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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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5 August 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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CONSEQUENCES OF USSR THREAT TO DEPLOY MISSILES IN GDR ANALYZED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 37 No 27, 4 Jul 83 pp 22-23

[Article by Wolfgang Seiffert, former vice president of the GDR Society for Human Rights, former SED member, former GDR government consultant, since 1978 FRG citizen: "On the Prospects of a Breakthrough of Reason--Wolfgang Seiffert on East-West Relations"]

[Text] Seldom have illusions and opportunities in East-West relations and in the German-German relationship been so close as they are now: following the meeting of the party chiefs and heads of state of the seven member states of the Warsaw Pact, after Bonn's announced guaranty for a billion-mark credit to the GDR--and probably a few months before deployment of new U.S. intermediate-range weapons in Europe.

The circumstances of the Moscow summit meeting alone indicate the political problems: the gathering, mysteriously convened and ended without publicity, was not a meeting of the Communist Parties and it also was not an official conference of the Warsaw Pact (although only the representatives of the member states of this very military coalition took part).

These attendant circumstances alone speak volumes about the problems within the alliance of the seven states. For one can certainly assume that Soviet party chief and head of state Andropov sought a meeting at the party level because in so doing he saw greater chances for a common position. Following the proved pattern of past times, when the Eastern Bloc under Stalin still showed monolithic unity, the official line determined at the party level was then to be translated into decisions by all states in a "disciplined" manner.

But this attempt to return to Stalinist methods of the past never got off the ground. Romania's Ceausescu made sure that Moscow's desired secrecy was foiled; the results of the consultations of only a few hours duration were reflected in a "joint declaration" that had more the character of an appeal to the public and to NATO than an authoritative basis for specific measures within the Warsaw Pact.

The contents of the document published in Moscow also show it to be an appeal for ending the arms race, and of course it is just as clearly seen as a verification of the existing Soviet concept that the West must completely

forego deployment of new intermediate-range missiles, whereas the USSR cuts back on only some of its missiles deployed in western regions. The fact that Moscow's declaration, contrary to much speculation, fails to make any direct threats of "countermeasures" in case of deployment by the West and does not even specify appropriate measures for the Warsaw Pact can be explained by the informal nature of the meeting--and naturally lessens considerably, the value of the abandonment of threats. It is also difficult to overlook the fact that "under no circumstances will the states participating in the meeting allow... to achieve military superiority over them," which says nothing more than that if need be, countermeasures will be taken. But still, it is noteworthy that the emphasis was put on further negotiations.

This indicates, actually for the first time, the strong interest of the other six member states of the Warsaw Pact in having the USSR undertake greater efforts than heretofore to achieve an accord in Geneva. In any case, the USSR still lacks a convincing alibi to justify its announced deployment of Soviet missiles in the GDR, the CSSR and possibly also in Hungary, Poland and Romania.

Here there are opportunities to induce the USSR to be more flexible in Geneva. But one should have no illusions about the difficulties involved in actually achieving this.

For the USSR, there is more involved than the military consequences of the new "Pershing missiles" and "cruise missiles." If they are deployed, then this would be the clear defeat of a political strategy that has been pursued by the USSR for 14 years--namely, the policy of "detent" as a "form of the international class struggle," with the purpose of modifying the balance of power in Moscow's favor: priority for the military internally, global parity with the United States with simultaneous local superiority in Europe and occasional advances into Africa and Asia. Failure of the Geneva talks would also mean that through superarmament the USSR has maneuvered itself into a dead end.

Instead, then, of driving a wedge between the NATO states, the continued deployment of SS-20 missiles has created a wave of solidarity among Western countries, not just in NATO but also in Japan. For the first time, the four Western European intermediate powers stand fully behind the United States. Whereas the United States was at least able to bring about its summit meeting in Williamsburg and there are increasing signs of an economic upturn in the United States, the crisis of the economic systems in the CEMA countries is continuing and the political differences between those countries are increasing.

The situation in Poland is desolate. The other states in the Soviet area of hegemony see themselves confronted with a USSR whose own economy is suffering under declining growth, an aversion to innovation, lack of labor discipline and supply difficulties. With its own economic difficulties, it is therefore unable to help them, even if it wanted to.

All of this should long ago have caused the USSR to change its course and to turn to reforming its economic system and to developing better cooperation

within CEMA, instead of securing global and primarily military power. It should also have led to securing a compromise with the West through greater concessions in the arms questions. But what we have experienced so far is not very encouraging. In Bonn, the Soviet foreign minister was unusually open in explaining the creed of Soviet power politics, using the religious term "most sacred" to characterize the security of the Soviet state.

For anyone thinking in such terms of power politics, the global securing of power is still more important than the constraints of economic power. That is the case for Marshall Kulikov, supreme commander of the Warsaw Pact, who in PRAVDA speaks of the necessity for "international protection of socialism" and, referring to Lenin, characterizes all those who disturb this military protection as traitors. Therefore, one probably should soberly take into account the fact that despite the moderate tone of the Moscow declaration, substantial concessions in Geneva are as uncertain as dropping the threatened countermeasures.

Of course it is clear that deployment of Soviet missiles in the "brother countries" would be of little importance from a military standpoint. It would have only a political meaning, that of turning the anxiety in Western Europe into hysteria and of achieving the disciplining of its own bloc under the leading power.

Both goals, of course, would be of doubtful value. In the FRG, they could shift the political spectrum toward the right or keep it there. In the Warsaw Pact countries, they would alleviate the situation only temporarily, only to program new conflicts and deepen the awakened nationalism.

To be sure, in the Warsaw Pact as well, authority rests with the one with the power; but formally the principle of unanimity is in effect. Moscow has declared several times that the deployment of additional troops or weapons in the Warsaw Pact requires a unanimous decision by the treaty states and the agreement of the affected country.

Thus for the first time in its history, the GDR would be required to use its sovereignty in a question of such great political importance. The decision of the GDR leadership will be a test to see in whose interests it is operating--in the interest of Germans and peace or of solidarity with the socialist brother countries.

Because of their economic situation alone, the smaller states of the real existing socialism must pay more attention to their own interests. Otherwise, should the previous Soviet power politics continue, their difficult economic situation can result in their internal stability being under so much stress that the breaking point is reached. Moscow's announcement that the CEMA should orient its economy even more toward the bloc's strength requirements and introduce more stringent bonds, coordination and control in foreign economic relations with the West does not make the future of the socialist countries any easier.

This is especially true for the GDR. It is then in serious danger of having to cut back on the living standards of its citizens. The hopes of the SED

leaders for a broad concensus with the population would again be an illusion; further deterioration would be certain. Because the deployment of the Soviet missiles in the GDR would activate the peace movement there, the GDR leadership has an interest in avoiding such a deployment and in maintaining freedom of action for its relations with the FRG.

The billion-mark credit to the GDR, now secured with a federal guaranty, can work in this direction, although it can hardly be assumed that the initiators and proponents of this credit went so far in their thinking. But there is a chance. It would be an illusion to believe that there would now automatically be relief in human conditions, as it were, and certainly not if there is a missile deployment. The credit is secure only in accounting and not in legal and commercial terms.

And this even in an exemplary manner: not only has the FRG undertaken a guaranty, but the GDR has also furnished security and pledged the annual transit lump sum of DM525 million. But an approximate securing of the desired human alleviation can only be attained when the GDR is prepared for contractual agreements, as in 1972 with the conclusion of the transport treaty. So far, there has been no talk of that. One can also sooner expect that the GDR leadership will not reduce the increased compulsory currency conversion until it obtains other millions in some other way--perhaps by selling the city railway in West Berlin. For Honecker and his team need the now guaranteed billion to pay principal and interest on old debts. There is no remaining latitude for doing without foreign exchange.

The greater the chances for helping to achieve a breakthrough of reason in East-West relations the more illusions can be avoided. The meeting of the party chiefs and heads of state of the Warsaw Pact also indicates that there is a chance. Above all, to use that chance means pressuring the USSR to make substantial concessions in Geneva that make deployment of the NATO missiles superfluous. The interests of the GDR and the other smaller states of the Warsaw Pact could be helpful there.

9746

CSO: 2300/311

ACADEMY HEAD CALLS FOR TWO-SIDED DISARMAMENT DIALOG

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 11 Jun 83 p 7

[Article by Lenard Pal, general secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences: "Science and the Arms Race"]

[Text] In our age we are witnessing an extraordinary acceleration of scientific-technical progress, or as we usually say, a scientific-technological revolution. But it must be seen also that although it is a world phenomenon it always adjusts locally to goals defined by the political, power and property relationships. As a result its content is defined by the character and nature of the social system. Thus we perpetually find that together with a number of identical aspects science and technology serve different goals, develop under different conditions and have different socio-economic effects amidst the relationships of capitalism and socialism.

The scientific-technological development since the Second World War has also contributed to the fact that as of now the opposing sides have accumulated enough destructive energy so as to be able to completely destroy life on Earth. We might add to this that the effects of experiments connected with the perfection of armaments, the shifts in balance caused by the arms race and the economic-social and in certain cases physical and psychological consequences of this could force mankind into a catastrophic situation even without war.

Without trying to be complete I would like to call attention to a few of the chief contradictions.

It is rather difficult to survey the complicated system of the processes of the scientific-technological revolution. But agreement is fairly general among the scientists of the world that the most important of the chief trends of the scientific-technological revolution today are automation, computerization, use of natural resources (especially expanding energy sources), the creation of new materials, the spread of biotechnology and using the achievements of space research.

The scientific-technological revolution has brought with it a series of effects covering the entire world which already affect the fate of mankind as a whole. Perhaps the most essential of these are the following:

Developed military technology has created a qualitatively new situation with the creation and constant modernization of very powerful weapons systems essentially embracing the entire Earth. With the aid of science and technology man has actually created the potential possibility of global self-destruction.

The developed communications technologies (transportation, travel, telecommunications, etc.) have greatly shortened the reaction times to various military, economic and other events, and thus increased the sensitivity of the world and increased the possibility of the development of instabilities. Thus, we might say that the scientific-technological revolution has provided our Earth with a "nervous system" in which the transmission of stimuli can be faster than control.

A less emphasized global effect is that the scientific-technological revolution has created increasingly intolerable differences among various regions of the Earth (for example, the difference between the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries freed from colonial bondage is increasing).

Since the swiftly increasing and frequently careless use of natural resources has brought with it shortages throughout the world, primarily in nonrenewable resources, in primary energy sources and other important raw materials, the role of the scientific-technological revolution serving a rational balancing of economic growth or restraint and mitigating the consequences of contributory or side effects and harm to the environment has come into the foreground also.

Last but not least, when judging the global effects of scientific-technological progress we must face the difficulties deriving from the further growth in the population of the Earth, especially the fact that this growth is significant in those areas which are most backward socially and economically, and thus in regard to scientific-technological progress, and this further increases the existing inequality in economic development, increases polarization, food shortages, etc.

All this also calls attention to the fact that the scientific-technological revolution creates contradictions which not only hold back and distort this process but which also endanger the life and future of it.

A number of comparisons have appeared concerning nuclear arms in regard to the two largest powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. The Americans are attempting, especially recently, to prove that Soviet nuclear armaments have a numerical superiority in comparison to their own. The truth is entirely different. In the November 1982 issue of SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN Randal Forsberg provides a historical review of the nuclear weaponry of the two great powers, graphically depicting the change in time in the number of intercontinental support launching rockets and nuclear warheads. According to this, in the period between 1965 and 1970, the United States replaced several hundred long-range strategic bombers with about 1,700 intercontinental rockets, a significant number of which has several independent warheads and

which could be fired not only from land but also from submarines. According to this article the Soviet Union had about 1,400 familar weapons systems in this period.

In the period 1975-1980 American weaponry greatly increased. Earlier weapons were replaced with new, more accurate and more powerful strategic weapons and these weapons consisted of land and sea launched rockets with multiple, independently targetable warheads. In this period the United States deployed an additional 5,500 new strategic warheads and reached a state where the number of all their strategic nuclear carrying devices far exceeded 7,000. According to Forsberg the Soviet Union had in this period only "traditional" intercontinental rockets (somewhat more than 1,400 supplemented by 950 submarine launchable rockets with warheads). After 1980 the United States started a new round and this forced the Soviet Union, in the interest of its own security and in the interest of protecting the peace of the world, to develop its own strategic rockets with multiple, independently targetable warheads. According to the American journal the United States retained its "advantage" in 1982 also, having almost 10,000 nuclear warheads of which about 4,800 can be launched from submarines and which are capable of maneuvering. At the same time, according to Forsberg, the Soviet Union has a total of about 7,000 nuclear warheads of which only 1,500 can be launched from submarines.

It appears that some American scientists--on the basis of the facts--do not accept the official propaganda pronouncements about Soviet superiority.

The arms race places burdens on the socialist countries also. It is obvious that if these states were not forced to resort to defensive measures serving to maintain the military balance they might progress at a swifter pace and could provide their citizens with a standard of living substantially higher than it has done up to now. Thus, the burdens of arming make the basic socio-economic development of these countries difficult.

