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22 April 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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REQUIREMENTS FOR STUDIES IN FOREIGN UNIVERSITIES

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 8 Mar 83 pp 243-246

[Ministry of Public Education Ordinance No 5 on Selecting and Assigning Bulgarian Students for Training in Foreign Higher Educational Institutions During the 1983/84 School Year]

[Text] Chapter One

General Stipulations

Article 1. The Ministry of Public Education (MNP) will assign young men and women with clearly expressed inclinations for the creative mastery of science, culture and art, who have actively participated in social life, to continue their education in foreign higher educational institutions (VUZs).

Article 2. The subjects in which the students will train abroad are determined by the MNP. They will be announced in the press and the respective higher educational institutions.

Article 3. As many as 50 percent of the vacancies for all subjects will go to candidate students with no less than 2 years of uninterrupted labor practice as workers in material production.

Article 4. Candidates for the German Democratic Republic (GDR) must show very high fluency in written and spoken German. They must take a test in the German language in our country given by a GDR commission.

Article 5. Individuals not older than 35 and, for correspondence studies, 40 years of age, may apply for regular studies abroad.

Article 6. Individuals guilty of antisocial actions or who have suffered from diseases considered contraindicated in Appendix No 3 of Ordinance No 4 on the acceptance of students in VUZs in the 1983/84 school year will not be allowed to study abroad.

Article 7. (1) Individuals who submit a support affidavit issued by Bulgarian or foreign citizens will not be allowed to study abroad.

(2) Studentship rights will not be recognized or higher education diplomas will not be legalized for Bulgarian citizens who enroll in foreign VUZs without MNP permission.

Article 8. The MNP alone has the right to approve students for studies in foreign countries. Other ministries and departments have no right to assign students to foreign VUZs.

Article 9. Before leaving for training abroad, the young men and women must sign a statement pledging to work for a period of 10 years in the Bulgarian People's Republic, as assigned, after completing their education.

Article 10. Students who have completed their higher education must submit their diplomas to the MNP for certification and removal from student records.

Article 11. (1) Bulgarian citizens married to foreign citizens are allowed to study abroad only if they are registered students in our country.

(2) Individuals as per paragraph 1 must submit to the MNP the documents stipulated in Article 22, paragraph 3; instead of a certificate to the effect that the parent is employed abroad, they must submit a civil marriage certificate.

(3) Individuals as per paragraph 1 must sign a statement to the effect that after completing their education they will work for a period of 10 years, as assigned, in the Bulgarian People's Republic. They have no right to receive foreign exchange maintenance funds or a scholarship from the MNP for the duration of their studies, regardless of their grades.

Article 12. (1) Bulgarian students will not be allowed to study the following subjects in capitalist and developing countries: law, philosophy, sociology, journalism, political economy, national economic planning, international relations, international economic relations, foreign trade, architecture and all subjects related to the arts.

(2) The studentship status of individuals who have enrolled in the subjects stipulated in the preceding paragraph will not be recognized and their higher education diplomas will not be certified.

## Chapter Two

### Procedure Governing the Selection of Students Attending Bulgarian Educational Institutions

Article 13. (1) Students who have completed their first year in Bulgarian higher educational institutions with an average grade of no less than very good (4.5) may apply for studies abroad.

(2) The applicants as per paragraph 1 have the right to apply for no more than one foreign country and no more than three subjects.

Article 14. Students desirous of continuing their education in foreign higher educational institutions in accepted subjects must submit the following documents to the rector of the higher educational institution within the term stipulated by the VUZ:



1. Petition listing specifically the country and the subjects for which they are applying;
2. Grade transcript in one copy;
3. Detailed autobiography;
4. Character reference issued by the school they have attended;
5. Recommendation issued by the political and public organizations of the school;
6. Health certificate with the conclusion that the individual can study the selected subjects in the respective country (two copies);
7. Two 4x6-centimeter photographs with the three names of the candidate written on the back, as entered in the identity card;
8. A declaration form on family status and the material condition of the family, with a certificate showing the gross income of the family over the 12 preceding months (DV, No 86, 1976);
9. A document attesting to priority rights as per Article 3, if applicable.

Article 15. (1) The students' documents will be considered by a commission appointed by the rector.

(2) The choice will be based on the grades of the first session and the sociopolitical activities of the applicant.

(3) In the case of two or more candidates for one opening in the field of the arts, the candidates will take a competitive examination on the subject, on the basis of a program drafted by the VUZ.

(4) Approved candidates for art studies will take a control examination also in the VUZ of the country in which they will study. Students who fail will return to the Bulgarian People's Republic and continue with their education in their former school.

Article 16. (1) Candidates for studies in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (CZSR) and the Polish People's Republic (PPR), approved by the commissions, will mandatorily attend language courses for the respective country and, with students approved for the GDR, for refreshing their knowledge in the language. The courses will be organized by the Kliment Okhridski Sofia University. A language test will be administered at the end of the course. Students who have failed will not be sent abroad for their studies.

(2) Students approved for continuing their education in the Hungarian People's Republic (HPP) and the Romanian Socialist Republic (RSP) will take a 1-year language training course in the respective country.

Article 17. (1) The VUZ rectors must issue an order approving the students who will continue their education abroad. The VUZ will make the order public and inform the students. Student approval orders will be sent to the MNP by no later than 15 July 1983.

(2) The VUZs will supply students approved for studies abroad all the necessary documents for obtaining a foreign travel passport and for traveling at reduced rates and will organize their traveling to the respective countries on stipulated dates.

### Chapter Three

Procedure for the Selection of Students Among Those Accepted for the 1981/82 School Year by a VUZ, Who Are Serving Their Regular Military Service and Are Subject to Discharge in 1983

Article 18. Young people who entered military service in 1981 and are subject to discharge in 1983 and have averaged a competition examination grade of no less than 22.5 (27 for the Kl. Okhridski Sofia University and the Medical Academy (MA)), who have been accepted by Bulgarian VUZs for the 1981/82 school year may apply for studies abroad.

Article 19. The applicants must submit the documents listed in Article 14 to the respective higher educational institutions by no later than 10 May 1983. Instead of a recommendation issued by the higher educational institution, they must submit a recommendation from the unit in which they serve.

Article 20. The candidates' documents will be considered by a VUZ commission.

Article 21. (1) The VUZs will rate the candidates according to their grades and will inform those accepted for studies abroad.

(2) Students accepted for Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Romania will take a 1-year language training course in the respective country.

### Chapter Four

Procedure on Allowing Bulgarian Young Men and Women, Whose Parents Are Employed Abroad, To Continue Their Education in the Higher Educational Institutions of the Respective Country

Article 22. (1) Regular students attending VUZs in the Bulgarian People's Republic may be allowed to continue their education in the country in which their parents are working under the following conditions:

1. To have completed successfully the first or second year with an average grade of no less than very good (4.5);
2. The parents of such students must remain at work in the respective country for no less than 2 more years;

3. The VUZs in the respective country must offer the same or similar subjects they have been studying in the Bulgarian People's Republic;
  4. To have completed or been released from military service (for young men).
- (2) Third- or more-year students are not allowed to transfer to foreign VUZs.
- (3) Candidates for studies abroad as per paragraph 1 must submit to the MNP the following documents no later than 15 June 1983:
1. Petition specifically listing the subjects and the country in which the education will be continued;
  2. Transcript of the secondary school diploma;
  3. Autobiography;
  4. Certificate issued by the VUZ on first- or second-grade courses. It must indicate the precise subjects which the individual has studied in the Bulgarian People's Republic;
  5. Certificate to the effect that one of the parents of the individual is employed abroad, with the date of his or her departure and the duration of the work;
  6. A 4x6-centimeter photograph;
  7. Health certificate issued by the student polyclinic specifically stipulating that the individual is allowed to study the stipulated subjects in the specific country;
  8. Reference issued by the Komsomol organization of the Bulgarian VUZ attended by the individual;
  9. Certificate issued by the military district to the effect that the young man has completed or is released from military service;
  10. Declaration (form) to the effect that after completing his higher education the student will work for a period of no less than 10 years in his field in the assigned sector.

Article 23. (1) A candidate student who will complete his secondary education in a Bulgarian secondary school in 1983 may be allowed to attend a VUZ in the country in which one of his parents is employed under the following conditions:

1. To have applied to a higher educational institution in the Bulgarian People's Republic in 1983 and to have been accepted and registered as a student in accordance with the stipulated procedure for the registration of students in the country. Students accepted for subjects for which the competition examination grade is based on five ratings must average no less than 22.5 points.

2. The parents of the student must be scheduled to work in the respective country no less than 2 more years;

3. The respective country must have VUZs offering the same or similar subjects for which the student was accepted in the Bulgarian People's Republic;

4. (1) To have completed or been released from military service (for young men).

(2) Candidate students who have graduated from Bulgarian high schools in Havana (Cuba) or Tripoli (Libya) must apply on the basis of the same regulations and be accepted as students in a Bulgarian VUZ as per Ordinance No 4 of the MNP with the following stipulations:

1. The competitive examinations may be taken in the respective Bulgarian VUZs or Bulgarian high schools in Havana or Tripoli;

2. The written tests of candidate students who have taken competitive examinations in Havana or Tripoli will be sent officially to a Bulgarian VUZ for review, rating and grading on the same basis as candidate students for the respective VUZs;

3. The MNP will send a special instruction to the embassies and VUZs on the organization and administration of candidate student examinations, reviewing of written tests, grading and student registration.

(3) Candidate students who have completed their secondary education in the USSR must have taken their candidate student examinations in the Soviet VUZ and accepted as students under USSR regulations governing enrollment in higher educational institutions. The candidate students must submit to the embassy of the Bulgarian People's Republic in Moscow a diploma showing completed secondary education and a certificate to the effect that their parents are employed and will continue to be employed for no less than 2 more years in the USSR. The embassy will assess the application and, if approved, will issue a document (assignment) in which it will indicate the city, VUZ and subject for which the candidate may apply.

(4) Candidate students who have completed their secondary education in countries other than the USSR and Bulgarian high schools abroad, must take a candidate student examination in the respective Bulgarian VUZs and be issued a permit by the MNP Higher Education Council to study abroad, providing that they have successfully passed their candidate student examinations with a competitive grade no less than 27 points for the Kliment Okhridski Sofia University and the Medical Academy, and 22.5 for the other VUZs.

