that Goli Otok was necessary do not hold that opinion about the methods that were applied there. They say that they were Stalinistic.

[Answer] Probably the actions taken against a certain number of inmates were inhumane. But whether Stalinistic methods were involved is another question. In judging that one should be mindful that in the rigged trials Stalin liquidated his closest collaborators, and the death sentence because of alleged treason was a regular thing. In our country no one was sentenced to death because of treason in '48--and treason was involved--we have even had repeaters in the recent past, but still none of them has been sentenced to death. Few people came back from the gulags; people returned from Goli Otok in large numbers. In the Stalinistic system anyone ever pronounced guilty was buried for all times, while in most cases the inmates from Goli Otok returned to normal life, to regular jobs, to positions even in the party and government. When all this is taken into account, then the question is whether Stalinism was displayed on Goli Otok or this was something else which at times was not devoid of cruel actions toward individuals. The distinction has to be made. Had it not been for Goli Otok, perhaps all Yugoslavia might have become a kind of Goli Otok. That is the destiny that was being prepared for us.

[Question] Recently even certain distinguished leaders have been comparing 1983 with '41 and '48. How are they similar?

[Answer] There is no similarity. It is true that the present situation is rather complicated, that we have quite a few economic, social and indeed even political problems which demand both resolute and rapid action if we do not wish to fall into still greater difficulties. But '48 is objectively and historically something that cannot happen again. Nevertheless, we should not neglect the lesson, we must go back to those years for several reasons, and they are not only relevant at the present moment, but lasting. It is not just since yesterday that we have encountered the profoundly defeatist thesis that in case of any sort of great conflicts or conflicts with the great powers, we would not have any chances whatsoever. Certainly, every conflict should be avoided, but we should not bow our head in panic whenever a danger arises.

In '48 we held out, we persisted, since we had the party that had been hardened in the war and in the revolution, which was united and capable of maintaining its entire action program in phase with the interests of the masses. We succeeded because the people had a deep trust in the party, were ready to follow its policy, and the party had a deep faith in the people. There truly had to be a firm mutual trust for the decision to be made to resist Stalin's force, since a party separated from the people, to which the people did not offer support and which it would not follow, could not have done anything. We also succeeded because the party and state were headed by an individual who under those unprecedentedly difficult circumstances was able to give the right answers at the right time. We had Tito. And finally, we succeeded because we built the entire resistance to the Cominform pressure on the struggle of the broadest masses of the workers and people. Transferred to our present conditions, this means: insofar as we have a revolutionary and united League of Communists, insofar as we have a firm tie and mutual trust between the party and the broad working masses, insofar as we are unwavering on Tito's line, and insofar as we understand that the revolution can be carried out only by the masses and that only their creativity can furnish that rich content that makes it a radical overthrow of the status quo--to that extent we can overcome even our present trials and pressures. Not everyone in the party is interested in socialism or self-management, nor are party members equally willing or able to fight for them. This presumably is already clear to everyone.

[Question] The greatest purge of our party was carried out 35 years ago in tumultuous times. You mentioned that there are party members who do not belong in the ranks of the party, and 2 or 3 years ago you wrote a series of articles on this. There is much talk now about the need for differentiation in the League of Communists, about that urgent task, but hardly anything is being done.

[Answer] Although I had certain headaches because of those articles, time has unfortunately shown that my suppositions were pretty well-founded and my warnings justified. It has turned out, that is, that we in the League of Communists have entered the phase when the problems, internal relations and capability of the organization to perform its role demand a cleansing. Of course, I do not think that any sort of large-scale purges should be organized, nor any sort of spectacular removal of people from positions, but I think it is high time that we understand that all of us who are in the party, regardless of whether we are in the rank and file or in leadership positions, objectively do not have an equal interest in changes, nor are we equally capable of carrying them out, and some do not intend to. The League of Communists is already so differentiated one can speak of the existence of those whose vested socioeconomic position tells them to refrain from all progressiveness and revolutionarity, since any further step would jeopardize their rather privileged and enticing positions. Some of them are not at all aware of this, deep down they are not against the revolution, deep down they do not favor legalization of any form of inequality or exploitation, but their position makes them so static and opportunistically disposed that they are becoming a hindrance.

And so long as there are such people in the party, and their influence is not negligible, the party will objectively lack the strength to deal with problems

in its own ranks. People have wandered into the League of Communists who thought that their membership would give them the status of privileged people, people who are spared, those who would be able to realize some of their ambitions and interests sooner or more easily than others. There are also people in the League of Communists whom their petty landowner psychology, hedonistic impulses, a desire to obtain income in various ways, mainly illegal, have so overcome that they see only their own interest, and their membership in the party is a kind of cover for them or even a kind of forgiveness of their sins. There are also in the party some of the very honorable and progressively committed people who are objectively becoming a hindrance because they do not understand the ways in which the party can operate today, they are too attached to arguments of force and power and repressive measures. A large number of young people have been enrolled in the party without being properly informed as to what the League of Communists actually is and what its role in society is, and some of them lose faith and become disappointed as soon as they encounter the real forms and content of party life, or in some cases they just vegetate. In a very great number of organizations the leadership is almost entirely detached from the rank and file, many forums and leadership bodies still do not feel it obligatory that they contact the rank and file, they turn to it when circumstances compel them to seek its support.