Under capitalistic social conditions scientific-technological progress creates an entire series of contradictions despite the fact that the effects in the development of material production may be significant and despite the fact that the capitalistic social system in itself does not make the unfolding of these impossible.

But the arms race represents a catastrophic retrograde force in development. Not only does it hold back socio-economic progress because material assets are taken away from developments for civilian purposes but it also ties down the work of many trained scientific and technical experts and places especially significant burdens on the infrastructure of the countries. The arms race also leaves its stamp on the utilization of the most important achievements of scientific-technological progress, influencing the direction of development in automation, the spread of computerization and micro-miniaturization, putting laser technology, the possibilities of genetic intervention, the newest achievements of materials research and even--according to the most recent intentions of the government of the United

States--the achievements of space research in the service of military goals. It is a shocking thought that the United States is preparing for star wars.

Some actually give a positive evaluation to the effect of the arms race on the development of science and technology, saying that not only does it stimulate scientific-technological progress but also that solution developed for certain military purposes can be used well in civilian life, too, and that these would not have been mastered otherwise. But this is not entirely true. It is doubtful that the achievements of military technology can all be used only with a good bit of delay.

Naturally the scientists of the socialist countries do not deny that defensive goals enjoy priority in the arms race forced upon them, and they are active accordingly. But for the socialist countries armaments are nothing more than a necessary evil, which the threats of the other side force upon them and which demand gigantic sacrifices from their peoples.

The fact, that in a number of interested countries the military-industrial complex has taken decision making upon itself via politics, makes the cause of stopping or even limiting the arms race complex. It is a fact that much technical and scientific information is needed to understand contemporary weapons systems and thus various strata of society can be easily manipulated and frightened. So there is an increased need for the men of science to aid the politicians and public opinion in a correct judgment of the real dangers caused by the arms race and to work out ways to avoid it. So in our day the cultivators of the sciences must strive sincerely and responsibly to seek and find methods (without denying conflicts of interests) which will carry mankind in the direction of creative cooperation and not into a global conflict to be waged with nuclear weapons of mass destruction.

We must do everything to stop the nuclear arms race and so we must initiate ever new dialogs. We must see clearly that we can protect ourselves against the consequences of nuclear war only by preventing nuclear war.

8984

CSO: 2500/326

MOKRZYSZCZAK SPEAKS OUT ON PARTY DIFFICULTIES, POLICIES

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 10-12 Jun 83 pp 1, 3

/Interview with Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, deputy member of Politburo and secretary of PZPR Central Committee, by Ryszard Lukasiewicz: "People Do Care"; date and place not specified/

/Text/ /Question/ At present there are many discussions concerning the role of the party in the life of our country. The report and program campaign, which ended several months ago, has enlivened the activity of many organizations and echelons. Is this a lasting trend, since we hear that the party has little visibility, and some people speak outright about a political vacuum? Consequently, how do you, comrade secretary, assess the party's activity today?

/Answer/ The party's activeness has always determined and will continue to determine its position in our society and the rate at which the party resolves problems which are faced by our country. This truth acquires a particular dimension today. Overcoming our deep crisis demands an effort on the part of our entire society; and the party of the working class, together with its political allies, has the duty to direct this effort wisely.

It is true that many people continue to regard the party with mistrust and that the situation varies in individual party organizations; some of these perform poorly and do not fulfill their role. But let us look back at what the party was like as early as fall of 1981.

The present situation cannot be compared with that one. The party's growing activity, proof of which was found not only in the report campaign, is a lasting trend. Of course, expectations are still greater, and I know it. Undoubtedly, this activity can and should be greater.

/Question/ Reference is often made to the celebrated assertion by the first secretary of /PZPR/ Central Committee, General W. Jaruzelski, made by him at the Eighth Plenum: "It is the same party, but it is not identical." How is this thesis expressed in practical terms?

/Answer/ Perhaps I should begin by saying that this thesis has been born of our assessment of the past. In a self-critical and, some say, an exaggerated fashion, we as the ruling party have bared errors which we committed. We are drawing conclusions from them. PZPR has changed greatly. Consistently, we are restoring the leninist norms and principles of party functioning.

The Ninth Extraordinary Congress democratized the /party/ statute; elective organs regained their leading role in the party, and the role of basic party organizations and of social aktiv increased. The party acts in the open, this being the basis for restoration of credibility and trust as well as of the party's links with the working class and with society.

Both the Central Committee and lower-echelon committees have adopted collective methods of work; party authorities have regular contacts with work forces in individual plants.

Problemsolving commissions perform an important role in finalization of decisions. It is in these commissions, and also during consultations with Central Committee members, that positions on specific problems are defined. A clear majority of Central Committee consists of workers and peasants, who have daily contacts with life; it is they also who "sound the alarm" in touchy situations.

We endeavor to be as close as possible to people's problems. That is why we attach much importance to the work of grievance and proposal commissions of all echelons. The party submits to social control and judgment. Current reports on its plans and their implementation are published in TRYBUNA LUDU. These reports include both successes and failures.

Thus we are "the same" party, marxist-leninist, deeply rooted in the tradition of Polish and international worker movement. But on the other hand, we are not "identical", because we have restored high rank to values which were not always appreciated in the past, such as ideological involvement, modesty, refusal to compromise, feeling of closeness to working people and of concern for their problems.

/Question/ In recent years, PZPR went through a difficult period; there were moments in which the party seemed to be threatened by "internal explosion" and by distintegration. What is the ideological situation in the party today, and to what extent can we speak about the already achieved consolidation of party ranks?

/Answer/ Indeed, that was a difficult period. But even when the enemy was attacking the party with such fury, and when victory had already been proclaimed /by the enemy/, the party did not relinquish authority. It was the party that gave warnings, and at the same time appealed for an understanding, at the Fourth and Fifth Plenum of Central Committee in the fall of 1981. It was we who formulated, at the Ninth Congress, the only realistic program. And I say so because life has proven this program to be the right one.

Returning to the second part of the question, I should like to say that consolidation is an ongoing process. The political and ideological unity is being strengthened; discipline of action has increased. The party has fewer members, but it is more experienced and tested. The membership has decreased by nearly 800,000 persons. We do not regard as enemies those who left. It is possible that some of them will rejoin our ranks; a few of them have already done so.

/Question/ And what about the program declaration which was to perform the role of an integrating factor?

/Answer/ The need for it, as well as its role, have been assessed favorably during extensive consultations. At report meetings, charges were made that work on its draft was taking too long. At the 12th Plenum, Central Committee members received a successive draft, supplemented by notes and proposals that had been collected earlier during consultations. As you know, we want to adopt this declaration at the 13th Ideological Plenum of the Central Committee.

/Question/ At the beginning of martial law, a political formula was operative--corresponding to the situation at the time--according to which the front line of the struggle for stabilization was held by the armed forces, with the party half a step behind. Has this relationship undergone any change at present?

/Answer/ I do not quite agree with the assertion that such a political formula was operative at the time. However, it was possible to receive such an impression while observing daily life. We should also remember what I have already spoken about, namely, in what condition the party was as it was preparing for the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee, in February 1982. That plenum was decisive.

Those first months of martial law were a period of internal gathering of strength and of ordering our ranks. On the other hand, the fact that the armed forces had assumed so many duties, as well as the presence of the former in every aspect of life, could have created such an image.

I wish to give the greatest credit to comrades in uniform; they, too, made a real contribution to party consolidation. However, we cannot divide party members into those in civilian clothes and those in uniform, because we all are members of one party. But the experience of party work during martial law, as well as party work in the armed forces, have resulted in producing many positive elements which can be utilized in industrial plants and in /government/ institutions.

/Question/ We often hear that after August 1980 the party let political initiative slip from its hands and that up to the present it has had trouble defining a formula of its leading role in the state. What is your view of this matter, comrade secretary?

/Answer/ This is not true. We never relinquished the initiative, because if this had been the case I dare say that today's interview would not have materialized. And, concerning the party's leading role in a socialist state, this role results from the assumptions on which the system is built. It is a basic question, because errors which were committed in performing this role were partly responsible for our crisis. After August 1980 we initiated, in a sense, a "socialization" of the party's leading role; we are expanding the social base of governing our state. We have changed the manner and methods of our work. The case in point is the new quality of cooperation with the United Peasant Party and with the Democratic Party, and associations of lay Catholics. I personally attach great value to cooperation with our partners in those two parties. I should like to see this cooperation extended also to lower echelons.

I should like to remind you that even today there is no lack of these concepts which were strongly advocated after August 1980 and which, under the slogan of "improving" our leading role, would in fact deprive the party of any influence on political life. Formulas like "a great coalition" and limitation of the role of the party to "moral leadership," etc., have been and are nothing but a means in the political struggle which is being waged by the opposition against socialism in Poland.

/Question/ Perhaps you could say a few words about the relationship between the party and the trade unions. For what reason did the party at the beginning proclaim its aloofness from the process of creation of the new unions, and now we have problems with insufficient involvement of party organizations in this respect. Was that not a mistake?

/Answer/ Our position in the matter of trade unions was generally known; it was publicized in the press. Let me remind you that the 10th Plenum adopted it. On the other hand, the manifestations which you mention in your question were caused by excessive caution and by fear of the charge that the party again was creating trade unions; they were also caused by succumbing to the propaganda of the enemy, who called the new trade unions "red" and "party-controlled."

But at present there are fewer and fewer of these "elusive" situations. The trade unions are growing at a steady rate, and their total membership will soon reach 3 million. In several sectors, supraplant structures are emerging, this being much needed for the defense of the interests of the workforces.

/Question/ Now as for the defense of worker interests. We hear that the party's defense of the workers is ineffective, that wealthier social groups shift the cost of the crisis mainly onto the shoulders of the working class, and that party organizations have too little to say in matters of reform, cadre policy, prices, etc.

/Answer/ There is a lot of criticism in this question. But these are the same charges that I hear in industrial plants. In brief, the party is doing everything to minimize the burden of the crisis cost on worker class communities and on the poorest social groups. But, for example, with regard to prices, social interests very often lose out to group interests. In many cases, it is the fault of plant management, often of the very work forces as well as specific party organizations, /employee/ self-government, and trade unions, that prices are increased. With regard to economic reform, we as a party support incentive wage systems which give preference to good work and eliminate bad employees. But nothing happens instantly. It is the same as in the case of campaigns against profiteering. Besides results, it is necessary to see causes. In the case of the reform, specific economic mechanisms will begin to operate properly as time goes on.

Recently, numerous misunderstandings have occurred in social matters. Some people, forgetting the basic functions of a socialist state, would like to "reprivatize" everything; others multiply demagogic demands without regard for the condition of our state and the latter's limited social possibilities. I

wish to state that one thing is to defend true interests of the working class, which have always been defended by the party, and another thing is to be engaged in and succumb to false social demagoguery. This demagoguery often takes root very quickly. We have to keep this difference in mind.

/Question/ You, comrade, have been a Central Committee secretary for over a year and a half now. Despite the fact that much has changed in recent years, the work of the party leadership is still veiled in a certain secrecy. How do the Politburo and Secretariat operate? How often are there stormy discussions and divergent positions? What is the role of the first secretary of the Central Committee in such situations?

/Answer/ I do not believe that the work of the leadership is veiled in secrecy. After each meeting of the Politburo we publish a press release, informing what we worked on; we provide current information about our decisions to the Central Committee members and to local echelons.

How do the Politburo and the Secretariat operate? Proposals for topics are submitted by individual departments of the Central Committee, which are guided by resolutions of the Ninth Congress and of plenary sessions. The number of these proposals is much greater than the amount of time at our disposal; consequently, only the most important proposals are included in the agenda of sessions of the Politburo and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee. Some materials, of an informational nature, are disseminated as current information.

For understandable reasons, the Politburo concerns itself with problems of strategy, although life introduces additional current topics. The Politburo examines obligatorily all the materials and problems which it brings up at plenary sessions of the Central Committee. Comments by Central Committee members which are made during consultations are taken into consideration when drafts of documents are prepared.

The Politburo operates on a very regular and collective basis. Sessions last as long as needed. Each person can express his or her views, even several times. As a rule, there are many points on the agenda. Individual "topics" are discussed, by invited experts, who represent departments of the Central Committee, of government, and of other institutions. Minutes are taken during proceedings; in addition, proceedings are documented by means of magnetic tapes. The latter is done so that everybody, including historians, will know what problems were there to be resolved.

Are there any stormy discussions? Yes, there are also such. I have already mentioned that each person can take the floor as many times as he or she wishes. We convince ourselves as to our reasons, thus working out common positions. Your question pertains also to the role of the first secretary of the Central Committee. Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski takes an active part in these discussions, while at the same time proposing ways to resolve controversial problems. At the close of discussion, he always asks the members of the Politburo whether they agree with a suggested resolution of a certain problem. Personally, I regard this way of arriving at decisions as very democratic.