(5) The candidates as per paragraph 4 will submit to the respective VUZ the documents stipulated in MNP Ordinance No 4, listing in their petition their subject and the country for which they are applying.

(6) The secondary school diplomas of candidates as per Article 4 must be translated and certified by the Bulgarian embassy in the respective country.

(7) Candidates as per paragraphs 1, 2 and 4 must add to the documents a certificate to the effect that one of the parents will be employed in the country for which the candidate is applying for no less than 2 more years.

(8) Candidate students as per paragraphs 2, 3 and 4, who are returning to the Bulgarian People's Republic following completion of their secondary education, for military service, termination of the parental work contract or other reasons, must apply in accordance with general procedures to a Bulgarian VUZ and may be accepted as students as per Ordinance No 4 of the MNP. Secondary school graduates in Bulgarian and Soviet secondary schools must add to their application documents their original diploma. Other candidate students must submit an original diploma translated and certified by the Bulgarian embassy in the respective country.

(9) Candidate students as per paragraphs 4-8, who are applying to study geology, may take an examination in biology instead of a competitive examination in Bulgarian geography; the resulting grade will be multiplied by 2 in determining the competitive rating.

(10) The noted rating grade of the diploma will be multiplied by 2 in determining the competitive rating of candidate students as per Articles 4-8, whose secondary education diplomas do not include a grade on one of the rate-forming subjects for the corresponding area of study, as per Appendix No 1 of MNP Ordinance No 4.

Article 24. Candidate students who have completed their secondary education in a developing or a capitalist country may apply on the basis of the following diplomas:

1. General Certificate of Education (Advanced Level), for completed secondary education in countries with a British educational system;
2. Baccalaureat de l'enseignement secondaire, for completed secondary education in countries using the French educational system;
3. Carta do curso complementar dos liceus, for secondary school graduates in countries using the Portuguese educational system (Angola, Mozambique, etc.).

Article 25. (1) Students enrolled in a foreign VUZ may continue their education in a Bulgarian VUZ under the following conditions:

1. To have successfully completed at least their first year;
2. For their parents to be returning permanently to the Bulgarian People's Republic or else whose return is scheduled before the end of the calendar year.

(2) The transfer as per paragraph 1 will be allowed by the rector of the respective VUZ; the students must have the following documents between 1 July and 15 September:

1. Petition;
2. Academic reference showing the examinations passed, their grade and hours (number of hours of lectures and exercises) for each subject;
3. A document certifying that the parent has returned permanently to the country or is about to return before the end of the calendar year;
4. Transcript of the letter or excerpt of the MNP order on the basis of which the student was allowed to continue his education abroad.

(3) No petitions for transfer from foreign to Bulgarian higher educational institutions will be considered after 1 October.

(4) The individual VUZs must inform the MNP on students transferring from abroad before 1 November.

(5) Students who have transferred from a foreign to a Bulgarian VUZ and whose secondary school diploma does not include a grade on Bulgarian language and literature, Bulgarian history and Bulgarian geography, must take equivalency tests on these subjects after registering and before the end of the school year. The preceding does not apply to graduates of Soviet secondary schools.

#### Chapter Five

#### Procedure Governing the Acceptance of Bulgarian Workers and Specialists in the USSR for Correspondence Study in Soviet Higher Educational Institutions

Article 26. (1) Bulgarian citizens--workers and specialists in the USSR--who have completed their secondary education in Bulgaria and the USSR may apply for correspondence training in Soviet higher educational institutions in the subjects stipulated by the MNP. They must prove no less than 6 months of labor practice in a construction or production enterprise by the date of submission of the documents.

(2) Applicants as per paragraph 1 must submit the following documents to the respective Bulgarian construction or production administration in the USSR with which the project is affiliated, by no later than 30 April:

1. Certified transcript of the diploma for completed secondary education;
2. A certificate issued by the management of the construction or production project, approved by the social and political organizations;
3. Labor practice certificate;
4. Rating card.

(3) Applicants as per paragraph 1 will be selected among the best production workers and approved by the respective managements of the construction or production projects in the USSR, with the participation of public and political organizations.

(4) Bulgarian construction or production administrations in the USSR must send to the Bulgarian Embassy in Moscow a list of the names and documents of approved candidate students by no later than 10 May.

Article 27. (1) Candidates for correspondence training must take competitive examinations on USSR territory between 1 and 20 June, based on the curriculae and questionnaires stipulated in the "Manual for Candidate Students."

(2) The examinations as per paragraph 1 will be organized and administered by the MNP with the help of the Bulgarian Embassy in Moscow. The candidates will take the respective competitive examinations for the various VUZs and subjects as per Appendix No 1 of MNP Ordinance No 4.

(3) The written tests of the applicants as per Article 26, paragraph 1, will be reviewed by commissions appointed by the MNP. The results will be announced before 15 August at the projects in which the applicants are employed.

(4) Candidate students as per Article 26, paragraph 1, will participate in the grading for approved plan openings with a minimal competitive rating of 20 (for five rating grades) and 24 (for six rating grades).

Article 28. Bulgarian workers and specialists in the USSR are allowed to apply only in accordance with the stipulations of Articles 26 and 27 and not on the basis of the procedure governing the enrollment of Soviet citizens in a USSR VUZ.

Article 29. Workers and specialists who have been students in Bulgarian VUZs and have retained their student rights may transfer to specific USSR VUZs only for subjects approved by the MNP for correspondence students. They must submit a petition to the MNP before 30 May, accompanied by certificate issued by the VUZ to the effect that they were students and have not lost their student rights, and permission issued by the management of the construction or production project in the USSR allowing their correspondence studies.

Article 30. At the expiration of their labor contract, correspondence students may continue their education only in the Bulgarian People's Republic. They must submit a petition to the MNP, an academic reference and a certificate of completed labor contract before 15 September.

#### Concluding Stipulations

1. Candidate students who have submitted documents containing false information, have tried to submit false information in filling their candidate student documents or have misled the acceptance commissions, the VUZ management or the MNP will be eliminated from participation in the competition. Their action will be reported to the prosecutor's office for criminal prosecution.

2. The present ordinance is issued on the basis of Article 24 of the Law on Higher Education.

3. Ordinance No 5 of the Ministry of Public Education on the Selection and Assignment of Bulgarian Students to Foreign Higher Educational Institutions is hereby deleted (published in DV, No 22, 1978; amended and supplemented, No 21, 1979, No 13, 1980, No 20, 1981, and Nos 23 and 27, 1982).

Minister: Al. Fol

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CSO: 2200/58



FRG JOURNAL SPECULATES ON STATUS OF TODOR ZHIVKOV

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 13 Dec 82 No 50, pp 119-121

[Text] Best Regards. The otherwise ever-present head of state and party Zhikov is less and less . . . visible-- was he only sick?

For almost 3 decades, Todor Zhivkov, 71, was the Greatest for the Bulgarians: He was the president of the state and, with 28 years in office as Communist Party boss, he was by far the most senior official in the entire East Bloc.

Not a day passed that radio, television, and the newspapers did not praise his name at least once; a political science researcher from a Cologne Eastern Affairs Institute has figured out that the party newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO in a single edition in the year 1970 mentioned his name as much as 217 times.

But the name Zhivkov--which until now in the East Bloc, in spite of all crises and unrest had stood for "unshakable loyalty to the great Soviet Union"--2 months ago quite abruptly disappeared from the headlines of the Bulgarian newspapers. The vital oldster since then is no longer being shown to the people on the television even on important political occasions--and this is a rather striking development.

There were hardly any specific references to the reasons for this crass opinion switch on the part of the media. The Balkan country of Bulgaria long ago learned to keep its party strategy strictly secret. Only one thing seems certain: Zhivkov, the one-man ruler, was no longer powerful enough to prevail without contradictions.

But this is precisely what this hick, son of a small farmer, until then had developed expert mastery on. The young communist managed to live through the monarchy in the political underground movement and persistently refused to go into exile in Moscow like Comintern Secretary-General and Moscow protegee Georgiy Dimitrov.

Thus, after the entry of the Red Army, the partisan leader almost automatically took over the role of forcing nationalist elements in Bulgaria into an alliance with the communists. The Stalinist did that job with cunning but even more

through terror in such a skillful manner that the successor to Communist Party boss Dimitrov who died in mysterious circumstances in the Soviet Union in 1954, could only bear the name Zhivkov.

Unlike any other East Bloc country, Bulgaria henceforth obeyed orders from Moscow. Not until the middle of the 1970's did Zhivkov try carefully to move on a Bulgarian road--always endeavoring not to get Moscow mad at him. The Communist Party boss issued an appeal for a return to the country's own history and ordered an economic reform that restricted the influence of central headquarters in favor of the enterprises.

The symbol for this odd kind of national communism of all people was Zhivkov's own daughter Lyudmila; thanks to her father's efforts, she was elected to the Central Committee in 1976 and 3 years later to the Politburo.

This self-confident woman, always wearing the latest Paris fashions, as the daughter of a Communist Party boss studied several years at Oxford--something which is unique in the East Bloc--and she wrote her dissertation on British-Turkish relations prior to World War II.

As a top-level official she now increasingly played the role of a moving force in Bulgarian art and intellectual history also doing congresses and exhibits in the West--most impressively doing the show of the gold treasure of the Thracians who, according to the way Sofia interprets history, are the original ancestors of the Bulgarians.

This cautious historical separation of Bulgaria from the Russian brother nation by Lyudmila was certainly not something that the Kremlin had in mind. But several attempts to neutralize the Zhivkov clan with the help of pro-Moscow orthodox personalities in the Bulgarian Communist Party failed. On the contrary, Zhivkov, with his peasant cunning, managed--helped along by the modest successes of his economic reform--to build himself as a comparatively liberal father figure who displaced the image of the Stalinist among the people.

Not until the middle of June 1981 did the Communist Party leader's career suffer a setback when the Kremlin leadership was able to make sure that Stanko Todorov, Zhivkov's supporter, would be stripped of his power as premier and would be replaced by the orthodox comrade Grisha Filipov.