There are many problems in the League of Communists, many burdens which it is carrying now, burdens which it must free itself of more quickly and radically if it wants to confirm its revolutionary commitment.

We can no longer tolerate a situation in which some top leader acknowledges from a public rostrum: we at the top are to blame, and then later, without blinking an eye, he sits down satisfied that he has delivered the speech, and no one loses even a hair on his head. The question of responsibility for every measure proposed, for every project, for every specific act has to be posed more strictly. So long, as the folksaying goes, as the wolves are well-fed and all the goats accounted for, things will not be good in many areas, nor can they be.

[Question] However great the role of the masses in moments of crisis, the role of the leadership is equally intensified. That was also the case in '48.

[Answer] It is certain that the firm and unified stance of the leadership of the Yugoslav party in '48 was extremely important for the entire subsequent course and outcome of events. The very fact that a few people at the top in Yugoslavia knew even at that time what was actually involved essentially influenced both the character and the content and also the method of the entire action which the Yugoslav communists took in those decisive moments. The position of the party depended in large part on the position of the leadership, and the position and behavior of the entire social structure depended on the stance taken by the party. In saying this we must certainly be clear that there is no leadership which can only win battles, which possesses the sole intelligence and sole responsibility for thinking, making decisions and taking the responsibility. The solution of Yugoslavia's problems today is a matter for our entire working class and all the working people. As a matter of fact, the solutions can only follow as a result of their commitment. However, if

that commitment is to take place at all, and what sort of commitment it will be depends in large part on the strength and ability of the leadership to achieve unity and to animate the masses. Whenever we have had unified views in the leadership, it has also been easier for us to achieve unity of action, and when there was discord, disagreements, a parting of the ways, doubts and disunity, the entire action suffered.

[Question] It would seem, not in theory, but in practical actions, that today dilemmas are being imposed that are similar to those in '48: Is it to be centralism, bureaucracy, the state, or self-management?

[Answer] Yes, there are dilemmas of that kind, vacillation still more, but even most of all behavior which is contradictory along the line of whether it shall be the state or self-management. But Yugoslav society has no other choice for its development than the road of self-management, there is no other way of resolving a single socioeconomic, political or any other sort of problem in this country nor of harmonizing relations among the nationalities. There are no dilemmas here for the person who is on the line of the revolution, nor can there be. Every act of resorting to social arbitration, to mediation by the bodies and agencies of government, and to use of the force and authority of the state where things can be resolved through self-management, is basically an act of counterrevolution.

It is another matter, however, that many people, even in theoretical discussions, but still more in practical relations, equate self-management in a certain way with some kind of anarchy, and that others immediately equate any insistence on organization, on a respect for order and responsibility, with some kind of revival of the statist-centralistic system of administration. Today there is no society which can develop in a disorganized way, there is no economy which can exist on the basis of the autarkies and regionalisms such as we have. The fact that we have committed ourselves to a federal system, that we respect the ethnic factor as essential in resolving overall social relations, by no means frees a single Yugoslav from the obligation to display the greatest degree of responsibility and critical attitude toward all others.

[Question] Stalinism was never a characteristic of our party. However, there are people who believe that schooling our old party personnel in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) did not altogether pass without a trace.

[Answer] It is a mistake to attribute Stalinism solely to the man from which it got its name or to associate it exclusively with specific circumstances in one country which gave rise to the deformation in socialist theory and practice. It is far more correct to speak of Stalinism as a phenomenon which arises out of the contradictions of the very struggle for socialism, as Karelj noted at one time. In this case one can speak of Stalinism as of something which is more lasting and resistant; it has been accompanying the processes of the struggle for the new society longer than is usually thought, and that means that the influence of Stalinism or the persistence of some of its revivals, that is, of certain elements of Stalinist theory and practice, should not be associated solely with the legacy which our personnel acquired

who were brought up in the Comintern. Fine, so we can speak of Stalinism brought in from other places, but today we can also speak of Stalinism as a phenomenon which had certain conditions for its birth even in certain periods and elements of our own social practice.

One portion of those personnel, for instance, who long held leading positions and who at the same time did not realize the essence and significance of social changes, and have persistently and obstinately striven to hold on to the positions they have once gained and the ways in which they are regenerated for all times--are objectively operating from the positions of Stalinists. Nor among the young personnel is it a rare thing for them to smack a bit of a kind of Stalinist view of the problems of socialism.

The rather marked tendencies of a certain number of people to see in a return to a kind of government regulation, to the party in power and to its commanding position the prerequisites of that organization of Yugoslav society which is thought to be indispensable for overcoming the present difficulties are very indicative, and they are a warning that the worm of Stalinism is rising beneath our self-managing social structure and is eating away at it. We will have to take pains to thwart it.

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