/Question/ Is anything brought to a vote at sessions of the Politburo?

/Answer/ Thus far, there has been no need for this. But already some problems have been discussed, concerning which each member of the Politburo has felt that he must present his position.

I should like to add, moreover, that the work of the Politburo is not limited to discussion. Following its sessions, accepted proposals are sent for implementation to appropriate departments of the Central Committee, to government institutions, and to social organizations. To each proposal is appended the name of a Central Committee secretary who assumes the responsibility for its implementation. Comrade Jaruzelski attaches great importance to control of implementation of decisions which were taken.

/Question/ You, comrade secretary, frequently travel to provinces and to industrial plants. What is the morale of the workforces? Is it really true that people "do not care" and only think how to survive for another month? It is said that these party organizations are already different from those of 2 years ago, not only in the sense of "ideological anarchy" but also that "steam has gone out of people?"

/Answer/ The morale of the workforces varies. But it is better than the image that our political adversary would like to create. People do care. They work, which is proven, for example, by the results which were attained during the first 4 months of this year. And, on the other hand, discussions at party meetings show such concern about public matters that I often regret that it is not possible to telecast them "live," directly. But I realize that these discussions might be less lively if they were held in front of cameras.

Perhaps what I have said has sounded too optimistic. But personally I have also no illusions about the fact that our society's morale is still shaky. Our adversary is trying to take advantage of difficulties. Everything depends on economic results and on expansion, in crucial communities, of the influence of the party and of political forces which base themselves on national understanding and which are united in the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth /PRON/.

As for my field trips, one should remember that I am an organizational secretary and that it is my duty to know what is going on in local echelons, to participate personally in the life of basic party organizations, and to help when it is necessary.

It is an established principle that all members of the leadership frequently visit industrial plants. Political workers of Central Committee and of provincial committees belong to party organizations in various communities. We draw conclusions from the past. Indeed, no effort should be spared in order to reinforce the party's ties with its base.

/Question/ In late May you led a party delegation that visited Moscow. There are indications of the significance of the time in which that visit took place. How would you assess the mutual relations and cooperation between PZPR and CPSU?

/Answer/ By referring to the significance of that moment you mean--as I believe--also the fact that, during our visit to the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government made an announcement concerning matters that are most important to people today. This is a successive Soviet proposal concerning disarmament and, at the same time, a warning to all those forces which are attempting to start a war.

As regards mutual relations and cooperation between PZPR and CPSU, these are developing very satisfactorily. /In the Soviet Union/ there is understanding and support for our policy and our actions which aim at pulling our country out of the economic crisis. Here I could mention very specific examples of aid, but this is not the point; indeed, the list would be too long.

During our talks with our Soviet comrades, and during our meetings in industrial plants, we discovered that there was great interest in and, at the same time, great concern about further development of the situation in our country. My talks were concerned mainly with party matters. We had the opportunity to familiarize ourselves with the considerable experience of CPSU in such matters as reinforcing the party ties with working people, resolution of society's vital problems, and also methods and ways of operation of party organizations and echelons.

/Question/ Our interview is taking place immediately after the 12th Plenum of Central Committee which--there is no need to deny it--was eagerly awaited. How do you, comrade secretary, assess its importance?

/Answer/ We have to regard this plenum as very important. It confirmed the correctness of the strategy line of the Ninth Congress--a line of struggle, understanding, and political reform. It pointed to the need to reinforce the party's unity and its marxist-leninist identity, to oppose all divisions and opportunistic, revisionist, and dogmatic views. The main idea of the 12th Plenum boils down to the statement, contained in a report of the Politburo, that in the present situation we need both more struggle and more understanding. We need more struggle against enemies of stabilization, and we need more understanding with all the patriotic forces which have a constructive attitude toward a dialogue. The plenum assessed favorably the period of normalization. It also initiated extensive preparations for an ideological plenum.

/Question/ Thank you for the interview.

9577

CSO: 2600/1050

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Trade Union Activities Caused by Needs

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 17 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Without Any Formulas, But Effectively"]

[Text] Each union works in its own way, without any formulas. Factory administrations cannot count on directions from the "top," because they simply do not exist, and if here and there federations of labor unions arise, this will not be in order to guide union organizations from above.

Activity is developing then under the dictation of the needs arising from the ranks of personnel. "We are doing what life dictates; we do not even have a program of activity," says Witold Baszen, union chairman at the railroad works of steel constructions and crane installations in Bialystok-Starosielce.

The former member of the trade union of railway workers, after 1980 returned to his old job, that is to the lathe. Now again he has become the chairman of the union, but with what a different outlook on welfare work. "When thoroughly searching through the old union documentation, before its rendering to the archives, I notice how much there was in the past of useless pen-pushing. A lot was happening on paper and not in reality."

In order to cut himself away from bureaucratic "successes," the chairman of the railway workers union does not see undue need for appointing numerous problem committees. He says that with the administration there has existed up to now only one--a social committee being seemingly a continuation of a committee acting during the period of the suspension of trade unions. Of course, the present social committee consists solely of members of the union, but it settles the matters of all workers without regard to membership.

The railway union unites for now 253 members, among them 160 workers. The young are relatively few--79. The youngest workers are delaying the signing of the declaration. Less willingly than in previous years they are taking part in functions organized by the union organization. In order to

make up a bus trip it is not enough to hang an announcement on the bulletin board. Many a prospective tourist needs to be talked to, convinced, encouraged. But chairman Baszen, at the same time a member of PTTK [Polish Touring and Sightseeing Society], does not give up the organization of sport-tourist functions. He maintains that they create good grounds for developing close friendships. He arranges then canoeing rallies, tourist rallies, excursions.

The start of a union organization is not accompanied by spontaneous enthusiasm of the personnel, but as time flows (elections of the administration took place at KZKS [railroad works of steel constructions] on 17 January of this year) new members increase. Around 40 percent of the current union members are those who decided to join after the elections of the administration, after its having proven itself in practice.

### Why Create Union Federations?

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 20 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by A. L.: "Why Are We Creating a Federation?"]

[Text] Our task is, it was said in the course of an organizational meeting of the Metalworkers' Federation, the creation of an organization assembling trade unions, while perserving the legal status of each of them. It must be an organization self-managing and independent to the fullest, representing our affairs on the outside. The federation can be such an organization.

The participants of the founder's meeting of the federation of trade unions of workers of the metal and electromachine industry, which took place in Poznan on the premises of Cegielski, specified in the course of a lively discussion the tasks which they set before the federation. They expect that the main goal of its activity will be the consolidation and the coordination of the actions of trade unions, together with assuring them full representation before the chief organs of state and political leadership.

The representation of union affairs, it was said, concerns in particular issues connected with observance of the law of work and the adjustment of it to present workers requirements and needs.

The federation will have much to say in the present situation, when changes postulated by the assumptions of the economic reform are not in keeping with changes in the labor code and rules of the labor law.

Besides this we want, said union members, participation in the fashioning of the social-economic situation of the country, through the liquidation of all manifestations of uneconomical management and inconsistency.

As one of the most important tasks, the members of the federation set before themselves the responsibility for creating the proper climate for quick and effective realization of a real satisfying of the housing needs of society.

## Trade Union Federation

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 20 Jun 83 p 4

[Interview with Czeslaw Bak, chairman of the administration of the independent self-managing trade union of workers of the state enterprise of the Iskra antifriction bearings factory by Anna Orlicka; "Federation-- A Greater Penetrating Force," date and place not specified]

[Text] The central press published a few days ago information about the Poland-wide meeting of the founder's group of the federation of trade unions of workers of the metal and electromachine industry. The meeting was held in Poznan, and representatives of 384 union organizations in plants of these trades participated in it. A 57-member founder's committee of the federation was elected. I am speaking with a participant of the proceedings the chairman of the administration of the independent self-managing trade union of workers of the state enterprise of the Iskra anti-friction bearings factory in Kielce.

[Answer] The region of Kielce was represented by 24 union members of the largest plants, connected with the metal and electromachine industry, among others, from Kielce, Starachowice, Skarzysko, Suchedniow, Kunow. Colleague Adam Fiutowski from FSC [Lorry Factory] and I became members of the founder's committee. It was an unusually stormy meeting, but because of that fruitful. The discussion concentrated itself around the statute of the future federation, the program of its activity, in general, its form and role, which it ought to play in our union actions.

[Question] The conviction prevails that the union federation will have a more penetrating force. Do you share this view? With what matters will your federation chiefly concern itself?

[Answer] This conviction is general and obvious, it is surely not necessary to more widely justify it. On the level of the federation it is easier to care about the affairs of the personnel, more matters are possible to settle as a composite unit, to set in order. The first and fundamental matter is the collective arrangement of work. It cannot be that workers of the same or similar plants profit from different services. It is true the enterprises are now self-financing, so they and only they decide on what they can afford for their workers. There are, however, certain social services which without regard to the economic results of the plants the working people should be assured.

[Question] SLOWO LUDU was still informing in the middle of May of this year about your Kielce initiative for the creation of a federation of metal workers. You created here in Kielce an initiative group. In this situation will it have to come in line with countrywide decision?

[Answer] In Poznan it turned out that not we alone strived for the creation of a strong, countrywide representation of our trades. For example in Lodz a statute group was already functioning. Evidently all of us need this federation. And the meeting took place in Poznan, because it is after all a powerful center of industry with strong traditions. This does not signify that we suspended our local activity. The provincial founder's committee of the metal trade is functioning. We have many important matters within our own bailiwick; we want to solve them here among ourselves. For each union member, and for me, uppermost are the difficulties and problems of our own personnel. Of course, we are actively joining preparations, about which there was talk in Poznan. We brought proposals of a statute for a federation and a program of activity, and now we will talk over these in particular production areas, and we will carry to Poznan all considerations of "Iskra workers."

[Question] When is the next meeting?

[Answer] The 23rd of June. We will exchange considerations and results, we will begin initial preparations for the first countrywide congress.

[Question] Finally one more question. Skeptics maintain that again you are decking yourselves out in bureaucratic garments, that this will lead, as it has in the past, to the fossilization of your activity. Again you are concerning yourselves with the writing of programs and reports, there will not remain time, and perhaps desire, for true union work. Do you agree with this opinion?

[Answer] There is no lack of skeptics. There are people who will never achieve anything, because they constantly have some kind of reservations. They stand in place and they look on. Let them stand. We are going forward leaving without sorrow all those who resent it. There are too many matters for settling still to find time for busying ourselves with the moods of some group of onlookers. And regarding this blaming of red-tapism, we already have too many experiences (and also bitter ones) to allow this. We alone will decide how the federation will be organized, we will look carefully at people we will elect. If, however, it turns out that old methods and forms of work return, in the name of the union members of Iskra I can decidedly say: We will simply step out from the federation. This is possible at each stage of its work.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

#### Trade Union Federation in Formation

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 20 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by jak: "After the Meeting in Dubieck: The Next Federation of Labor Unions"]

[Text] On the 17th and 18th of this month at the Przemysl rest center of plants of hardboard in Dubieck on the San

successive meetings were held of the plenipotentiary representatives of 15 trade unions from the entire country, acting in enterprises of the trade producing boards, plywood and matches, subordinate to the minister of forestry and the lumber industry. The goal of the meeting was the achievement of a final agreement in the matter of the creation of a countrywide federation of labor unions of workers of boards, plywood and matches plants.

NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] of workers of ZPP [Hosiery Plants] of Przemyśl in January of this year already stepped forward with the initiative of the creation of such supraplant trade unions. After months of correspondence with particular unions and the consulting committee for trade unions of the People's State Council and after several informational-organizational meetings, the conference in Dubieck took place, which in the course of two hard-working days worked out the statute of a new federation, formed its founder's committee and led to the preparation of the whole of the documents, allowing to appeal to the People's State Council (in accordance with paragraph 6 of the resolution of the RP of 12 April of this year in the matter of rules and the manner of the creation of countrywide union organizations) for the consenting to the beginning by the federation of activity on the day of its judicial registration, thus before 31 December of this year.

The federation of trade unions of workers of boards, plywood and matches plants appointed by the founder's committee of the 18th day of this month is not a numerous organization. Among 22 trade unions acting in this trade, the accession to joining was expressed by 15 union organizations, assembling about 21 percent of all workers employed in this trade. During the conference in Dubieck union members elected a 3-member organization committee whose task is the leading of the new federation to registration by the provincial court in Warsaw. At the head of this committee stands the initiator of the whole undertaking, the chairman of the administration of NSZZ of workers of ZPP in Przemyśl, Włodzimierz Dudkiewicz, and Józef Lewandowski from OZPS in Orzechów together with Andrzej Strawiński from GZPZ in Gdańsk are supplementing him. The city of Przemyśl has been designated as the temporary seat of the founder's committee of the federation.