Filipov, today 63, an economic expert, has always been considered Zhivkov's strongest rival and is pushing an alternate program: The official, who was born in the Ukraine and who grew up in the Soviet Union until 1936, later on also studying in Moscow, several times in the past demanded that Bulgaria formally be integrated into the USSR.

Just 5 weeks after the rise of this pro-Moscow operator, called "the Russian" by the people, Lyudmila Zhivkova, who was only 38 years old, died suddenly and in circumstances that have not been cleared up to this very date.

According to official announcements, she died of a brain hemorrhage, caused by overwork. But the Bulgarians tell each other the story to the effect that the Soviet intelligence service, the KGB [State Security Committee] was involved in her sudden death.

Early in August, Zhivkov, her father, went on vacation to the Crimea and there he met with Soviet Communist Party boss Brezhnev. But 2 days later he was back in Sofia. Aides in the Zhivkov fraction claim that there was a bitter dispute between Brezhnev and the Bulgarian regarding the investigation of Lyudmila's death.

Zhivkov struck back in March 1982. As part of a big purge in the Bulgarian CP, two top-level comrades, who were considered KGB contact men in Bulgaria, were ousted.

One of them, Zhivko Popov, a former deputy foreign minister and responsible for the actions of the Bulgarian intelligence service in Western Europe as ambassador in Prague, was even sentenced to 20 years in prison for "criminal mismanagement."

The other one, Col Gen Mirko Spasov, a former deputy interior minister and the link to the Soviet KGB in his capacity as head of the Central Committee department for cadre affairs, had to resign from his post but he was not put on trial. He is a friend of the then KGB boss and present-day Soviet party boss Andropov.

Party boss Zhivkov was shown in the usual manner by the Bulgarian mass media for the last time during the official state reception for Romanian head of state and party boss Ceausescu on 14 October and he appeared in public 5 days later during the reception for GDR premier Willi Stoph.

Then everything became strangely quiet around him. The politically highly important celebrations on the 65th anniversary of the October Revolution early in November in Sofia took place without him, as did the state reception for a delegation from Tanzania and, early in December, the unveiling of a Brezhnev monument in Sofia.

Only the outside world learned that Zhivkov attended the burial of the late Brezhnev in Moscow and that he congratulated the latter's successor Andropov in a telegram.

Inquiries by Western correspondents regarding Zhivkov's whereabouts at the government agency SOFIAPRESS were answered by party officials to the effect that the party boss was sick and was recovering in the Soviet Union.

But at the same time, Austrian Ministerial Counsellor Otto Simmler--who had come to Sofia to sign an insignificant cooperation treaty--to his great surprise was taken by car to the residence of the party boss on Oborishte Street in Sofia where an obviously healthy Zhivkov received him. Here is the reason for this unusual private audience: Simmler was to transmit best regards to Austrian Federal Chancellor Kreisky.

A newspaper report, to the effect that Zhivkov, who had disappeared from public notice, delivered the concluding address for the discussion on the new labor code at the Central Committee meeting on 30 November, turned out to be unconfirmable. The speech, broadcast on radio, was simply read by an announcer-- something which had not been customary until now.

Only last Tuesday did the much-wanted personality again show up in public. In a speech to students, also broadcast via radio, a Zhivkov, who did not look at all sick, said verbatim:

"There have been many stories regarding my health. Some viruses have tried to force me out of the ranks. But we on the Balkans can handle all possible viruses. I did indeed have to reduce my schedule to some extent and that was forced upon me not only by the party but also by my alert doctors."

Zhivkov did not mention the Soviet Union in this speech with a single word. That was done by Stefan Tabakov, head of the Bulgarian Social Democrats in exile. "This is Andropov's handwriting. When ailing Brezhnev let the reins slip from his hands in Moscow, the days of his protegee Zhivkov were also numbered."

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CSO: 8120/0872

BRIEFS

NICARAGUAN UNIONISTS RECEIVE TRAINING--On 7 April URO (Central Council of Trade Unions) Secretary Viliam Kozik attended the commencement of a 6-week course for 21 unionists from Nicaragua, held at the ROH (Revolutionary Trade Union Movement) Antonin Zapotocky school in Neratovice. The course came out as a result of an agreement between URO and the Sandinist Workers' Center. In his speech Secretary Kozik voiced his belief in a just victory of revolutionary forces in Latin America. During their stay in Czechoslovakia, the Nicaraguan unionists will spend a week in Slovakia, visit several industrial and agricultural enterprises and celebrate the May Day festivities in Prague. [Prague PRACE in Czech 9 Apr 83 p 3]

CSO: 2400/228

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

STOPH URGES STEPPED-UP CIVIL DEFENSE EFFORT

East Berlin SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN in German Vol 3 No 1, Jan 83 pp 1-3

[Lead article by Willi Stoph, member, SED Central Committee Politburo; chairman, GDR Council of Ministers: "GDR Civil Defense--More Than Ever a Cause for Our Entire Nation"]

[Text] On 11 February 1983, the working people are celebrating the 25th anniversary of our civil defense. This jubilee vividly attests to how, under SED leadership, civil defense is purposefully being developed in our republic and has been combined with protecting our population and economy from disasters and aggressive military acts by imperialism. Mainly thanks to the initiative of the working class party, the civil defense concerns have become the genuine business of broadest circles of the population, expressed by the growing participation of the parties and mass organizations united in the National Front. We have therefore every good reason to affirm that civil defense has become a solid component of public life in the GDR. It manages better and better reliably fulfilling the tasks assigned for the protection of the working people's socialist accomplishments.

The 25th anniversary of our civil defense is a welcome occasion for paying tribute to the significant achievements by its members, civilian employees and hundreds of thousands of voluntary associates in the protection of the population and the economy. With high dedication, and often by setting aside their own personal interests, they are exercising the civic right vested in our socialist constitution and are fulfilling the obligation to take an active part in the protection of peace and of our socialist fatherland. Our socialist society pays high respect and recognition to such efforts that are attesting to genuine humanism and socialist patriotism.

Civil Defense More Necessary Than Ever

In our days, all measures aimed at the safeguarding of peace and of the socialist accomplishments of the working people are still gaining more importance. No one can close his eyes to the fact that the international situation has noticeably been exacerbated. The most aggressive imperialist circles, above all in the United States and NATO, are engaged in a policy of confrontation and arms-buildup. To make their designs of world domination prevail, they want to alter for their own advantage the existing approximate military balance between socialism and imperialism, end the detente period in

Europe, and gain in the arms race the military superiority over the states in the socialist community. By their doctrine that nuclear war can be conducted and won, the Pentagon strategists are pushing mankind to the brink of a nuclear inferno. World peace has not been as severely threatened since the end of World War II as it is now, as Comrade Erich Honecker stated at the third SED Central Committee session. At the same time, however, resistance against the mad designs of the warmongers is growing on all continents. Through a mighty peace movement which is becoming stronger from day to day the nations are demanding an immediate end of the arms race. They can rely on the constructive proposals from the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community, which have pointed to realistic ways of disarmament with guarantees for the principle of equality and equal security. Especially strong has been the response to the solemn obligation assumed by the Soviet Union to renounce a first use of nuclear weapons.

However, as communists we are always realists and know peace is no present that falls into our lap by itself. As long as there still is imperialism in the world, which is aggressive in essence and keeps unleashing wars to enforce its power and profit interests, the socialist states must take the appropriate measures for protecting their national borders, territories, and the peaceful life of their citizens from any assaults. For that reason we let ourselves be guided by Lenin's principle that the struggle for peace and the protection of the socialist fatherland inextricably belong together.

Under SED leadership and through its lucid military policy, a modern socialist national defense system has been created. Its core is the NVA which, in solid class and arms alliance with the glorious Soviet Army and the other fraternal Warsaw Pact armies, is guarding the peace on the western frontier of the socialist community of states. Together with the NVA and the protective and security organs, the civil defense forces are fulfilling their patriotic duty in honors. They are fulfilling the task assigned to them by the defense law to protect the population, the economy, vital institutions and cultural values from the consequences of imperialist aggressive acts, especially from the effects of means of mass destruction, and to organize all necessary measures to prevent catastrophes and do away with their consequences.

#### We Have Made Good Headway

Reviewing, on the occasion of the 25th civil defense anniversary, the stretch of the road behind us, we find it to have been a sector of successful development, a portion of what the working people led by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, have accomplished in a quarter of a century.

While at the beginning of that period we still had to fight for the recognition of the GDR, today our republic is a state respected all over the world with a seat and a voice in many international organizations, making a contribution to solving the problems that affect mankind. Then we still had to lay the foundations of socialism and rebuild the economy, heavily destroyed by Hitler's criminal war, under the hardest conditions, but today we are shaping a developed socialist society with a modern industry and agriculture and a high-level cultural and educational system.

Especially the unity of economic and social policy, pursued by the main task since the Eighth SED Congress, has released great creative potentials among the working people, expressed in the working people initiatives for implementing the economic strategy for the 1980's.

In the quarter of a century behind us, our workers and farmers state also has developed further significantly, socialist democracy was expanded, and the working people's state of consciousness rose to a higher level. That is expressed by the citizens' close ties with their socialist state and by their willingness to take an energetic part in shaping public life in the villages, towns and residential areas and in solving overall social problems.

Embedded in this great social development process, civil defense has made great headway. After the People's Chamber on 11 February 1958 issued the air defense law, we had to start anew in this field. At that time we neither had trained cadres nor the equipment, techniques and experiences needed for the protection of the population and the economy. But the main thing that was needed was explaining the need and purpose of protective measures to the working people and arousing their readiness for it. Understanding the political necessity and with dedication to this new task, full-time and part-time associates started organizing the first measures for the protection of the population and of production plants.

With the new tasks in socialist national defense resulting from the shaping of the developed socialist society and the changes in the international situation, there also arose the need for a modern civil defense. The legal basis for that was laid in 1970.

What mattered now was to implement the development of civil defense as an official overall task and combine the measures needed for it more closely still with national defense.

Purposeful political work and the providing of basic knowledge about civil defense attracted more and more citizens to it and gave them what they needed. For the protection of the population and the economy, a well functioning warning system and important preparations for medical protection and for protecting production and vital living conditions were created.