The union members deliberating in Dubieck were given considerable help by the following who were invited to the conference: the director of the department of wage and social matters MLI PD [Ministry of Forestry and Timber Industry] R. Waclaw, chairman of the province group for trade unions in Przemyśl A. Jurek, director of the office of WRN [People's Provincial Council] B. Majgier, representative of KW PZPR M. Halaśik, and also the director of ZPP in Przemyśl M. Domaradzki, who in the plant center created exceptional conditions of work for the union members.

## Development of Trade Unions Based on Needs

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 20 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by pi: "Dictated by Needs"]

[Text] How are trade unions working? Certainly not according to instructions from the top, but in accordance with the needs of their own working personnel. Hence each organization works differently. Here are examples from the "Sierzana" regional grain-milling enterprise and plants in Bialystok.

Jan Karpiuk chairs the administration of the trade union in PPZ-M [State Grain-Milling Enterprise] PZZ which extend their range over our three provinces. From among the 500 workers of the grain-milling plants, 160 people have joined the union so far. In the enterprise composed of mills, elevators, feedmills, localized in various localities, union activity concerns mainly the cares over the execution of workers' right. This began from such matters as the assurance of protective clothing, giving attention to piecework norms, adequate conditions of work in new structures, i.e., in the base of packing and storing of finished products.

The administration of the union hopes for the gradual increase of its ranks. In this spirit a resolution was passed for the lengthening of the break of union membership to the end of this year, for the maintenance of the continuity of the union stage by those workers who belonged to a trade union before 13 December 1981 and will decide to join the new union before 31 December of this year.

"Good activity is that which enjoys if possible the wide support of the personnel," maintains the members of the 15-person administration of the independent self-governing trade union of the workers of the Bialystok plants of the wool industry Sierzana. In the course of the two months from the time of the election, the administration gained the approval of a great part of the personnel. New membership declarations flowing in almost daily testify to this. Presently the organization unites over 400 current workers and well over a hundred textile workers-veterans.

What pleases the personnel? First of all the valuing of the opinion of workers by the administration. It is not enough to have the legal basis, there must be a true acceptance by the majority of the personnel. Despite the rules allowing the taking possession of the property of the predecessors by the new union, the administration of Sierzana decided to announce among the personnel a referendum on the subject of the appropriation of the union zlotys lying uselessly in the bank.

It was asked, if the money should be allocated for the needs of the new union, or if a motorcoach should be bought, or if the plant social fund should be increased. Those aims did not gain, however, the support of the majority of the personnel. Most of all, because no less than 688 votes were cast for a fourth aim: the payment of an allowance for the birth of a child or the death of a worker without regard to his union membership. In accordance with the will of the majority allowances are paid to all workers--of course, up until the exhausting of the collective fund, that is more or less for a year. Later only the members of the union will receive them.

The administration attempts to act as thriftily as possible; despite the rather large members list it was not decided to pay a full-time activist. Every day for 5 days a week duties are filled in turn by the members of the 5-person presidium of the administration. "Everyone pulls work piece by piece," says vice-chairperson Teresa Kozłowska, who I just then came across on duty. "Information about matters for settlement we pass to each other on small cards. Each of us must after all perform normal official duties. I for example am a sorter in the raw fabrics department."

Presently elections for the administration of departments are continuing in the plants of Sierzana. There will be four of them, three in Białystok and one from out of town in Michałow. Textile workers from Welna see the need for cooperation also with other related personnel in Białystok. For example during the 24th through 26th of June it was arranged to organize a common motor coach rally with the participation of textile workers from Biruna, Pasmanta, Agneta and perhaps other brother plants.

12432

CSO: 2600/1056

PROVINCIAL MEDICAL HEALTH ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Party Control at Gorzow Psychiatric Hospital

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 25 May 83 pp 3, 4

/Article by Andrzej Cubak: "Party Inspection in the Psychiatric Hospital in Gorzow; Humiliating Facts"/

/Text/ The hospital for the emotionally and mentally ill in Gorzow is known throughout the whole country; for many people living in distant provinces the city itself is simply linked with this medical center. Inhabitants of Gorzow on the other hand, rarely realize, that the hospital on Walczak Street constitutes the fourth largest institution numberwise in the city (after the Stilon Chemical Textile Works, Silwana Silk Plant, and the Mechanical Shops), employing nearly 750 workers and having about 1,600 patients--of these, over 400 there for life. It is something of an embarrassing institution, which a friend's illness or some kind of "affair" can bring to mind.

An addition to that last situation was the information that came out several weeks ago in the mass media about the order to arrest one of the orderlies of the psychiatric hospital on the charge of accepting bribes. At the same time, coinciding with it was the already earlier planned reinspection by the Gorzow PZPR Municipal Committee group, which was to check the achievement of numerous recommendation and proposals, formulated a year earlier for the hospital's management.

Not much changed, and frequently for the worse. Such a conclusion should already be formulated at the beginning, based on an analysis of the situation in the hospital presented in detail by the five-person party team, which through several weeks researched a series of areas of the institution's work, with the direct exception of one medical area for which an evaluation by specialists is necessary. I participated in kind of a summation of the team's work, of which, among other things, one part was constituted by written answers by the psychiatric hospital's director on 35 problems and detailed questions, given to him at the end of the inspection by the party team. Convinced that a private "investigation" into this matter by a journalist would be an inadequate solution, I made use of these "aids."

The picture of the hospital's operation which presents itself appears to indicate that it was functioning on idiotic principles, that is, in a way that is in conflict with generally accepted norms. Already at 9:00 am wards were left on nurses' "shoulders," practically speaking without doctors, of which 80 percent had additional work in various clinics throughout the whole province. Even an internal order given lately by the director, obligating the staff not to leave the hospital earlier than 12:00 was not followed. While on the other hand--as one can assume--so as to not obligate themselves to making up hours neglected at their regular place of work, it simply is never written in the appropriate book when doctors leave the hospital. However, all nurses, for instance, must do that, writing in when they will stay after work to make the time up. The fact that 9 of the region's 12 clinics are headed by hospital workers, will not change anything....

At the same time, staff policy in that institution leaves much to be desired. Twenty-five occupational therapy instructors were not taken advantage of, which did not mean that they were not needed. Quite the contrary--that activities which they directed comprised an element of the treatment process, only that--apparently--there weren't materials needed for the activities. At one time various leftovers of old bedding, clothes, etc., taken out of use were used for this purpose. Today infirmity dominates. That already indicates inadequate care for patients who, as attested to by these indicators, moreover are examined less frequently in Gorzow than in other hospitals. But among other things, the PZPR Municipal Committee team would prefer to hear the opinion of the commission of departmental specialists on that subject.

In addition, basic faults were confirmed in the economic activity of the hospital. Although the building was built a century ago and requires constant repairs, the program for modernization and remodeling still originates from 1973. Building work in connection with this is carried on in violation of mandatory regulations. Sixty-eight agreements were confirmed for commissioned work to private craftsmen amounting even to several-hundred-thousand zloty, which were contracted without an earlier announcement of unrestricted bidding. At the same time, internal control was not present in this hospital. There was no auditor employed, but rather a head bookkeeper, who in a series of cases questioned the recapitulation of documents for him, and who was not directly under the institution's chief director, but rather under the assistant director for economic-administrative affairs. Simultaneously, the amount of wages for those carrying out building work can bring up doubts, for--as everything indicates--they were not in practice calculated according to costs incurred. Although the hospital employed several halftime building inspectors, none of them, according to the records, possessed a fundamental document (beyond a general diploma), in the form of building qualifications which gave them the authority to practice in that function.

There also was a lack of control of the use of materials given for remodeling workers' apartments located on hospital grounds. For this purpose, one of the doctors took 70 rolls of wallpaper, carpeting worth 11,000 zloty, varnish, plaster, larger amounts of oil paint, 40 kg of nails, 50 liters of wood stain, 15 kg of a special type of builder's glue, 350 kg of cement, 150 kg of lime, 64 kg of shaped steel and many other materials in an amount which would seem to indicate that they were intended not only for apartment remodeling.

A separate matter is payment for overtime in this institution.

The PZPR Municipal Committee team came upon an "interesting" activity in the hospital's auxiliary farm, whose fundamental purpose was the enrichment of patients' menus with vegetables as well as self-bred meat. Explaining its situation as a lack of conditions in which to carry on breeding in the years 1981-82, the farm disposed of a significant amount of piglets, for which there was a high demand at the time, but was satisfied with attaining a high price, and not keeping in mind the fact that its purpose was to raise animals. At the same time there still are large amounts of unused leftovers remaining in the hospital kitchen.

Inspection of the kitchen as well as distribution of food brought about much alarm. Not only did the room and equipment not satisfy requirements but much was also to be desired by the manner of meal preparation. Distribution of meals from the kitchen to individual buildings in thermoses on heavy carts, which patients themselves pushed--frequently unintentionally spilling soup, etc.--was not in compliance with health standards. Cases in which there were not enough servings for the number of patients, which were supplemented with other courses only after the patient requested it, were not isolated instances.

Questioned about the food, the hospital director gave a characteristic written response: "The means of execution and preparation of meals can more than once arouse misgivings in regard to taste. This frequently however is a subjective evaluation and in addition depends upon scrupulousness and the involvement of individual kitchen workers. It should be pointed out that cases of food poisoning have not been found in large numbers in this hospital for many years."

If, to all of this we add, that in practice it was possible to enter (and leave) hospital grounds without much difficulty, reaching also to unprotected records--from psychiatric examinations of convicted prisoners, soldiers and other patients under care, among other things; if we add the fact of frequent "switches" of new pajamas, sheets and towels for old ones by hospital personnel; and also the terrible--by general opinion--work of supply workers, a picture is created of a specific organizational paralysis of that hospital service institution. The objective difficulties of its workings--among which undoubtedly the bad state of the buildings built in the years 1880-1885, the overly high number (about 600) of beds and the limitations for remodeling can be counted--cannot constitute a justification for giving up, inconsiderate action, and direct harm to patients staying there.

As members of the inspection team emphasized, a decline in work discipline, and also professional etiquette and organizational negligence associating it are especially dangerous, precisely in this institution, where the patient--a human being--is, as a result of a definite mental disease, incapacitated to a significant degree, condemned to specific treatment by hospital workers: from doctors, down to office workers and laborers.

The circumstances confirmed in the psychiatric hospital in Gorzow therefore have an unmistakably negative significance. It also shows a complete contempt by the management--especially the administration--for the opinion of the local

party organization of over 70 members, which more than once brought numerous proposals and resolutions to the management's attention, intended to improve the hospital's functioning and work discipline. Similarly, much as the recommendations of the PZPR Municipal Committee firsttime inspection team from a year ago, they however were left unanswered. Surely the fact that only nine doctors are in the basic party organization /POP/, through which the influence of the party organization was directly and seriously limited on this strongly distinct group in this community, is not without significance.

After becoming acquainted with the results of the inspection the PZPR Municipal Committee Executive in Gorzow decided to retract the party's recommendation and approach the governor for a removal of the hospital's director--Dr Edward Grzesek--and assistant director for economic-administrative affairs--Andrej Lamprecht, from their positions. Furthermore the executive was inclined to the inspection team's proposition and was in favor of carrying out a detailed departmental inspection in the hospital, which would examine the medical side of that institution's work.

#### Medical Care in Countryside

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 30 May 83 pp 3, 4

/Interview of Henryk Gaertner, chairman, ZSL Health Commissioner, by Urszula Orman: "Create the Healthiest Medical System; It Is Harder to Get Sick in the Countryside"/

/Text/ A GAZETA KRAKOWSKA conversation with Henryk Gaertner--professor of the Krakow Medical Academy, provincial specialist for internal diseases, chairman of the Krakow Province Committee United Peasant Party Health Commission.

/Question/ Professor Gaertner, honored chairman of the Krakow Province Committee United Peasant Party Health Commission, problems of rural health care are therefore not foreign to you. How do you evaluate the present state and level of rural health care?

/Answer/ One can look at the level of rural health care from several points of view. The first is a comparison of the present state with that of the past. The second is a look at medicine in the village in comparison with health care in the city. And the third point of view--needs and social expectations of the rural population. Undoubtedly, in comparison to the past, medicine in the village has tremendously developed, especially through introduction of free social health care in the countryside. In connection with the needs of the village in relation to the city, there are very essential differences, and especially to the village's disadvantage.

/Question/ Do they originate from the accessibility of health care and the numbers of medical facilities?

/Answer/ Not only that. This is connected to many problems. Of course, above all to density, quantity, quality and even the diversity of medical and recovery

institutions in the city, their easy accessibility and nearness for city dwellers, but also to the ability to make use of these institutions. This also is connected with the general level of hygiene of work, life, the home and the possession and use of communal facilities. And probably the last question--the working city dweller but also the retiree and person on pension most often don't add to the cost of social care from their own pocket. The villager, on the other hand, suffers a loss during examinations and treatment because he leaves his place of work, however, while in the case of the so-called "L-4" (sick leave permission) the government pays for the period of treatment, examinations, and even rehabilitation.

/Question/ As a result of this the state of health is probably worse among the rural population than in the city?

/Answer/ It's hard to gage. As a result of many factors we don't precisely know the state of health of the village--that is, academically we don't know.

/Question/ Why?

/Answer/ This is again connected to several facts. The country's administrative reform resulted many times in establishing the orders of cities in areas still typically rural, so that for instance, we have an Agricultural Department in Krowdrza and on the other hand, for instance, the city-core Health Care Administration /ZOZ/ encompasses up to 13 rural communities; in other words we are even more like a village city-core than such city-rural communities as Proszowice and Myslenice. Another matter--the village after all isn't subjected to mass examinations, for instance, when being hired for a job. It doesn't have industrial health care. It doesn't have an organization which would systematically carry out such examinations.

/Question/ But in this manner, without statistical data, is it possible to attempt to make some kind of generalization on this matter?

/Answer/ The village certainly makes use of the benefits of civilization which is seen in the decreased frequency of contagious diseases, tuberculosis, etc. On the other hand, the impact of the village population quite suddenly with the chemicalization and mechanization of agriculture, with numerous stressful factors such as the handling of many farm affairs sometimes more frequently in offices than in the field, a change in the manner of nourishing themselves during the period of field work (bread, canned meats, etc.), increased physical work, a decreased possibility for regeneration, less frequent use of sanatoriums, etc., all result in the fact that the rural population is catching up, and in the area of certain diseases it even surpasses the city population.

/Question/ What kind of diseases does that concern?

/Answer/ Diseases of the digestive tract, locomotive organs, lungs (emphysema of the lungs and so-called "farmer's lung"), heart, neuroses, etc.

/Question/ Do farmers willingly go for treatment?

/Answer/ Much more willingly than in the past. On the other hand, our health service attacks that group in regard to sanitation, epidemiology, etc., more today. As a result of this there is also a greater uncovering of diseases, which can give the impression of a greater disease rate.

/Question/ Professor--the village population's discernment of needs in the area of health service is greater all the time. In connection with this, what are the expectations of that special group?

/Answer/ Certainly the village's needs are still very high, at least in the area of pediatrics and gynecology. While general internal-medicinal help frequently is improvised--not even speaking about recovery. Sanatoriums and possibilities for their use have in essence just now opened up for farmers, during the season of and, above all, out of the field work season. Expectations here are consistently high. On one hand they are a result of needs, and on the other hand of social ambitions and to be precise, of a greater discernment of health problems.

/Question/ What does the Health Commission, of which you are chairman, concern itself with?

/Answer/ We were concerned mainly with the problem of a health service reform--at least if we are talking about the work of my term. From one point of view the problem of health service reform itself, and from another, the organization of village health service on various levels. One of these is a national specialist supervision in the sphere of rural medicine. That group encompasses the entire country with specialist supervision. It is directed by Prof Maciej Latalski--director of the Institute for Labor and Rural Hygiene Medicine in Lublin. The Lublin institute is something of a righthand man to the minister and is called to practically and theoretically solve many problems of rural medicine.

/Question/ For instance, what kind?

/Answer/ Education and postgraduate education of staffs, questions of environmental protection (soil, air, water), etc. It is an institution which occupies itself with the fundamental problem of rural medicine.

/Question/ The profile of that institution, therefore, is rather theoretical and didactic. Do the problems of disease, treatment and diagnosis also remain in the scope of its interests?

/Answer/ Less so--unfortunately. After all there isn't space for this.

/Question/ Professor Gaertner--in the national supervisory group for rural medicine you represent internal medicine. You are in addition an initiator--here in the Krakow region--of an institution which is occupied precisely with the clinical side of rural health care. What concretely will that institution be concerned with?

/Answer/ The education of students, the postgraduate education of doctors in internal diseases and rural medicine, an evaluation of the state of health of the rural population, the drawing of conclusions from research conducted (whether, for instance, certain diseases shouldn't be recognized as occupational diseases of farmers, such as for instance, diseased changes of the respiratory tract and lungs), the prevention of certain diseases, the execution of rehabilitation, etc. We came in contact here with propositions of the Krakow Medical Academy, which very much needs a new internal medicine institute.

/Question/ There isn't such an institute?

/Answer/ The institute's previous reform brought about a division of three large internal medicine clinics into highly specialized clinics. The remaining clinic of internal diseases can't cope with the tasks of teaching propaedeutics of internal diseases and rural medicine.

/Question/ What would its structure be like?

/Answer/ They would be organized on the basis of patients in the Albert Schweitzer Department No 1 of Internal Diseases of the J. Dietla Hospital in Krakow in the Krakow city-core Health Care Administration /ZOZ/ No 1. There would be a clinical-diagnostic laboratory team as well as a laboratory team, which will be concerned with the ecological, demographical and sociological problems of rural medicine, information dissemination, statistics and sanitation education. We also propose a sanatorium base, most favorably in Busk as a result of its close proximity and cross-section of that health resort.

/Question/ The Polish Doctors' Association at one time probably had a rural medicine department. Do they also have one presently?

/Answer/ The department withered away. Presently, we are organizing it again with Professor Latalski. It will group rural doctors together. It will begin to be active again after a 25-year lethargy. I invite my friends to take part in the department's work.

/Question/ In regard to rural doctors: probably fewer complaints are directed to them from patients than in relation to doctors working in urban health service institutions. What does that result from? Can one speak of a "profile" of the rural doctor?

/Answer/ Yes, of course. Having the comparison, I'd probably opt for the profile of a rural doctor. It appears to me that they are above all more independent people. They must be independent. No one can decide certain problems for them there. The practice of fully justified referral of patients to other doctors is not very possible, if anything from the point of view of the distance from other institutions. After all, such a patient also isn't satisfied that the doctor sent him somewhere else instead of taking care of him. The city doctor more than once reaches for his prescription pad faster and sends him to the radiologist instead of auscultating more accurately. Furthermore, the fact of the rural doctor getting acquainted with the community, where these two partners--rural society and the doctor--just mutually appreciate

each other, also means very much. The doctor lives there, becomes one of them and surely certain rural problems also concern him (supplies, sanitary state of the village, etc.). More than once the doctor participates in solving these problems and that creates a different base of mutual understanding than in the city. That profile is more crystallized than the profile of a doctor in the city.

/Conclusion/ Honorable Professor. In thanking you for the conversation I wish you further fruitful work concerning rural medicine as well as those concerning your specialization--internal medicine.

#### Poor Distribution of Insulin

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 9 Jun 83 pp 1, 4

/Article by (mr): "The Sick Are Waiting and Warehouses Are Bursting at the Seams; Insulin Hypodermic Syringe Has Bad Luck With Dealers"

/Text/ When the semiautomatic insulin hypodermic syringe appeared on the market in the middle of last year, it seemed as if diabetics' problems would finally end. The co-op Mechanik from Chojnice took up production of the syringe. The equipment was simple to use and relatively inexpensive--300 zloty.

"The answer is simple," says Mechanik director, Mr Franciszek Donczyk. The hypodermic syringes did not reach a broad clientele. Selling points for the Medical-Service Supply Enterprise Cezal are located in 17 places throughout the country, therefore it's not very strange that diabetics searched for the syringe and reserves grew in our warehouses.

It even got to the point that Mechanik had to limit production. The co-op is able to supply 15,000 syringes a month but, come to find out, there are significant problems with the marketing of even small amounts.

As specialists state--the best route would be to distribute the hypodermic syringes to pharmacies. If only 10 syringes would be supplied to each pharmacy, 50,000 semiautomatics would find their way to diabetics at one time.

It is estimated that there are half a million diabetics in the country. Even if not all of them take insulin, the need for production from the Chojnice co-op is very big.

"We count on the hope that the distributors of our product will take the needs of diabetics to heart," adds Director Donczyk. After all, diabetics' needs in the country can be satisfied in a very short time.

The semiautomatic insulin hypodermic syringe constitutes a marginal production of the Chojnice Mechanik. The co-op can concentrate on production of grinders and wheelbarrows and come out ahead. No one in Mechanik wants to make a fortune on hypodermic syringes. In short, they understand the needs of the sick. It would be good if those on whom distribution of the Chojnice product depends, would also understand them.

## VIROLOGY DESCRIBED AS NEGLECTED MEDICAL FIELD

Warsaw SLUZBA ZDROWIA in Polish No 24, 12 Jun 83 p 4

[Article by Leon Jablonski: "Possibilities in Medical Virology"]

[Text] In SLUZBA ZDROWIA No 10/83, the Chief National Health Inspector presented data that indicate that in 1982 of 927,340 persons ill with contagious diseases, 865,700, or 87.7 percent, were ill with viral diseases. These figures unequivocally illustrate the role that virology and virology diagnostics must play in medicine.

In our country medical virology cannot find its rightful place in the very complicated system of dependence between knowledge and theoretical value in medical sciences, its practical significance in the sense of direct application to treating the ill, and its potential as a diagnostic tool. Inoculations against viral epidemics are a separate problem. This situation is due to a number of factors that are both basic and subtle, more difficult to express and evaluate. Among the basic factors we might include on the one hand, inadequacy of microbiological diagnostic backup, including a practical lack of hospital virology laboratories (provincial), and on the other hand, little interest of physicians even in serological virological diagnostics since in most hospitals viral diseases do not play a leading role. Among the subtle factors, more difficult to evaluate unequivocally, we might include the functioning of the organizational structures "internal" to medical microbiology.

The foundations of medical virology were established by Prof Dr F. Przesmycki (1892-1974) while he was the director of the State Institute of Hygiene [PZH]. He organized the virology division of PZH and the virology laboratories in most of the then active provincial Sanitation-Epidemiology Stations. He introduced mass inoculations against poliomyelitis. He worked effectively for the training of virologists (doctorates, professorships) and for organizing virology laboratories in microbiology departments at educational institutions. The Virology Commission (at present the Virology Unit) of the Microbiological Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] was created at that time and became the main driving force behind virology, particularly medical virology.

The whole complex of organizational, scientific, and diagnostic work was so far advanced that the newly appointed director of the Virology Department of

PZH, Prof Dr M. Kantoch, after further quite arduous endeavors and with the cooperation of virologists from five centers (Warsaw, Wroclaw, Krakow, Lublin, and Gdansk), organized the virology section of the Polish Society of Microbiologists [PTM] in 1970 and became its chairman. At the same time officers were elected for virology sections in the PTM centers named above. This was a period of intense scientific, organizational, and educational work. In 1975 the next administration of the virology section was elected, and the author of this article became chairman. The chairman of the section is invited to the meetings of the central PTM administration.

In 1970 among microbiologists, 187 applied to the virology section, including 11 professors, 21 docents, and 62 doctors of science. This state was maintained with little deviation for more than 11 years. But the statistics of 15 April 1983 indicate that 119 persons applied to the virology section, including 20 professors, 12 docents, and 40 doctors of science. It must be stressed that the number of doctors among virologists fluctuates at different times within limits of 10-15 percent, that is, 17-30 persons, which strongly reflects the personnel situation in medical virology, especially its availability in hospitals and provincial clinics.

The drop in number of virologists is alarming, particularly since young members are resigning. This drop in recent years has its reasons; it points to and reflects poorly on the future of scientific discipline. What are the causes of this situation?

To analyze this situation briefly, we must remember what initiatives and activities were undertaken by the preceding administrations of the virology section and the officers of separate departments. These achievements appear somewhat large in comparison with the small number of virologists and the numerous problems that had to be resolved. The activity included four main areas: 1) scientific meetings, frequently with the participation of foreign guests as well as organizational activities in the sections named above. From documentation it appears that the scientific theme and its presentations were of a high level; 2) the section published its SCIENTIFIC BULLETIN. In the course of 11 years, 7 BULLETINS were published; these were quite useful and reinforced the virologists' association; 3) a national virology symposium was organized in which world-renowned foreign virologists participated (these symposia were highly valued by PAN); 4) petitions, resolutions and postulates in matters important to the activity of virologists and the development of virology, integrally linked to the well being of society and to the national economy, were developed jointly with the Virology Commission and sent to the administrative (ministries) and scientific (PAN) authorities. The first petitions were sent in 1972 and the last, in 1981. We also engaged in discussion with responsible persons. Nevertheless these activities did not elicit the expected interest and we were not given the expected assistance. From the perspective of time, it might be said that this was one of the main reasons for the significant drop in interest in virology.

To the description of the situation, we must add that we provided adequate handbooks for students ("Medical Virology," 1969-1977, four editions) and for physicians ("Clinical Virology," 1972; Blaskovic and Kantoch: "Medical Virology,"

1981). Several papers on problems in virology also appeared in the pediatrics and internal medicine handbook. A number of monographs and foreign handbooks were translated. As a whole, these works played and continue to play a basic role in developing interest in and information about rapid, worldwide progress in medical virology. Without exaggeration, this progress is extremely rapid not only in the cognitive area, but also in medical practice.