Today our civil defense has command organs, volunteer formations and facilities that have the equipment that is needed together with the training in rescue, salvage and urgent repair work.

They have stood many fitness tests in recent years in breakdowns and heavy traffic accidents and in coping with the effects of disasters caused by floods, storms, ice and snow.

The realization has become more widespread among broad population circles that a well-timed, expert and comprehensive preparation for averting threatening dangers is the best protection of life and health. The SED's political-ideological work and the models set by party members are an important contribution to it. The friendly parties also, the mass organizations and the



National Front are more and more dealing with civil defense concerns. Their cooperation with official and economic management organs is becoming increasingly closer and more effective. Through our mass media we pay tribute to the accomplishments of our full-time and part-time associates and draw generalizations from the best experiences.

#### Set for Solving All Tasks

We have all it takes for civil defense to solve the responsible tasks assigned to it in the 1980's. That mainly includes ensuring the kind of highly effective and stable system of protective measures that are indispensable for countering possible imperialist aggressive acts. The further development of our economy, i.e. consolidating the economic capacity of our republic, and the protection of what the people have created are the two different sides of one-and-the-same coin.

#### Civil Defense Must Be a Regular Component of Management Activity

Our experiences tell us that we are making good headway wherever the managers themselves take the lead. For that reason we expect of all state executives, of the ministers, the general directors of combines and the enterprise managers, all the way to the mayors and the chairmen of cooperatives, that they turn the protection measures for the working people and production, against the effects of enemy weapons, disasters and heavy breakdown, into a solid component of their management activity. That includes conscientiously preparing and conducting training measures and exercises that are indispensable for maintaining high operational readiness. In this, the associates in state organs and in the economy, the pupils, apprentices and students and all other citizens, also those in the residential areas, must be equipped with abilities and skills that make possible responsible and disciplined conduct as well as effective measures in self-aid and mutual aid. Personal problems of the many volunteer associates who conscientiously fulfil their tasks with great dedication deserve constant attention.

Relying on what we have achieved thus far, we must now deepen the citizens' understanding of civil defense requirements, persuasively explain to them the need and possibility of protection from means of mass destruction, and elevate their readiness to take part in it.

By creating the necessary conditions, we must purposefully promote the great readiness of women to be actively involved in this important field of national defense. In particular, we still have to recruit and enable more women and girls for leadership functions.

#### Purposeful Political Work As the Basis for Further Successes

As in any other field of our work, in civil defense also, new successes require purposeful political-ideological work. After all, nothing could be more highly justified than protecting the inestimable material and ideal values of our republic, above all the life of the people, their modern enterprises, apartments and cultural goods, from any threat. That also

fully conforms with the standards of international law. It should thus not be too hard for us to demolish the lies of our class enemies that seek to malign our protective measures as a "militarization." Let us recall that especially in those states where the most aggressive imperialist circles predominate in politics, to cover up the facts, they all too gladly talk about the necessary protection of the civilian population. The truth is, however, that the imperialist aggressors only adapt themselves to what they would have to expect in case they attacked the socialist states. The resolute peace policy of our workers and farmers state and the citizens' readiness to protect against any enemy what they have produced by their own labor make us regard the future with optimism. We gladly use the occasion of the 25th civil defense anniversary to thank all citizens most cordially who in full-time and part-time functions are working for the solution of the tasks assigned to them with their great dedication. We are sure they will justify the trust placed in them in the future also, and we wish them much success in their work ahead.

5885

CSO: 2300/185

## VIEWS ON 'DOUBLE CONQUEST' THEORY PRESENTED

## Two Truths

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian 11 Mar 83 p 5

[Text] The layman enjoys reading scientific debates and feels he has an important role: although neither side regards him as umpire, both sides unquestionably want to persuade him that they are right. Although the layman enjoys the situation, he is also embarrassed because he is increasingly unable to meaningfully follow the arguments in the debate, whether the subject is physics, biology or history.

In the No 1 issue of HISTORIA, I am reading the dispute between Gyula Kristo and Gyula Laszlo regarding the double conquest that Gyula Laszlo advanced a good many years ago, strictly as a hypothesis, with the understanding that very much research would be needed to prove or disprove it. Well, since then the arguments have been accumulating, both for and against. The debate centers on the question of whom did Arpad's Hungarians find here when they arrived in the Carpathian Basin in the year 896. According to Gyula Laszlo, the possibility is not excluded that they might have found also Hungarians here who had settled in this region already around 670. Gyula Kristo's article is fully convincing that no serious proof exists of the double conquest theory. He lists facts, arguments and data, and the definiteness of his interpretation of the sources dispels in me any hesitation that perhaps the theory might be true after all. In my mind I sadly place this appealing theory to rest. But then I read the nice and elegant counterarguments of Gyula Laszlo and again start to lean toward the double conquest. I am hopeful, but mainly confused. Each one's arguments seem completely convincing to me. Instead of a double conquest, am I confronted here with two truths? Both of them cannot possibly be right. I have to choose. Logic is of no help. Nor are the facts, because the layman cannot know which facts are true and which ones are not. Everything hinges on which source I regard as authentic, and which one not. And this is no longer science, but art or perhaps even magic.

In the end the layman nevertheless decides, making a mockery of the scientific considerations. He decides to continue to root for Gyula Laszlo. Why? Because he finds that Gyula Kristo is too decisive and rigid. Gyula Laszlo's speculative uncertainty is more appealing. In other words, if the layman does not understand the facts, he decides on the basis of style. Furthermore, facts or no facts, one believes what one prefers to believe. The double conquest is more interesting than the single one. In other words, it would be more exciting if it were proved true.

Budapest HISTORIA in Hungarian No 1, 1983 pp 26-27

[Text] The readers of HISTORIA were able to acquaint themselves the most recently in the No 1, 1982 issue of this journal with Gyula Laszlo's arguments intended to support the "double conquest" theory. It will be remembered that these arguments were to prove that already before the Hungarian conquest at the end of the 9th century (under Arpad), around the year 670, there was a previous conquest in the Carpathian Basin; in other words, that the Hungarian conquerors around 895 found also Hungarians here. It is indisputable that around 670 an ethnically new population appeared in the Middle Danube Basin, which by then had been known as Avaria for roughly 100 years. But practically the only way of proving that this population, which arrived here around 670, was Hungarian is to prove that its language was Hungarian (Finno-Ugrian). Most of Gyula Laszlo's arguments, however, are unsuitable for identifying an ethnic group.

First of all his archeological and anthropological arguments fall in this category. The "dual conquest" theory is basically an outgrowth of archeological knowledge, of the fact that the main clusters (by districts and regions) of the Avarian and Hungarian find spots (graves) practically complement each other. On this basis it would seem that masses of Avars lived to see the Hungarian conquest at the end of the 9th century. Leaving aside for the time being the fact that many Hungarian archeologists have not accepted this conclusion and have even refuted it, here it will suffice to point out that in themselves the relative locations of the Avarian and Hungarian burial grounds (occupation sites?) are meaningless from the viewpoint of what was the language of the population that left behind the Avarian (late Avarian) remains. Therefore this archeological observation--of highly questionable validity--cannot serve alone as the basis of the "dual conquest" theory, only in confrontation with the linguistic aspect. For according to Gyula Laszlo, "the late Avarian burial sites and the burial sites of the 895-896 conquest, complementing each other, reveal to us the boundary line of the Hungarian language in the 11th century"! But when Gyula Laszlo writes this, he is comparing things that are at least two centuries apart; the Kniezsa map that shows the ethnic conditions existing--with strong reservations--at the end of the 11th century (a variant of this map can be found in HISTORIA, No 1, 1982, p 3) is unsuitable to serve as peremptory proof for the ethnic classification of the remains in the late Avarian graves. It is unsuitable because the Hungarians, occupying the Transdanubian Region since the beginning of the 10th century, would have been able to introduce within two centuries the Hungarian place names on the Kniezsa map depicting the conditions at the end of the 11th century. According to Gyula Laszlo, the southern, eastern and western parts of the Transdanubian Region are full of late Avarian burial sites, while the burial sites of Arpad's Hungarians are absent. And since the Kniezsa map classifies the principal population of this region as Hungarians, Gyula Laszlo concludes that its almost pure Hungarian place-names originated from the late Avars, i.e., from the Hungarians of the first conquest. There is no consideration whatsoever, let alone compelling reason, to warrant the conclusion that the Hungarian place names in the Transdanubian Region should or could be attributed to a Hungarian population that arrived here ahead of Arpad's Hungarians. What Gyula Laszlo fails to take into account is that Arpad's Hungarians were not buried solely in graves with their horses, swords and decorated belts (rich furniture in any event); the Hungarians of the 895 conquest shared, although not exclusively, also the mode of burial with closely spaced graves arranged in

rows, containing little furniture (traditionally classified as Bjelo Brdo culture). This basically alters the pattern of the history of settlements in the Transdanubian Region, and the presence of Arpad's Hungarians in this region from the beginning of the 10th century can be proven also archeologically, and this easily explains the Hungarian place-names at the end of the 11th century.

Gyula Laszlo included also other sciences in his investigations, to use their theories in support. He himself writes: having reached the conclusion, on the basis of the above arguments, that there already had been a Hungarian conquest before Arpad, he was startled by this possibility and turned to "objective" sciences "whose measurements cannot be influenced by emotional factors." This turn was hardly a fortunate one, because in ethnic and linguistic questions anthropology is at least as "mute" and incapable of testimony as archeology. Gyula Laszlo found support for his theory in Pal Liptak, according to whom "the population of the Avarian age renewed itself in the Hungarian people of the Middle Ages." In any event, already the fact advises caution that present anthropological research treats the Avarian age as a single unit, whereas only its second, post-670, stage could come into consideration from the viewpoint of the "dual conquest" theory. And Gyula Laszlo himself notes that "not everyone has accepted Liptak's assumption." Kinga Ery's definite standpoint is that "the absence of close similarity" is typical between the Avarian series and Arpad-period series she investigated, more so in the case of females than of males. Thus anthropological data hardly support the "dual conquest" theory.