A major center of applied medical virology is the virology division of PZH, established to conduct scientific and diagnostic-epidemiological studies connected with the use of antiviral vaccines (poliomyelitis, measles, and mumps). In the Institute of Immunology and Experimental Therapy of PAN in Wroclaw, virologists are interested mainly in the action of interferon and viral oncogenesis (tumor viruses). Other research centers in certain institutes, and especially in medical academies, carry on research on one or on several viruses (enterovirus, influenza virus, and other viruses of the respiratory tract, or herpes virus). Without reservation we can say that these laboratories work on the basis of the stubbornness or the "hobby" of independent or assistant scientific workers. More than 50 percent of medical departments thus far do not have virology laboratories or virologists, and this has a negative effect on the training and qualifying process in the medical virology.

Accessibility to a diagnostic virology laboratory is of real significance to a physician. Practically speaking, laboratories of this kind are now nonexistent. Instruction No 7/78 of the Ministry of Health does not envision their presence in the organization of provincial laboratories. The basic reasons for this unwillingness on the part of physicians to organize virology-serology diagnostics and to take advantage of it are the antiquated, labor-intensive and time-consuming methods based on available antigens and serums. They make diagnosis possible in from 4 to 30 days, something that is not attractive to physicians at present. The producers of serums and vaccines in Lublin and Krakow have not updated their products in 10 years, and the Central Laboratory for Serums and Vaccines has not produced anything new during that period.

In Poland we do not produce our own serums (and it is very difficult to import serums) for immunofluorescence (used for rapid diagnosis), for radioimmunological studies (also used for rapid diagnosis), for immunoenzymatic studies, the universal basis for virology diagnostics abroad (the method of elision and microelision). The latter give a very rapid response in a number of viral diseases, that is, in 2.5 to 5 h, and are easy to carry out in any laboratory. I am purposely not introducing data on modern electron microscopes and ultracentrifuges for use in hospital virology diagnostics. The methods mentioned above have been used at least 10 years, and therefore they should have no novelty or surprise for our laboratories that are responsible for reagent production. With a degree of confidence, we may say that this the second of the basic reasons why scientific workers are discouraged with virology and with undertaking work in the areas of virology.

The real possibilities of medical virology are small, and medical needs are great. A real problem is distinguishing between Enterovirus No 72 (formerly known as hepatitis virus type A), Hepatodnavirus No 1 (formerly type B), and

other viruses that cause infectious hepatitis (so-called nonA, nonB hepatitis). Type B hepatitis and the jaundice it causes require further antigenic distinction that is important for treatment and prognosis. This is provided by the immunoenzymatic methods (microelision) that have been developed. Another problem is distinguishing the etiology of childhood diarrheas, which are caused by Rotavirus in 60 percent of the cases. Diagnosing this etiology by microelision makes a (good) prognosis and treatment of the child easier, for example, it makes the use of antibiotics unnecessary. Rapid diagnosis of nontypical cases of measles in children is of great significance in treatment and prognosis. There are still other reasons for updating diagnostics, for example, the so-called epidemiological "influenza bag" into which are placed all individuals ill with virus diseases that attack the respiratory tract (adenoviruses, RS viruses, parainfluenza viruses, viral inflammation of the nose, etc.).

If we look at any part of the world, we will see that every one of our foreign neighbors has at least one virology institute, and in the poorest case, an institute of microbiology and virology. Countries with significantly smaller populations than ours have them. In our country we (that is, the virologists) have approached this problem many times, specifically in the petitions and requests mentioned above and in discussions with responsible people.

As a curiosity, we might add the fact that microbiologists with different specialties referred to this idea with a large dose of suspicion or even distaste. "We do not have an Institute of Microbiology, and you want to create an Institute of Virology," they said.

The matter has been dropped and prognosis is not favorable for the near future. This is the third basic reason for reluctance and discouragement, not only among physicians but also among practitioners in other specialties related to virology. An institute created entirely for resolving problems of virology, specifically for its practical application to treatment of the ill and to disease prevention could cope with problems that other countries have been able to cope with for some time.

2950

CSO: 2600/1033

YOUTH SURVEYED ON ATTITUDES TOWARD CHURCH IN SOCIETY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 May 83 p 3.

[Article by IPPML [Institute for Fundamental Problems of Marxism-Leninism] scholarly worker Zenon Kawecki: "From Our Research On Youth: Tolerance And Collaboration"]

[Text] We have presented here the results of research on youth views about various social concerns, conducted by PZPR Central Committee's IPPML. Today we present selected lines of this research concerning, in this instance, the Polish youth's point of view on the position of the Church in society's life.

We conducted our investigations twice, in 1977 surveying 8,909 high school seniors and 3,633 freshmen, and in 1980, polling 2,877 seniors previously covered by our survey in their freshman year. The main question we asked the students was: "In your opinion, what part should the Church play in the lives of believers?"

The seniors generally distinguished three principal functions of the Church: worldview/religious, moral/upbringing, and social/political. A preponderance of the surveyed students opted for limitation of the activities of church institutions to endeavors aimed at raising the level of religious devotion and morality among believers. This role of the Church was pointed out by nearly three-fourths of the seniors in 1977, and by nearly all, including those describing themselves as "nonbelievers," in 1980.

In providing their reasons, the majority of the students believed that by sanctioning morality with supernatural factors the Church induced people to moral conduct. At the same time, the seniors were far from regarding religion as the basis of morality—a decisive majority rejected the claim that only a religious person could live and act honestly. The seniors emphasized that the Church was an institution deeply rooted in history and in Polish society's present-day life. Their third premise, the moral condition of our society, was very critically assessed by the young people. They were of the opinion, therefore, that the mounting moral crisis could be overcome by consistent collaboration of Church and state.

A detailed examination of their comments indicates that, in the perception of some seniors persisting under the influence of religious stereotypes, man is, by nature, evil, selfish, thinking only about himself or possibly about those closest to him. For these reasons, in the opinion of a number of the students, religious sanctions are indispensable for many people to observe moral norms.

It should be emphasized that in many instances the young people did not limit the Church's role to pastoral work, stipulating instead its active inclusion in the struggle against existing evil in counteracting drunkenness, drug addiction, crime, moral dissolution, atrophy of family feelings and similar adverse phenomena.

A substantial number of the respondents tended to present the Church's role even more broadly, programming its participation in the development of civic attitudes, while affirming at the same time that Church institutions had the task of taking active part in the fight for peace and friendship among nations.

Insisting upon the Church's impact on the development of civic attitudes, the surveyed seniors were especially concerned with inculcation of proper attitudes toward professional obligations. As they asserted, much remains to be done precisely in this area, since many persons display unconcerned attitudes about work and public property, along with consumerism taking shape striving to accumulate material possessions in keeping with the principle: "Take as much as possible, give the least you can."

The respondents stipulated that the Church should instill attitudes of tolerance toward noncoreligionists and nonbelievers. This postulate was most frequently supported by humanistic considerations. Some seniors also referred to political considerations, focusing on the integration of society that could be undermined by overemphasis on religious divisions. A typical comment: "The Church should teach respect and understanding toward the sentiments and beliefs of its nonmembers, thus avoiding the deepening of religion-based divisions...it ought not try to persuade people that nonbelievers are evil."

The students' comments emphasizing the importance of the Church's role in worldview development reveal certain characteristic features. They underscore the need to adjust Church teachings to achievements of modern science, requirements of life, and advancing intellectual level among believers.

It is notable that the seniors we surveyed perceive essential contradictions in this area, although their subjective preference is for those contradictions not to exist so that it would be possible to label their own religious worldviews as rationalist and scientific. Also, it is notable that religious declarations of the respondents are generally free from emotional involvement and marked by tolerance. Most of the seniors declared themselves in favor of the freedom of religion and conscience, negating the stereotype according to which one can be a good Pole only if one is Catholic. Their opinions also fail to reaffirm the Church's view on secularization imperiling society's moral fiber.

While favoring the Church's functions of religious and moral-educational nature, many seniors noted that priests as clergymen should not become involved in political affairs. This is how they phrased it: "The Church ought to be a religious organization, as remote from politics as possible. It must not interfere in matters reserved for state authorities." On the other hand, the seniors insisted that the Church should possess the right to subject the country's ongoing processes and transformations to a moral evaluation.

The surveyed seniors' views on the position and role of the Church in society's life are substantively related with their assessments of the state's denominational policy. A third of the respondents expressed more or less essential reservations as to the state's religious policy, suggesting, among other things, that lifetime opportunities of people are predicated on their worldviews, and that the freedom of religion and conscience is not respected in the country.

It should be noted that these criticisms were more vigorous in 1980 than in 1977, although the period was marked by state decisions highly favorable to the Church, permitting growth in church construction, extensive conduct of religious pastoral activities, and offering the Church opportunities to affect society's life in its entirety. Consequently, one is entitled to think that the criticism took shape not so much because of experienced realities as due to the impact of propaganda by those opposed to the political system and also the clergy's propaganda.

Besides, a segment of the surveyed group clearly failed to distinguish the private from the public, or even political, aspect of religious belief. Unwittingly, they repeatedly shifted their focus from religion as a private concern to the sphere of public life, e.g., equal opportunity in life for believers and nonbelievers were occasionally taken to mean increased influence of the clergy on society's life.

Addressing the relationship "socialism-religion," the respondents tended to see the value of religion in its integrative function and positive impact on human attitudes and behavior. The students' questions and doubts indicate an evident gap in programs of instruction, allowing too few hours for presentations of the state's policies on religion. They lack deeper orientation in the premises and practices of those policies.

These selected lines of our extensively conducted research indicates that on many issues the respondents express correct views on the Church's role and position in the socialist state. Especially noteworthy are their views on tolerance, treatment of religion as a sphere of private life, and consistent collaboration with the state authorities in the molding of a moral profile of society.

Noting the seniors' increasing interest in religion, it should be emphasized that many do not recognize the socialism-versus-religion dilemma. Instead, they take a firm footing in the overriding concerns of the country's development and integration of society. Just as many of them affirm that

such ideals of socialism as equality, justice, friendship among nations, and human brotherhood deserve unrestricted approval from the religious point of view.

Polish youth's major interest in the problems of the relations between Church and state, religion and socialism, and world outlooks in general is, unfortunately, disproportionate to their stock of knowledge about religion, society, and politics. Proper conclusions are well worth drawing from this fact for upbringing activities in our schools.

8795

CSO: 2600/915

'IDEOLOGICAL' CONFLICT WITH SOVIETS ANALYZED

✓ Munich SUDOST-EUROPA in German May 83 pp 235-243

[Article by Anneli Ute Gabanyi: "Romanian-Soviet Ideological Struggle--Not Only a Theoretical Dispute"]

[Text] Under the heading "Class View Point or Eclectic Factors Theory," the Soviet weekly periodical NOVOYE VREMYA<sup>1</sup> published an article by E. Bagramov that sharply takes issue with an article by the Romanian journalist Vasile Iota published over a year ago in the Romanian weekly CONTEMPORANUL.<sup>2</sup> The main ideas of the CONTEMPORANUL article are summarized below to better understand the direction of this semiofficial Soviet attack on basic ideological and political positions advocated by the RCP, which has brought out into the open the Romanian-Soviet dispute that has been smoldering for months.

Class Criteria or National State Interests

In his article obviously applied only pro forma as a plea for rethinking in the field of social sciences, Vasile Iota attacked "simplifying" and "dogmatic" theses that still can be found in treatises of "foreign countries," but have been "abandoned or openly rejected" in Romania during the past 15 years (that is to say, during the Ceausescu era). According to Iota, under existing political circumstances it was not the criterion of class struggle but national interests that were decisive in the assessment of the foreign-policy connections. Viewed in this light the present is not to be categorized as a period of transition from capitalism to socialism predominantly determined by class struggle aspects, but as a period of "eliminating the imperialist policy of oppression and domination of other states and peoples." Viewed from this aspect, Iota argues, the significant contradictions in the interstate field is the one between poor and rich countries and it simply does not result from different social orders but "from differences in economic and technical-scientific development potential and level."

Such contradictions "can also arise in the relations between socialist states."

Iota even went one step further by expanding his analysis shaped by the primacy of national state interests also to other forms of international relations. According to Iota, the problems of war and peace, of disarmament and underdevelopment in the present world can only be dealt with if they are not, or not predominantly, regarded as a result of the clash of two different social systems, but rather as a "struggle between monopolist powers for the division and redivision of the world into spheres of influence and power."

Iota emphatically championed the idea of balance essentially free of ideology in the assessment of foreign-policy behavior of all states irrespective of their social system, whereby he implicitly though no less clearly certified to the Soviet Union the same big-power aspirations as to the United States. It was this barely disguised charge of imperialism that aroused the special anger of the NOVOYE VREMYA commentators. In his literal repetition of the following quotation from the CONTEMPORANUL article, Bagramov added two question marks to the text, probably to signal that the innuendo had been very well understood:

"In light of this expanded view, imperialism presents itself primarily as an expression of certain interstate relations, as the tendency of certain (?) states, some big powers (?) to exploit and oppress other states and peoples, to violate their independence and sovereignty, to practice power and diktat policy in their international relations; even the export of revolutions or counterrevolutions in most cases is an export of national state interests."