Gyula Laszlo uses as arguments also conclusions drawn from historical sources. He establishes that "the teaching regarding 'the second arrival of the Hungarians' is of course included in the Hungarian chronicle." Reference to the Hungarians' second arrival can indeed be found in our chronicles. But this is related more to the fact that the chronicles, on the basis of the doctrine that the Huns and the Hungarians were identical, regard as the Hungarians' first arrival the penetration of the Carpathian Basin by the Huns. Considering also that the elaboration of this doctrine in Hungary is associated with the name of Simon Kezai in the early 1280's, there is no reason to believe that also the earlier chronicles reported two conquests. The peremptory witness on this issue is Anonymus, who lived before Kezai. He devoted an entire adventurous tale to the Hungarian conquest, yet he gives no indication that he knew of two Hungarian conquests (or of a "dual conquest").

As proof of his "dual conquest" theory, Gyula Laszlo attributes great importance to two dates in the chronicles in conjunction with the Hun and Hungarian conquest: 700 in Simon Kezai's chronicle, and 677 in the Illustrated Chronicle. At first glance these dates seem surprisingly close to the time of the first Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian Basin, estimated to have occurred around 670. But Laszlo Gyula fails to mention that these two dates in two different chronicles do not refer to the same event. Kezai gives 700 as the date when the Huns, having increased and multiplied in Scythia, elected their captain; in other words, it refers to an event that took place before Attila. It will be remembered that Attila actually ruled in 434-453. Thus the 700 date is completely disorienting. (Kezai gives 872 as the date of the actual Hungarian conquest, i.e., of the second conquest.) The two different recorded legends of the Hungarian chronicle give the date of the election of a captain by the Huns as 328 and 373 respectively, which is more realistic than Kezai's date of 700. In the version of the Illustrated Chronicle, 677 is not the date of the first

"Hungarian" (i.e., Hun) conquest, to which Gyula Laszlo strived to establish a connection, but the date of the exodus of the Hungarians proper from Scythia. Fortunately, this chronicle variant circumscribes the 677 date in several ways. On the one hand, it interprets this date as the 104th year after Attila's death. A few lines earlier, the chronicle gave 445 as the year of Attila's death, which is close to the actual date of his death (453); but if we add 104 to it, we are still very far from 677. On the other hand, the chronicle interprets the event placed in 677 as having occurred in the time of Emperor Constantine III and of Pope Zachary. Constantine III reigned in 641, and Pope Zachary occupied Saint Peter's throne in 741-752. Thus it is hardly permissible to base on these data such an important theory as the one concerning the "dual conquest."

Gyula Laszlo attempts to interpret in support of his "dual conquest" theory the data on white and black Ugrians (Hungarians) in the Hungarian, Western and Russian chronicles. The issue of white and black Hungarians is unquestionably one of the great puzzles of our history, and this circle of problems still remains unsolved. But it could hardly be solved in the manner that Gyula Laszlo proposes (within the framework of his "dual conquest" theory). A fundamental problem stems from the fact--which Gyula Laszlo fails to mention--that the white and black Hungarians that can be unraveled from Hungarian and Western sources are contemporary (simultaneous) concepts, ethnic names applicable to the 11th century. However, the ancient Russian chronicle mentions white Ugrians in the time of Emperor Heraclius (610-641), and black Ugrians in the time of Prince Oleg (879-912); in other words, these are successive ethnonyms, one used in the 7th century, and the other in the 9th and 10th century.

From the viewpoint of his theory, Gyula Laszlo attributes importance to two more sources. One is a diploma issued to Lajos Nemet in 860. It mentions a mountain, called *marcha uuangariorum*, on the western edge of the Transdanubian Region. The *uuangar* name unquestionably conceals the *On-Ogur* ethnonym, the name of the *On-Ogur* people, from which the foreign-language names of the Hungarians--*Ungar*, *Venger*, etc.--stem. From the viewpoint of the essence of the "dual conquest" theory--of a Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian Basin before 895--this datum is meaningless, because it gives no indication of what language the *On-Ogurs* of the 860 datum spoke. But since we know that the Danubian Bulgarians, a people also known as *On-Ogurs*, definitely did not speak a Finno-Ugrian language, in the absence of other evidence it may not be assumed that the *On-Ogurs* of 860 did. Especially not when none of the other place-names mentioned in Lajos Nemet's 860 diploma, in the vicinity of *marcha uuangariorum*, (and none of the two or three dozen pre-895 place-names specifically in the southern, eastern and western parts of the Transdanubian Region) can be suspected of being Finno-Ugrian in their origin. And where else would we expect to find pre-895 Finno-Ugrian place-names in the Carpathian Basin, if not in the area where there are many late Avarian graves, which Gyula Laszlo classifies as Hungarian?!

Even less auspicious from the viewpoint of theory is another item to which Gyula Laszlo attributes special importance. We have in mind the 16th-century chronicle that is written in Turkish but can be traced to Hungarian sources; it is familiar to us in Jozsef Blaskovics's translation. From this chronicle Laszlo Gyula repeatedly quotes the phrase that the conquerors, at the time of occupying the country, found here a people speaking their own language. However, the wider context reveals that this is a misunderstanding. Admittedly, the chronicle does mention that Hunor's people moved to Pannonia, and that "the country has much fruit and abundant yields and (the local people) speak their language."

However, this event is related not to the Hungarian conquest, but to Hunor, a figure of legend. And concerning the peremptory factor, language, the Turkish chronicle cannot be called a reliable source, but it clearly states that Hunor's people were Tatars.

Seeking proof of the "dual conquest" in an ever-wider circle, Gyula Laszlo sees proof wherever duality exists or can be assumed. Thus he includes among the arguments in support of his theory also Hunor and Magor, the twins from the legend of the Hungarians' origin, forgetting that twins--without any "dual conquest" assumption--are common in the various regions of Eurasia, ranging from Romulus and Remus of Rome to Utugur and Kutrigur of the steppes. He includes in this manner the duality of the Finno-Ugrian character of our spoken language, and of the Turkish character of our musical mother tongue; also the existence of two dialects that are discernible in linguistic records from Arpad's time; and he suspects in this manner that also settlement on occupation sites of two different types (sand and clay) can be explained by the "dual conquest," again disregarding the fact that for the explanation of all this there exist other theories that have nothing to do with the "dual conquest" and are much better substantiated, but space does not allow that we dwell on them here.

From whatever direction we approach the "dual conquest" theory, the results are the same: this theory lacks convincing arguments, and the evidence in its support consists of filling the gaps in our knowledge for a single objective, and of statements that border on the arbitrary. That this theory still stands, in spite of its weak foundation, is the personal merit of Gyula Laszlo, a scientist of great stature and exceptional ability.

#### Laszlo vs Kristo

Budapest HISTORIA in Hungarian No 1, 1983 pp 27-28

[Text] Gyula Kristo of Szeged is a respected author on contemporary history. All his writings command attention. I too have read with great interest his criticism of my "dual conquest" hypothesis. It was edifying to see how the same facts can be interpreted differently, in the conditioned manner. As evident from my following comments, I am unable to agree with him on many things.

But first of all it is gratifying to note that Kristo (just as, more recently, Gyorgy Gyorffy) already regards as "indisputable" and natural my archeological inference that around 670 a large new ethnic group appeared in the Carpathian Basin, and that this ethnic group was On-Ogur. But thereby he has willy-nilly accepted the starting point of my dual conquest hypothesis!

Gyula Kristo does not dispute this. What he disputes is that this ethnic group spoke predominantly Hungarian.

It can be demonstrated archeologically and anthropologically that a large griffin-and-tendril ethnic group, the On-Ogurs, lived to see Arpad's conquest and the founding of the kingdom, because in their later graves there appeared the temple rings that could not have originated earlier than the middle of the 10th century! Knowing this, I would like to raise a question, one that I have not formulated so far in this form, although it is clear and simple. The question is as follows: Is there any trace--and there should be!--in our early place-names, of the assimilation of a large ethnic group? There is none,

because our early place-names are predominantly Hungarian, Slavic along the edges and occasionally in other places, with also Turkish remains in some areas. Consequently, the remains of the large ethnic group that was here when Arpad arrived and assimilated with Arpad's Hungarians must be sought in the Hungarian place-names, hence the villages had been named by Hungarians. With this I actually could end our friendly debate, but let us continue the presentation of counterarguments.

Gyula Kristo had denied already earlier that we could have reliable information regarding our 10th-century place-names, because they could not have survived for 200 years (the start of our documentary practice). But these place-names exist even today, 800 years later! Therefore I do not feel that Kristo's objection is justified.

My critic refuses to accept also that the burial grounds of the large griffin-and-tendril ethnic group stand alone over large areas, that Arpad's people did not spread over them, because he believes that the common Hungarian burial grounds are representative of Arpad's Hungarians. Aside from the fact that these temple-ring burial grounds occur only here and there in areas densely populated by the griffin-and-tendril ethnic group, this idea causes chronological confusion because these burial grounds rarely can be dated earlier than the middle of the 10th century! And it is likewise a big question to what extent they may be regarded as Hungarian without exception.

Anthropological data must indeed be treated with caution. But let me call my eminent critic's attention to the fact that specifically Kinga Ery distinguished three larger characteristic groups among Arpad's Hungarians, and in the population of the Avarian period--according to historical and archeological sources--we must count at least eight or ten different ethnic groups. Hence there is no such rule that the Avarians had these characteristics, and the Hungarians had those characteristics. In this respect I too have to refine my assumption.

Kezai and the Illustrated Chronicle give the date of the conquest as 700 and 677 respectively. The investigation of this question truly awaits textual criticism. But let me quote here a Szekely saying: "The wind will not start if it does not blow."

The question of white and black Ugrians likewise requires textual criticism (Janos Horvath has partially completed it!). But it is certain that both were present in the Carpathian Basin. And it is also certain that the ancient Russian chronicle places one ethnic group in the Avarian period, and the other in Oleg's (also Arpad's) time. Why are the contemporary sources not to be believed? After all, in conjunction with "marcha uuangariorum" also Gyula Kristo reinforces my hypothesis (although he does not quote me) that the On-Ogurs (as the entire world calls us, but not because we lived together in the Caucasus!) flooded the Carpathian Basin in 670. It is true that in the 860 diploma of Lajos Nemet and in its companion diplomas there are no Finno-Ugrian place names. But there are also no other place-names, only Bavarian ones. But subsequently the Bavarian colonists disappeared from the Transdanubian Region, and their village names disappeared with them.

We are unable to go through all of Gyula Kristo's objections, much as we would like to (for example in conjunction with the Hunor-Magor legends, or the data



of the Tarih i Ungurusz), but I would be exceeding the acceptable length of a reply to criticism.

In conclusion I wish to say only that although Gyula Kristo regards my hypothesis as a mass of "marginal phenomena," "statements that border on the arbitrary" and "distortions," I continue to profess that the arguments in support of the dual conquest are becoming increasingly stronger. I myself will continue to read his writings and objections with attention and sincere friendly expectation.

1014

CSO: 2500/174

LIMITS OF FREE SPEECH DISCUSSED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 10 March 83 p 5

[Interview with Karoly Toro, Supreme Court Justice, by Andras Deak: "Opinions About Opinions"; date and place not specified; passages enclosed in slant lines are printed in italics]

[Text] More than one of the workers at the hospital named after Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky brushed aside the radio microphone saying--/We may not make a statement without authorization!/ This episode is almost a parody, since the reporter was merely interested in /what they know about the namegiver of the institution/. However, /a real phenomenon/ is concealed behind this extreme example: one increasingly finds that the directors of enterprises, cooperatives and sport associations /outrightly forbid/ their subordinates and workers to speak out in public. According to information from other sources, /the football players of Ferencvaros and the MTK-VM/ are presently also under this prohibition.

Since it is common knowledge that freedom of speech is one of our /constitutional rights/, the question is inevitably raised: Could this sort of prohibition be acceptable to lawyers? We asked Dr Karoly Toro, Justice of the Supreme Court and one of the most outstanding domestic legal experts on the protection of civil rights.

Criticism and Its Function

Dr Karoly Toro informs us--Freedom of speech and freedom of the press is assured not only by the constitution of the Hungarian Peoples Republic but also by international agreements signed by us. According to the regulations, freedom of expression /could only be subjected to those restrictions determined by law which are necessary for public security, order, public health, and in the interests of safeguarding morality or the fundamental rights of others./ According to the Civil Code, /everyone is obliged to respect/ the rights of the individual. However, it is natural that freedom of speech may only occur on /the basis of genuine facts/; it may not harm state interests nor may it injure the character or reputation of another individual.

[Question] The right of free expression inevitably also includes the possibility of criticism...

[Answer] This is correct, but /the criticism must always be well-founded and, if

possible, constructive./ Malicious intrigues may incur legal accountability. Let us look at an example. It is precisely the function of a critic to evaluate the art and theatrical achievement of another, and naturally, his opinion /may be negative, as well as positive./ In the experience of the Supreme Court, the /well-founded/ criticism may not be considered legally infringing even if it is otherwise /actually injurious/ to the individual--assuming, of course, that the criticism is /in accordance with its social function/. However, a criticism which is disproportionately excessive, unjustifiably offensive, disparaging and degrading, or which relies on unfounded assertions of fact is legally injurious. In one suit, the director of one of our artistic groups justified the departure of one of its members by saying that /"the group was never a charitable organization"/. This method of expression already oversteps the allowable limits of criticism, because it said that the group tolerated the individual for 17 years only out of charity and pity--which is strange, to say the least, since the group /received several awards and acquired a worldwide reputation/ with the participation of the plaintiff.

[Question] What protection can the law provide against those who abuse the freedom of criticism?

[Answer] I might mention the lesson learned from a recently concluded legal argument that /whoever steps on the public stage and criticizes others must count on the fact that he too may be criticized/, that his statements may be interpreted and analyzed, and that the opposing view may be personally /damaging/ to him. However, we must note that the freedom of expression also affects those who are criticized; thus, they may become the critics. The object of the law is to apply /a uniform standard of measure/ to every statement and its stater.

Who May Make a Statement?

[Question] Let us return to our original example: May the director of an enterprise or leader of a sports association prohibit his subordinates from expressing their opinions, even in the form of a statement to the press?

[Answer] Our fundamental principle is that /the work situation itself cannot limit the enforcement of civil rights/, since here the employee status may in no way mean /total subordination/. It is an indisputable fact that, among other things, the Labor Code specifies: the worker may not divulge such data to unauthorized individuals which came to his attention while carrying out his duties, and the communication of which /may incur damaging consequences/ to the enterprise or to another individual. But this regulation may not obstruct the workers /from expressing their private opinions even in public/, if by doing so they do not violate their obligation of official secrecy. Of course, it must be emphasized that here we are talking about /private/ opinions. Only an individual specifically authorized /to speak in the name of or to represent/ an enterprise or sports association may make a statement after prior consultation with the directors.

[Question] Have you ever had a lawsuit where someone charged that their employer restricted their freedom of expression?

[Answer] I know of no such case. /However, the opposite has already occurred./ A departmental manager objected that his director wanted to obligate him to make a statement which he was unwilling to do.

[Question] Thus, could the freedom of speech also mean that, in a given situation, someone has the right to refuse to express an opinion?

[Answer] In my judgment, this possibility may only exist in connection /with a private opinion/. If a departmental manager is instructed to publicly represent the viewpoint of the management of the enterprise on certain issues, /this is an obligation which may be conveyed to him in writing./ Likewise, it is obvious that /a director may not refuse/ to make a statement which is in the interest of public opinion by citing his own civil rights if, for example, it concerns the affairs common to several hundred workers employed by an enterprise.

#### Accepting the Responsibility for Publicity

Naturally, everyone of us has opinions about the troublesome matters concerning our surroundings and workplaces. Many considerations may play a role in determining in which circles or to whom we talk about them, or whether to even discuss them or keep silent. This is everyone's prerogative. However, nowadays, there is perhaps a greater need than ever for the honest and open exchange of ideas and the assumption of responsibility for publicity and social control in both smaller and larger communities.

It is our conviction that the director--whatever his sphere of activity--who wants to obstruct the freedom of expression within his sphere, whether by outright prohibitions or by subtler means, is acting in a shortsighted manner. There are those who believe that the opinions which might not become public are thus no longer even in existence. However, sooner or later, the stifled criticism backfires and may well cause far greater damage than an open statement, even if of a critical tone.

9956  
CSO: 2500/168

## PECS STREETS REGAIN HISTORICAL NAMES

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 20 March 83 p 6

[Article by Istvan Toth: "Place Names Become Street Names"; passages in slant lines are printed in italics]

[Text] Every city guards and is concerned about its historical heritage. So too does /Pecs/. There are streets which after several name changes have regained their civil rights, and the old street signs proclaim the mellowed past of the city. The old /Sörhaz/ [Beer Hall] Street was Majorossy Imre, then Ibarruri Dolores Street; today it is again /Sörhaz/ Street. In addition to Sörhaz, there is /Sorhaz/ [Row House] Street in Pecs; and there is /Hathaz/ [Six House] Street, where of course, there are not just six houses.

In a city which jealously guards its Turkish landmarks, there is a /Dzsami/ Street. There is a /Basamalom/ district, /Balokany, Barbakan, Tettye/ and /Kis- and Nagypiricsizma [Little and Big Piri's Boot]/. Even the insiders of Pecs hardly even know what the meaning of these words of Turkish origin were at the time. In all certainty, the inhabitants of Kispiricsizma think of little Piri's boot when they visit their vineyards situated there. The correct name of this settlement is /Peri cseszma/ (= Old Well, which according to some, is the well of Peri Pasha). This is an original Turkish name with which the Ottomans living here marked this place. Previously, however, this was a settlement during the Arpad Era, and the name of the village was /Munkad/. This village was destroyed when its inhabitants were fleeing from precisely the Turks. This place name would deserve that at least one of the Piricsizmas (more correctly, Peri cseszmas) exchange its name for Munkad.

More recently, the city administration is also showing its appreciation for the historical past of the city by preserving as street names the names of those places which were situated close to Pecs but which disappeared during the course of the centuries. The streets called /Enyezd/ and /Varsany/ in the Lvov suburb are a nice example. The name Enyezd (Enyesd) already appears in a document written in 1252 and belonged to the bishopric of Pecs. In all probability, it was situated to the west of the city.

From the name Varsany, historians deduce a settlement of the Varsany tribe. In 1181 our documents already mention the stream running beside Varsany close to Pecs. It was probably situated between /Bisse/ and /Malom/.

The reference work edited by Dr Janos Pesti, soon to be published, in which the geographical names of Baranya county are assembled, will in all certainty also deal with the place names that were lost in the current of time. They are plentiful in Baranya. We quote a few place names from the Arpad Era only as a sampling: /Bogor, Bokod, Csalanka, Csomeny, Csepely, Cser, Csukma, Eged, Ebres, Gerec, Eszterag, Oszero, Esztyen, Szopok, Szarkand, Teleger/.

During the course of time, several village names have been changed. The former name of the present-day /Rozsafa/ was /Bidesfa/. However, this was not the ancient name of the village, but according to a document from 1404, it was /Vidosfalu/. The name /Bar/ also has its origin in the clan of Bor, and the village of /Turony/ originally bore the name Turul for a long time.

At any rate, the example initiated by Pecs awaits continuation--in Pecs and elsewhere.

9956

CSO: 2500/177

## HIGH RATE OF DIVORCE CRITICIZED

Budapest NEVSZAVA in Hungarian 20 March 83 p 5

[Article by Andras Deak: "Divorce--Hungarian Style"; passages in slantlines are printed in italics]

[Text] In Hungary, the courts dissolve /nearly 30 thousand/ marriages each year. And the debate rages between the jurists and the sociologists over the /causes of the divorce phenomena/.

Many maintain that the reason for the large number of divorces is the extremely high /proportion of marriages entered into carelessly/. One of the reasons for this is that society /puts a premium/ on marriage, on legally sanctioned relations. If someone does not pronounce the gratifying "I do" in time, it is almost impossible for the council to consider him a serious applicant for housing. Similarly, if a graduating college student from the provinces wishes to remain in the city and make a living, the best solution seems to be marriage as soon as possible.