Bagramov's criticism of Iota's only pseudo-scientific theoretical but in reality "pointedly political" discussion is extremely harsh. According to Bagramov, the point of view advocated by the Romanian constitutes "an undermining of the class standpoint of the working class" and whether Iota wants this or not also "capitulation to bourgeois-nationalist views." The fact that Iota imputes "expansionist and neocolonialist intentions to the socialist countries" is in accord with theses advocated by the "imperialist propaganda" of the capitalist West:

"The Marxists-Leninists will never accept the erroneous view concerning the partition of the world into rich and poor states, either in theory or in practice, for it places the socialist world system on the same level with the capitalist states that are squeezing so many riches from the countries subjugated by capitalism. With the help of this view, imperialist propaganda tries to defame truly existing socialism and to spread the thesis of the

neocolonialist orientation of the trade policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as well as of the interference of the Soviet Union in the internal affairs of the developing countries. The purpose of this reactionary thesis of the rich and poor countries is to paralyze the revolutionary influence of socialism on the national liberation movements."

Bagramov's accusations culminate in the charge that these theses advocated by Iota "aim at undermining the international alliance of world socialism, the international workers movement and the national liberation movement." His Andropov quotation sounds like a warning addressed to the Romanians: "We are going to do everything to further strengthen the cohesion of the great, close alliance among the socialist states, the unity of the Communists the world over in their struggle for common goals and ideals."

#### A Warning to Ceausescu

Although Bagramov's article generally maintains the fiction of a dispute with a relatively unknown journalist, nevertheless his attacks are clearly directed beyond this harmless target. Thus he points out to the "Romanian comrades" that they did participate in the assessment of the present epoch as a period of the transition from capitalism to socialism, as set down in the documents of the 1969 communist and workers parties conference. Bagramov personally reminds the Romanian state and party chief Nicolae Ceausescu that in his address at the 26th CPSU Congress he had stressed the necessity of "strengthening the solidarity and cooperation among the socialist countries."

Thus the actual target against whom the Soviet accusations are directed is named: Nicolae Ceausescu, who in his statement "Concerning the Present Stage in the Building of Socialism in Our Country, on Theoretical, Ideological Questions and the Political, Educational Work of the Party," had advocated these very theses at the ideology plenum of the RCP Central Committee.<sup>3</sup> This Central Committee report was approved as an official party document and explicitly confirmed by the RCP national conference in December 1982. In it Ceausescu not only had equated the class struggle with the struggle of the Romanian people for national liberation, he also had made it unmistakably clear that the condition of relative economic and social backwardness and underdevelopment that continues to be a heavy burden on Romania, can be traced back to the prolonged struggle against "foreign oppression" by the "great empires" of the Hapsburgs, the Ottomans and the Czars. The "general laws" of socialist development are of the same importance as the "economic, social, historical, and national conditions of any people and country," as proved by the Romanian practice. Therefore, the party is not to be placed above the (national) state and the history of

the party is not to be viewed outside the national history (as advocates of the "ideas of the Third International" assert). The tricolored national flag is "the highest flag for the party, too."

At the party's national conference, Ceausescu moreover had advocated the thesis that the antagonism between the "poor and rich states" has become the "strongest antagonism in the world today." He had condemned export of revolution but also of counterrevolution and had called "strengthening of the unity of the nation" and its "new characteristics" as the "basic factor for the victory of socialism and communism in Romania."<sup>4</sup>

#### The Delayed Soviet Reaction: Accidental or Intentional?

The question arises why Bagramov particularly chose Vasile Iota's article that was published over a year ago as target of his attack, especially since the thoughts expressed therein not only agree with the official RCP line adopted in June 1982 but also were advocated in numerous other articles in the Romanian press, not least also in the party organs SCINTEIA or ERA SOCIALISTA.

Now it is Soviet practice to start polemics with possibilities for further escalation first on a semi-official level, but that does not fully explain the choice of this particular author, this periodical, and the use of an old article.

The author Vasile Iota is hardly known in Romania, but he has specialized almost exclusively on the nation topic and has published at least one other article in CONTEMPORANUL that is likely to have sounded almost more heretical than his article published in March. Starting from the same thesis of the overrating of the class viewpoint in the definition of the nation, Iota demanded a "necessary revision of the nation theory" (as the title of his article puts it), a revision that boils down to the fact that what is decisive for the determination of the nation is not the joint possession of territory and the economic area, but in final analysis the language.

In hardly concealed allusion to the Soviet Union and the Bessarabia question, Iota pointed out that there are multinational states as well as divided states, whereby he cited as examples the German and Korean nations as well as also the "Romanian nation prior to the creation of the perfected state unity" (what he meant was undoubtedly the union of the principalities of Moldavia and Wallonia with Transylvania and Bessarabia). Despite this apparent historical setting in the case of the Romanian nation (whose present-day borders are identical with those of 1918 with regard to Bessarabia), Iota leaves no doubt as to the relevance of his statements to the current period: by means of the "imperialist, expansionist, annexationist power and diktat policy"<sup>5</sup> practiced for centuries by

"the big powers" complete territories were torn from nations that had already been firmly established and sometimes even been constituted as uniform states and were integrated into other economic units.

Such a "forcible dismemberment" however did not necessarily lead to its disappearance, to its fusion with the dominant nation or to the development of a new nation. According to Iota, history has shown that these groups of people torn from the confines of their nation retain their national identity and even "consolidate" it "despite a policy of forcible denationalization" and do not relinquish the hope for "unification or reunification with their own nation."

A degree of symbolism may also have played a part in choosing the weekly CONTEMPORANUL as target of Soviet criticism. At the turn of the century CONTEMPORANUL was the most important mouthpiece for the ideas of the Social Democratic Workers Party of Romania, which, in contrast to the internationalist Romanian communists had favored the "big union" of 1918 and whose 90th anniversary of its founding was celebrated this year parallel to the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. Today CONTEMPORANUL is an organ of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, whose chairman Susana Gadea is a protege of Elena Ceausescu who possesses the highest responsibilities as regards questions of culture, science, and education; the editor-in-chief is Dumitru Radu Popescu, full RCP Central Committee member and chairman of the Romanian writers association.

However, there are indications that the article published in NOVOYE VREMYA is an open dispute but by no means the only one that is being carried out by Romania on the one hand and the Soviet Union and its loyal allies on the other hand. The Karl Marx Conference in East Berlin also offered the opportunity for subliminal polemic. Central Committee Secretary Mikhail Zimyanin whom the Soviet Union had surprisingly provided as main speaker in place of Konstantin Chernenko emphatically pointed out the special significance of "proletarian internationalism" for the socialist community of states and promised "uncompromising struggle against all attempts to divide the revolutionary forces, the communist parties--regardless of the nationalist, opportunistic labels under which these attempts are hiding."<sup>6</sup>

The RCP which has rejected the term "proletarian internationalism" for some time, and wants to see it replaced by the Eurocommunist inspired term of the "new unity" of all progressive forces, was represented in East Berlin by Dumitru Popescu, the rector of the Stefan Gheorghiu Party College.<sup>7</sup> In his speech, which was reprinted in full by the official GDR organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND<sup>8</sup>, Popescu praised the dialectical, creative character of the Marxian doctrine that opposes any kind of dogmatic absolutism. He pointed to the

sympathy that Marx had shown for the Romanian question in his time and in conclusion expressed the opinion that the best tribute to the memory of Karl Marx could be offered by stopping "the old imperialist policy." Characteristically this year's Marx celebrations in Romania strongly revolved around the statements made by Marx primarily in unpublished manuscripts and in letters on the question of the origin and continuity of the Romanian people, on its difficulties with big power neighboring countries and on the legitimacy of the striving for national unity.

Simultaneously Jan Fojtik, a secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, published an article in the theoretical monthly NOVA MYSL<sup>9</sup> wherein he denounced, without mentioning Romania directly, "national separatism" and those people who advocated a "new internationalism" that, in final analysis, is only willing to take note of the national interests of the individual parties. According to Fojtik, the followers of this "peculiar internationalism" are of the opinion that "the socialist states...should declare that they want to choose their own road and that they regard mutual assistance in the defense of socialism as something that is incompatible with the principle of independence and sovereignty."

#### Romanian Newspaper Rejects Andropov's Nation Theory

Only a few days after publication of the NOVOYE VREMYA article, the 18 April issue of the daily ROMANIA LIBERA, published by the National Council of the Front for Socialist Democracy and Unity, carried an article entitled "Role and Future of the Nation," that was continued on 25 April. In it the author, Eugen Florescu, an active, aggressive party theoretician and deputy director of the RCP Central Committee's propaganda department, confirmed that "authentic ideological disputes" had occurred concerning this question "not only between representatives of the socialist and capitalist systems but also between socialist states and even within individual socialist states." Florescu explained that, in response to the question as to the future of the nation under socialism, a majority favors "scientific theories" according to which a "convergence among the nations" will take place as part of a "dialectical, inevitable process."

This point of view that had been predominant in the Soviet Union during the Leonid Brezhnev era and that had been expounded in detail by his chosen successor, Konstantin Chernenko, in an article published in the periodical PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA as late as December 1982, was rejected by the new CPSU general secretary, Yuriy V. Andropov, in the course of his programmatic speech on the occasion of the festivities in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Union. In his article, Florescu quotes the following passage from Andropov's speech without, however, mentioning his name: "Our final goal has been established, it is stated in the report on the 60th

anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union. To use Lenin's words, it consists not only in the convergence of the nations but also in their merger."

Florescu also inveighs against the economic pressure for integration exercised by the "big powers" with the goal of curtailing the national sovereignty of the smaller states and of grouping them around the centers that have farthest advanced in their development. According to Florescu, in this connection it would be naive to believe that the "single centers" so formed would benefit anyone other than those "big ones" equipped with economic and "other instruments of power," who in this manner concentrated "the fate of all nations" in their hands. It is significant that the Soviet party chief in his above-mentioned speech had also pointed out that "the modern forces of production" require "integration even in the case of different countries." In another passage Andropov had referred to the "unselfish help" provided by the Russian people to the inhabitants of the non-Russian republics.<sup>10</sup>

#### The RCP and the National Question

The "scientific" attitude of the RCP in this question, according to Florescu, starts from the assumption that in the future a "necessary process of convergence among the nations" can take place, but only gradually, "on the basis of equal and voluntary cooperation." Florescu categorically rejected any application of "methods of the spillover (English in the original text), of the radical automatic coups (rasturnari) imposed from the outside." It is not difficult to guess to whose attempts at influencing or even destabilization of conditions in Romania, Florescu is alluding.

The process of convergence of the nations, according to Florescu, under no circumstances can be forced but requires respect for the interests of each nation. In this process a significant role is played by the equalization of the economic and social developments of the participating nations, an allusion to the claim frequently made by Romanian representatives for preferential treatment within CEMA, a claim that is being supported with the reference to Romania's status as a self-appointed socialist developing country. (The question of future cooperation in the CEMA framework on the eve of the summit conference of this organization has been discussed thoroughly and critically in the Romanian media during recent months. Emphasis was placed on Romanian demands for greater consideration of its specific national interests, particularly in the raw materials sector, and the rejection of supranational planning and management forms, as they are being discussed once again in this framework.)

#### No Voluntary Renunciation of National Sovereignty Rights

As already evident from the article by the Czechoslovak theoretician Jan Fojtik, the demand of the Soviet Union for a limitation of

national sovereignty by the other socialist countries, called the "Brezhnev Doctrine," in final analysis is being discussed in this debate. As early as December, a Romanian author, Vasile Secares, in an article in the RCP theoretical monthly ERA SOCIALISTA<sup>11</sup>, had complained about the fact that in times of a mounting East-West conflict (that, however, constitutes not only an ideological but also a big-power conflict) a trend toward closing ranks of the smaller states with the big powers is to be noted and regretted. The international events as well as the developments in the individual countries are being exclusively judged under the aspect of this bipolar confrontation, he said. This results in the fact that the smaller states (what is meant are those in the Soviet sphere of influence) "are being denied the freedom...to choose their own road to socialism" and that "internal problems are not being recognized as difficulties that must be solved by each nation only."

A recent article by Doina Topor in the daily ROMANIA LIBERA<sup>12</sup> has also taken up this topic once again. She rejects "demands" amounting to a "revision" of the concept of national sovereignty that is now no longer to be interpreted in a "territorial" sense but rather in a "functional" sense. She also does not want to accept the argument advanced by the Soviet side that the present international situation necessitates such a "voluntary renunciation" of national sovereignty.

If the Romanian author can be believed, then "the attacks against the independence and sovereignty policy" have long crossed "the sphere of ideological confrontations" and have assumed the form "of direct or disguised interference in the internal affairs of other states. Even though Doina Topor as well as Eugen Florescu are occasionally couching their statements in the form of apparently ambiguous assessments applying equally to East and West, one cannot fail to notice the actual target. This also applies to the optimistic thesis posed at the conclusion of her statements according to which the "unrealistic theories" aiming at a "transfer of national sovereignty rights to supranational authorities" as well as at the "limitation" of sovereignty attributes in a stage of limited independence are confronted by an increasingly self-assured rejection front of the non-pact states and the developing countries.

In conclusion, it appears that basic problems of economic, political, and military collaboration and cohesion of the Eastern alliance are being put up for discussions in the escalating ideological controversy that is in the offing between Romania and the Soviet Union on the question of the role and the prospects for the future of the nation in socialism. The pressure applied in this connection on the junior partner by the Soviet Union has evidently grown since Andropov's assumption of office.

In some essential aspects, one might think, the debate is reminiscent of the 1963-1964 Romanian-Soviet dispute that attained its temporary climax with the April 1964 "declaration of independence" adopted by the RCP Central Committee. But not only the domestic policy conditions are completely different (Romania is now undergoing a severe economic and supply crisis) but also the foreign policy constellation. Above all, Romania's relations to the Western states have reached a low. To be blamed for this situation is not only the country's external indebtedness but not least also the fact that the RCP itself has considerably contributed to the hardening and intensification of the ideological dispute within and outside the country. In this connection the adoption of the emigration decree and the demand for reimbursement of training costs in foreign currency by persons desiring to emigrate are only the last link in a chain of similarly oriented measures.

The dilemma of the Romanian state and party leadership appears to be irresolvable. Primarily criticism and integration pressure can obviously be expected but hardly any economic assistance from the Soviet Union, its hegemonial power, while the formerly kindly disposed Western powers now no longer appear to be ready to tolerate the ideological hardening and the repressive tendencies of the increasingly autocratic Ceausescu regime for reasons of foreign policy expediency.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. No. 16, 15 Apr 83
2. No. 10, 5 Mar 82
3. SCINTEIA, 2 Jun 82
4. SCINTEIA, 17 Dec 82
5. No. 42, 1 Oct 82
6. TASS, 11 Apr 83
7. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA of 4 May 83 violently attacked Popescu because of alleged anti-Soviet attacks in his latest novel.
8. 14 Apr 83
9. Apr 83
10. PRAVDA, 22 Dec 82
11. No. 24, 25 Dec 82
12. 22 Apr 83

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CSO: 2300/317

PROTEST AGAINST ATTACKS ON SLOVENIAN VILLAGES IN ITALY

Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 23 Jun 83 p 5

[Article: "Miserable Pre-Election Activity of Neofascist Organizations"]

[Text] In a statement of protest the SAWP (Socialist Alliance of Working People) of Slovenia severely condemns the savage character of the fascist attacks in the Slovenian villages in Italy.

Ljubljana, 22 June--The republic conference of the SAWP of Slovenia, at today's conference, approved the following official protest.

"The SAWP of Slovenia, as the largest organization of workers and of members of the community severely and unanimously condemns the savage character of the fascist attackers in the Slovenian villages in neighboring Italy.

Those attacks which took place in the days of the pre-election campaign, in the region of Furlanija-Juliska [Friuli-Venezia Giulia] in the Slovenian settlements of Lonjerj Bazovica, Prosek, Nabrezin, and Barkovlah, are reminiscent of the most dismal days of the fascist period and of the black-shirted Mussolini squadrons of 1-year olds. The miserable pre-election activity of neofascist organizations in Italy which is concealed by the fine-sounding name of "Italian Social Movement" (MSI), proves that in back of its harsh provocations there are more powerful organizers than there are arrogant followers of the ill-famed "Youth Front" in Trieste. They are reactionary and antipopular forces which from old have been a thorn in the side of socialist Yugoslavia, on the one hand, and democratic Italy, on the other. They are forces which do not like the agreements or the expanded Yugoslav-Italian relations agreements and relations which have been established between all peace-loving peoples since World War II for a united front to combat fascism and Nazism.

The current fascist assault on the Slovenian people, their villages, and symbols, which is reminiscent of the worldwide fascist massacre, is a renewed attack on the good development of relations between the two states and on the democratic process in Italy itself. Is this barbarism a ticket by which all atrocities which fascism conceived can return to the world of humanity? How timely are Tito's views on the subject expressed years ago in Helsinki. He said that we can excuse what happened but we can never forget it.

But these days, when Slovenians in Italy are confronted by such brutalities they are not alone. But with the democratic forces throughout Italy they are united once again in a common struggle against the extreme right and fascism. We are convinced that this unity will obstruct and annihilate these hateful intentions. Therefore, Slovenians who live outside their motherland will receive the greatest possible support from the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and socialist federal self-managing Yugoslavia.

CSO: 2800/354

KRAJINA DISCUSSES FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jun 83 p 6

[Interview with Borislav Krajina, federal secretary for justice and general administration, by Branislav Boskov; date and place not specified]

[Text] Lately there has been a lot of talk about the organization and functioning of the federal administration which the general public often regards as the personification of the state and power. Critical views can be heard too, and the most extreme among them say that federal administration (and by analogy, any state administration) is superfluous. A specific answer to all the criticism is contained in the Program of Activities for Further Transformation of the Federal Administration, which was discussed in the Federal Assembly about 10 days ago and was supported by the delegates of the Executive Council, the highest body of delegates in Yugoslavia. We will now talk about the Program and the criticisms of the federal administration with Borislav Krajina, member of the FEC, federal secretary for justice and general administration.

[Question] What is the subject of dissatisfaction, and what changes of the federal administration are being demanded?

[Answer] Every constructive and well-intended criticism is welcome, and this is also true of the comments referring to the federal administration, i.e., to the program of its transformation. However, one segment of the public has voiced the idea that the administration--the federal one as well as any state administration--is something superfluous, alien, bureaucratic... This is, of course, a completely wrong reasoning, because the administration is an indispensable and important factor of our system. By its comprehensiveness, its executive function, and last, by its initiative in proposing the measures necessary to remove the obstacles to our development, it is, for the time being, an unavoidable factor. Thus, the administration is a necessity, not a redundancy.

At the same time, the administration as it is does deserve criticism, and it is indeed necessary to remove the causes of justified criticism. That is why the realization of the tasks contained in the Program of Transformation of the Federal Administration (which will also influence the transformation of the state administration as a whole--on all the levels) is an indispensable and very important task, which has to be observed, in the

first place, from the point of view of the development of our self-management system, as this transformation has to enable us to take another step forward in the development of the self-management system as a form of power of the working class and other working people and citizens, as the foundation of our political system, and as a general movement of our society toward the future.

The transformation of the administration, as a social process, has to result in an administration that will be a part of the political system, and that will, by its quality and quantity, respond to our needs and especially to the needs of our delegate Assembly system.

[Question] You mentioned changes in quality and quantity; does this mean that the number of administration employees, which is too high, according to the critics, will be reduced?

[Answer] Yes, changes would include a reduction of the number of people employed in the federal administration. It is possible to achieve this goal by appropriate interventions in the structure of the federal administration, by a reduction of some of its segments or, as we would say today, by finding inner reserves, and by a reorganization of some services. We estimate that such measures could result in 10- to 15- percent reduction of the number of employees by 1985. This also presupposes a reduction of the number of the people in managerial positions in the federal administration.

In addition, to this, it has to be stressed that the reduction of the federal administration personnel requires higher quality in those who are going to perform the tasks of the administration. In other words, to be precise, a reinvigoration of the personnel, especially of those in supervisory positions, will be necessary. Bringing younger people into this structure, and choosing them on the basis of their capacity and interest will create the conditions for the reduction of the number of federal employees.

The aim of the proposed changes is to make the work performed by the people employed in the federal administration more rational, prevent the duplication of supervision (and thus also of transactions), and, wherever it is necessary, engage capable people who will creatively fulfill important, responsible, and delicate tasks of the federal administration. These changes also presuppose that good and efficient performances will be better awarded than an unproductive and inappropriate waste of time. This requires consistency in the performance of actions aimed at the development of self-management relations in the federal administration, and, above all, a consistent application of the principle of basing reward on performance.

[Question] Some of the tasks you are talking about are, in fact, so to say, an internal matter concerning the people employed in the federal administration, but a transformation essentially means much more. Besides, the change of the federal administration will not lead to the desired results by itself without changes in the administration as a whole. Is my impression correct?

[Answer] It is true that the task cannot be completely solved by means of changes limited to the federal administration. It is indispensable to start working on the transformation of numerous other services and institutions at the federal level which are not regarded as a part of the administration in the narrower sense of the word. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to develop social action, so that the problem of the transformation of the federal administration would be dealt with more broadly.

[Question] Which services do you have in mind, and what is the federal administration in the wider and what in the narrower sense of the word?

[Answer] I am thinking of professional services of state organs, sociopolitical and social organizations at federal level, and, for example, of administrative communities of industrial organizations and media organizations, like BORBA, TANJUG, Radio-Yugoslavia, etc.

The concept of the federal administration in the "wider sense" covers the following: eight federal secretariats six federal committees, three federal administrations, three federal inspectorates, federal organizations, eight federal institutes, the Yugoslav Archives, and professional and technical services of the FEC. However, some of these organizations, institutes and services do not have administrative power, so that they cannot be included into the administration in the "narrower sense" of the word. With regard to the number of administrative mandates, jurisdictions and functions, the federal administration in the "narrower sense" consists only of federal secretariats, federal committees, federal administrations and inspectorates.

[Question] How far is the program of the transformation of the federal administration, viz. of the administration in general, reaching?

[Answer] The immediate goal of changes is the elimination of various weaknesses that have been noticed in the work of the federal administration, but this must be seen as a continuation of the process of socialization, so to speak, of some functions of the state. This means that the transformation of the federal administration must influence the organization, operation and role not only at the federal level, but at all the levels of the administration: the county, the province, and the republic.

One of the essential questions that the FEC took into account while conceiving this program is the question of the scope of the transformation of the federal administration. The FEC started out with the widest concept of transformation, which means that the anticipated actions would ensure the change of the operation of the federal administration, especially in the performance of its functions, the organization and way of operation, together with, as I have said, the improvement of the federal administration by means of changes in its organization and personnel.

The idea is, thus, that the transformation should ensure not only the elimination of temporary or organizational weaknesses, but also a more significant advance in establishing new relations in the socialization of the "state functions. Therefore, some results of the actions can be expected soon, but those essential, more meaningful ones will take a longer time.

[Question] One of the more important critical comments on federal administration is the statement that this administration in the preceding period neglected some of its functions, such as, in the first place, the commitment to the pursuit of the established policy, viz. the respect of federal laws and other regulations.

[Answer] Precisely because of the respect for such criticism, the program of transformation foresees changes which would have an effect on such practice. Federal administration must indeed act energetically in order to ensure that the established policy should be implemented, and that all the federal laws and other regulations be respected; therefore it is logical that a number of measures and actions have been directed at this goal. All these measures and actions presuppose and lead to a setup of the federal administration that will contribute to its stability and to the enhancement of its responsibility for the situation in the area for which the given federal organization has been created, and especially for the effect of the measures which it has proclaimed, viz. proposed. That means that it must also bear the responsibility for the effects of accepted or proposed measures and activities. Changes in the working procedures of the federal administration and its reorientation depend to a considerable degree on the organization and operation of the FEC. For this reason the FEC has made study of its own operation and organization. Positions have been taken on a number of issues and they will enable FEC to function more efficiently, while increasing the responsibility of various departments for their own proposals. Appropriate measures have been taken in this sense: changes in the FEC standing orders, reduction of the number of working groups, selection of the material which the FEC has to study and about which it has to decide, strengthening of collective work and collective responsibility, etc. Some of the changes can be realized under the present circumstances, some have already been implemented, while some of them require new laws.

[Question] Does this mean that a different relationship will be established between the SFRY Assembly and the federal administration?

[Answer] It does. A greater responsibility of federal bodies implies the establishment of different relations between the SFRY Assembly and them. So far, the FEC has been assuming responsibility for proposals or for the measures that have been undertaken in all the areas of socioeconomic relations. At the same time, this has weakened the responsibility of the federal administration toward the Assembly. For this reason it is indispensable to change the present practice and to create relations that presuppose a greater openness of the federal administration not only toward the authorities in the republics and provinces but also toward associated labor and other self-management organizations and communities.

Let me finally emphasize that the system of socialist self-management can operate efficiently only if the pluralism of self-management interests is expressed, confronted and coordinated at all the levels of the social structure. In such a system, federal administration, in cooperation with administrative authorities in the republics and provinces, can and must

contribute to a more efficient observation of specific interests, and propose measures aimed at a faster establishment of common and general interests.

Precisely this makes the changes about which we have talked indispensable, because the federal administration, or administration in general, is not only not superfluous at this stage of self-management development, but is an important support of the process of the socialization of the functions of the state. Our Constitution and administrative laws have established the position of the federal administration; now it is necessary to make the appropriate efforts in order to secure all the conditions necessary for its successful functioning within the framework of its competence.

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