Thus, this is one side of the matter. According to the representatives of the other view, the primary reason for the large number of divorces is that /divorce is too easy here/. These lawsuits are now being conducted in such an assembly-line manner that /regard for marriage is/ almost totally /undermined/. Obviously, people are more likely to assume a legal bond--which perhaps may even be accompanied by various financial and prestige-linked advantages--if they know beforehand that when it becomes burdensome, /it may simply be cast off./

In all probability, there is some truth to both viewpoints. Likewise, it is also obvious that /it is not possible to counter social trends by legal means/. Thus, in and of itself, it is hardly possible to preserve the unity of the family by making divorces more rigorous or by /artificially maintaining deteriorated human relationships/.

Nevertheless, it is even more apparent that something must be done. That is, after marriages of convenience, we are increasingly hearing about /divorces of convenience/. One of the classic instances shown on television was a legal incident, the essence of which was that a mason wanted to be freed of his debts by formally dissolving his marriage and by generously offering 50 percent of the child support to his "former" wife--with whom he is living happily ever since--which, of course, precedes all other claims. But as an example, we may also cite the case of another married couple where /in a similar way, a divorce was necessary to realize an idea/.

That is, in this way, both the man and the woman could /each in their own names/ apply for an OTP [National Savings Bank] loan for the building of a semi-detached house on jointly owned property. After this, only /one door needed to be opened/ between the two apartments--and they could close the gate behind them.

/If it is worth closing at all./ But it is increasingly apparent that the law--perhaps contrary to its intention--/favors cohabitation/ in many instances. In this way, both parties /in principle, may own separate apartments and vacation cottages/, since the restrictions on property acquisitions apply to individual families. (For this reason, many get a divorce or do not get married.) And then, the "divorced" woman may easily create the impression that she is worthy of social care, deserves family support as a /single parent raising/ a child, and pays less at the nursery school and day-care center for social reasons.

Or another example: Recently there was an unexpected increasing in the number of the notary public cases. Those preparing for this nowadays fashionable venture are swelling the files. /They transfer their assets to their family members/ and the professionals even combine the matter with a divorce. Their purpose is that if their risk fails, /not much remains which could be exacted from them./

Today, it is no longer sufficient to morally condemn these phenomena--/the law should also take a more determined stand against them./

9956

CSO: 2500/177



MOSAIC ASSOCIATION TO HONOR GHETTO ANNIVERSARY

AU151142 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12-13 Mar 83 p 8

[Interview with Moses Finkelstein, chairman of the Religious Association of the Mosaic Sect in Poland by Zbigniew Zawada: "The 40th Anniversary of the Uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto"--date, place not given]

[Text] The 40th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising will be honored with particular solemnity in April, which is the traditional month of national remembrance. Moses Finkelstein told your PAP reporter about the preparations for the religious celebrations of this anniversary.

[Question] What is the program for this year's celebrations?

[Answer] The Religious Association of the Mosaic Sect in Poland wishes to honor with particular solemnity the memory of the heroic ghetto fighters who fell in their tragic battles and to offer prayers for the millions and millions of men and women murdered during World War II. We will also honor the 40th anniversary of the ghetto uprising as the day of the dead. The program of religious celebrations and prayers will be implemented between 14 and 22 April.

The reopening of the renovated synagogue at Twarda Street in Warsaw will be the biggest event. The celebrations with the faithful to mark this occasion will begin on 18 April. Very many Jews, including rabbis from all over the world, will come to Warsaw from foreign countries to observe the 40th anniversary of the uprising. Edgar Brofman, president of the World Congress of Jews, is also expected to come. Many former fighters of the ghetto uprising will attend the reopening of the synagogue, which has been renovated and restored to its former splendor by the Office for the Conservation of Monuments at a cost of about Z150 million. One of these fighters will be Stefan Grajek, a legendary commander of the Jewish Combat Organization. Especially solemn prayers will be offered in the "purged" synagogue on 18 April--on the eve of the anniversary of the outbreak of the uprising. Special prayers will also be offered by the faithful in all Mosaic congregations to honor the memory of the fallen ghetto fighters.

[Question] Will your association participate in other anniversary functions?

[Answer] Yes, our rabbis will attend the central celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the uprising. We will also place wreaths under the monument of the ghetto heroes, under the bunker at Anielewicz Street, in which the staff of the Jewish Combat Organization was housed, and under the plague at the so-called Transit Square in Stawki District. A delegation of Jewish clergy will attend the 19 April solemn function in the Teatr Wielki in Warsaw organized by the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy [ZBOWiD] and by the Ministry of Culture and Art.

During this function some scores of Poles will receive the international decoration "The Just Among the Nations of the World" awarded them by the Yad Vashem Institute of National Remembrance in Jerusalem. This decoration is awarded to those persons who, risking their own lives, helped the Jews during World War II. In all the major Polish cities the members of the Mosaic Confession Congregation will place wreaths and flowers on the graves of the World War II victims between 14 and 22 April. There will also be meetings and rallies at the places of mass genocide and at Owsiecim [Auschwitz], Treblinka and Majdanek, which are places of the Jews' particular martyrdom.

[Question] Will your association participate in preparing cultural functions to mark the 40th anniversary of the ghetto uprising?

[Answer] We have offered every assistance and counsel to the Jewish Socio-cultural Society in Poland, which is particularly competent in such functions. Present preparations include an exhibition entitled "The Millennium of the Polish Jews." There will be a scientific symposium organized under the patronage of the Jewish Historical Institute in cooperation with the Polish Academy of Sciences. The Warsaw Jewish Theater is preparing special performances to illustrate the martyrdom of the Jews.

CSO: 2600/716

CZESTOCHOWA PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Plenum on Reports Campaign

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 25 Jan 83 p 1

[Article by (sz)]

[Text] Yesterday in Czestochowa a plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW PZPR] was held to evaluate the course of the reports campaign in the voivodship party organization units and to review the materials, prepared for the voivodship reports conference. The meeting was chaired by Comrade Wladyslaw Jonkisz, first secretary, KW PZPR in Czestochowa; Comrade Zdzislaw Soluch, chairman, Voivodship People's Council in Czestochowa, and Comrade Grzegorz Lipowski, Czestochowa Voivodship governor, were among the participants.

Comrade Henryk Jaderko, KW PZPR secretary, presented the Executive Committee report, which contained an analysis of the course of the reports campaign and an evaluation of the current situation in the voivodship party committee. A discussion which followed was enriched by proposals prepared by seven problem teams. The participants agreed that the reports campaign had been an event, which had an important influence not only on the activity of the voivodship party organization, but also on the socioeconomic life of the entire voivodship. The party ranks have undergone further consolidation.

The resolution passed by the plenary meeting approved the reports prepared for the voivodship party conference, scheduled for 16 February 1983. However, the KW departments were entrusted with further analysis of the proposals submitted by discussants and problem teams and with utilizing them in the conference materials. It was also agreed that the regional meetings of delegates, which will take place in the first half of February, constitute an integral part of the conference, and that the proposals submitted at those meetings ought to be also considered as a material for the conference.

In his closing speech at the plenary meeting, the KW PZPR first secretary in Czestochowa stated that party activists had gained many valuable experiences in the past, particularly with regard to restoring party strength, acquiring skills for political combat, and work with workers' activists. It is necessary to continue a critical analysis of the situation which enables correct formulation of work directions. Among the most important proposals were also the need for increasing the role and importance of the basic party organizations in enterprises as well as for strengthening the authority of the secretary and the Executive Committee. The party in enterprises must constantly listen to employees and their needs. A lot of attention ought to be paid to the struggle with manifestations of corrupt and poor management; it is important to react promptly to proposals and to monitor that the principles of social justice are observed.

#### Reports Conference Meeting

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 16 Feb 83 p 1

[Article by (bu)]

[Text] The Voivodship PZPR Reports Conference convenes today 16 February 1983. Nearly 250 delegates represent more than 47,000-strong voivodship party organization. The preconference consultative meetings at the regional centers of party work efforts were made to make the today's conference run smooth. This will allow a more comprehensive discussion of the most important, or strategic issues of the political and economic life of the region, and thus the reports-organizational matters hopefully will take less time.

The 19-month period of activity between the 4th Voivodship Party Conference in 1981 and the present day was undoubtedly among the most difficult ones. For this was a period of defense against the attacks of the enemies of socialism, a period of difficult work within the organization, and these were the months of solving economic problems.

It was in that hottest period that the party ranks, ideological cohesiveness of the organization as well as the moral strength, boldness, and combativeness had an opportunity to prove themselves. One of the delegates correctly described that period during one of the consultative meetings when he stated that the past months were a period during which it was not enough to trust the party, but that trust had to be documented by everyday attitude in life and work.

During the reports period 3 new basic echelons at Panki, Irzadze, and Radkow as well as 28 new basic party organizations, including 7 rural ones, were created. During the entire reports period 182 persons were admitted to the party as candidates. But the voivodship party organization suffered also a considerable loss in membership. They left for various reasons; often party organizations expelled from their ranks people who were passive and vacillating.

Many problems have come out from the discussions in the framework of the reports-program campaign, culminating in today's conference. Delegates at the voivodship conference will discuss the ways to resolve them. The hitherto consistency in action and greater consolidation and resilience of the party membership give hope that the decisions made will be honestly executed.

## Delegates' Comments on Reports Conference

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 16 Feb 83 p 5

[Text] Heated and long discussion during the Reports-Election Conference of the voivodship party organization in Czestochowa in June 1981 was rich in demands, proposals, and sometimes in contradictory views as well. One and a half years later, we have returned to some of those topics to find out how the delegates view their own speeches and which of their predictions were correct and have been reflected in the decisions of the authorities. Comrade Jan Niewiadomski, deputy chairman, Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP]: At the conference I proposed to pay attention to the situation in the youth movement. I stated then that enemy elements aim at breaking up youth organizations, the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] in particular, and I proposed that party organizations take the ZSMP circles in enterprises under their protection. Most basic party organizations [POP] and branch party organizations [OOP] noticed that problem as well and established closer cooperation with the circles. The youth problems have been considered by the party echelons, such as the city committees, the Voivodship Committee [KW] in Czestochowa as well as the Central Committee [CC] during its plenary meetings. A Committee for the Youth Affairs was established at the Council of Ministers. These matters have been given the right direction; however, I believe that not enough has been done with regard to the establishment of a cultural base for the ZSMP youth. Some village clubs have turned into trade rather than cultural centers. Responsible for this state of affairs are both the club administrations, which fail to come up with initiatives, and the young, who in many communities do not exhibit any interest in action. I also stated at the conference that "there are attempts in some localities to liquidate ZSMP and replace it with the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] circles." It so happened that both organizations have found a common language and they effectively cooperate with each other in many fields.

Despite the fact that since June 1981 the youth organizations have come a long way, at present ZSMP in particular ought to fight more for a place in employees' self-governments, Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], and trade unions. In the previous stormy period the young submitted many correct proposals. Now, the time has come to implement them. The young must take advantage of this opportunity and not wait for something to be done for them.

I was among those delegates, who in their speeches pointed out to the need for ending the anarchy around, because party strides toward renewal, agreement, and bringing the country out of the crisis were being torpedoed. Those views were later confirmed by the decisions of 13 December 1981 and by subsequent actions, which stopped the advance of the counterrevolution.

Comrade Edward Pelka, director, LEKBUD Czestochowa Vacation Industry Construction Enterprise [CzPBPL]: When comparing the situation during the last reports-election conference with the situation today it is necessary to emphasize above all that the views of many people have crystallized--those who could not handle the situation left, but the party can and should rely on

those who have remained. Consolidation has taken place, and that is a plus. Also, the evaluation of our political, economic, and social situation is more balanced, while only 1 1/2 years ago there were quite a few extremist views.

The reform is another plus. During the conference we emphasized that it was indispensable, although we are implementing it now at the least opportune moment. However, implementation has taken place and that proves the boldness of the center.

Today, the party's nervous system must withstand all pressures for return to the command-distributive system and implement the reform without halfway solutions. This is difficult because we impatiently await positive results of the reform and accept with apprehension the inconveniences accompanying it.

On behalf of the steel industry organization, which I was representing at the time, I focused on several specific problems, which were related, among others, to controls. In the past period, the food market was brought under control, and the control system for the entire country has been made uniform. At that time we were also talking about the needs of the region with regard to tourism. The lodging base in Czestochowa gradually increases; I am talking about the construction of three motels, one of which was completed a few days ago. This is the right direction and it ought to be continued.

Comrade Mieczyslaw Szkoda, first secretary, Enterprise Committee, Blachownia Electro-Mechanic Enterprises: During the conference many discussants focused on the reform and circumstances handicapping its proper implementation. Those proposals were noticed and reflected in normative acts. I stated then that "the lack of motivation to lower the prime costs is disturbing." Subsequent decisions of the Council of Ministers regulated that problem. Also, in 1983 further improvement of instruments of the economic reform which were linking wages with increased efficiency have been introduced.

On behalf of Blachownia residents I talked about the housing problem. The reform has given us an opportunity to increase the housing construction fund. We are now in the process of beginning a construction of 30 apartments for our employees.

#### Reports Conference Deliberations, Activities

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 17 Feb 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by Anna Kujawska and Leszek Figiel]

[Text] Yesterday, on 16 February 1983, the Voivodship PZPR Reports Conference convened in Czestochowa. More than 400 participants evaluated the party work in the first half of the term and formulated the tasks for the future based on the past experiences. The main theme of the meeting was to find the best way to execute the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress which defined PZPR as the party of struggle and agreement. Another equally important themes of the discussion were: a concern for attaining greater ideological

and organizational cohesiveness of the membership ranks; strengthening ties with the working class; and ascertaining ways of faster overcoming of the economic crisis. Both the documents presented to the delegates and the discussion itself were well grounded in the realities of the party life and the socioeconomic life of the region.

The meeting was chaired by Comrade Wladyslaw Jonkisz, PZPR Central Committee member and first secretary of the party Voivodship Committee in Czestochowa, who began by welcoming the delegates and guests, among others, Manfred Gorywoda, CC PZPR secretary; representatives of the central party authorities; Sejm deputies from the Czestochowa region; Krzysztof Kuczynski, deputy minister of steel and machine industry; Tadeusz Panek, chairman, United Peasant Party Voivodship Committee [WK ZSL]; Mieczyslaw Zyzny, deputy chairman, Democratic Party Voivodship Committee [WK SD]; Col Eugeniusz Ruson, National Defense Committee [KOK] plenipotentiary for the Czestochowa region; Grzegorz Lipowski, Czestochowa voivodship governor; and Kazimierz Moszoro, chairman, Temporary Coordinating Council, Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

The first half of the term fell on extremely difficult political, social and economic conditions. The beginning of the term was spent on preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress. During the pre-congress discussions, several thousand motions and proposals were made with regard to the activities of the party and the state aiming at correcting errors in all branches of life. The months immediately following the congress were characterized by an attack of antisocialist forces, blocking every decision of the political and state authorities. A fierce political struggle was also conducted in the Czestochowa Voivodship. That period was extremely difficult for party organizations in enterprises, for the party echelons, and for all communists. In that struggle the party has succeeded in defending the socialist form in the transformations of our country. For many organizations that was also a period of consolidation of their ranks as well as of cleansing the party of passive and two-faced people. The introduction of the martial law constituted the turning point in the life of the country. The extremists found themselves socially isolated and the social and professional discipline have increased. Joint actions of the People's Army, basic party organizations, and the activists of the management cadre have provided conditions for uninterrupted operation of enterprises.

"In these conditions," stated the KW PZPR first secretary, "with greater success and intensity we began activities, spelled out in the documents of the Ninth Party Congress, in the units of the voivodship party organization. Two groups of tasks continue to define the character of our work. The first of them concerns organizational and ideological strengthening of the party, and thus greater effectiveness of political struggle and impact on society, while the second concerns the economy as well as the implementation of the congress program of overcoming the crisis and stabilization of the economy, and thus creating conditions for gradual, but visible improvement of the standard of living."

Renewal with regard to the internal party life found its expression in this period mainly in changed style of the party work and increased level of the ideological-political work of basic organizations. The change of style above

all means direct contacts between the authorities, leadership and functionaries of the KW apparatus, basic level echelons, party organizations, and the working people. In addition to that, workers' and women activist teams were created and drafts of the most important decisions are being consulted with them. Regular meetings of the Executive Committee and Secretariat with the crews of enterprises are a practice now. Also, during the current term a school for the workers' activists has been established.

Despite improved work of the party units the of ideological-political and organizational consolidation has not been completed yet. The following actions must be continued: making universal the principle of the party members' leadership in both professional and civic work; cleansing our ranks from people who have no affinity with party ideology; and continuous work with the cadres. It was noted in the report that the party uses uniform criteria to evaluate the cadres: professional qualifications; organizational skills; and moral-ideological qualifications. The reports campaign before the conference revived the basic party units and their echelons in the Czesochowa voivodship. The premises for rebuilding of the public's trust in the program and policies, established at the Ninth Congress, have been strengthened. The state of the party has been comprehensively analyzed. During discussions a lot of attention was paid to the strengthening of party organizations and the discussants emphasized the need for increasing the level of political and historical education. The campaign has also uncovered weak points in the activities of individual organizations as well as opportunities for eliminating those weaknesses. It is necessary, among others, to strengthen ties between the echelons, basic party organizations, and crews as well as to increase offensiveness and combativeness, and to react promptly to proposals, directed to the party organization by the PZPR members and nonparty people.

It is necessary to strengthen cooperation with the allied parties such as ZSL and SD, and to build a common front of understanding on all levels. The PRON ought to be an authentic forum for discussion and clashes of views of people representing different views and social groups, and it ought to be a platform for establishing a common stand on social issues.

The fundamental principle delineating relations with the Church is the constitution-guaranteed respect for the freedom of faith and conscience coupled with observing the principle of separation of the Church from the state, that is from all state institutions and thus particularly from the state school.

During the report campaign it was often emphasized that the party is responsible for the ideological upbringing of the young generation. In the recent period all echelons responded to problems raised by the young. Resolutions passed at reports conferences spelled out the need for intensifying the party work with the young as well as for closer cooperation with youth organizations--particularly ZSMP--and for assigning party tasks to young PZPR members.

An important task for the immediate future is the establishment of renewed self-governments and trade unions, the interest in which has been declared by approximately 32,000 people. I ought to be pointed out, however, that hitherto participation of the young in the trade union movement has not been great.



Party organizations ought to explain to the crews that the unions give an opportunity for an innovative action. Party work ought to be equally consistent with regard to creation of conditions for the re-establishment of employee self-governments and with regard to perfecting of the functioning of the local self-government.

At present particular attention ought to be given to increasing production and combatting negative social phenomena caused by the crisis. In the past months the voivodship party echelon concentrated its efforts on matters related to the implementation of the economic reform. On party's initiative a commission for costs and prices, among others, was created for the purpose of controlling unjustified prices imposed by enterprises. Despite the fact that the production drop has been halted and many enterprises succeeded in actually increasing their production, there is no significant improvement on the market. Last year particularly visible was a tendency to raise wages without relating them to productivity and this leads to expansion of the inflationary window.

Another key task is to intensify agricultural production, which includes comprehensive utilization of the entire agricultural potential and better utilization of the land. The analysis of reasons for the crisis in agriculture suggests that there is a need for establishing economic ties between industry and agriculture. Production for agriculture has tremendous future and it should be viewed as such by industrial enterprises.

During consultative meetings, which last week began the Voivodship Reports Conference, the delegates received detailed reports on the work of the voivodship party organization and its echelons, Voivodship Party Control Commission, and Voivodship Party Auditing Commission as well as information about the implementation of proposals, resolutions, and decisions of the Central Committee and the voivodship echelon, and also information about the execution of tasks, spelled out in the work program, which had been approved in October 1981.

The following persons took the floor during the discussion period: Krzysztof Kondracki, first secretary, PZPR City Committee [KM PZPR] in Czestochowa; Mieczyslaw Szkoda, first secretary, PZPR Enterprise Committee [KZ PZPR], Electro-Mechanical Enterprise [ZEM] in Blachownia; Marian Sedzielewski, chairman, Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP]; Wieslaw Moras, chairman, Voivodship Party Auditing Commission [WKR]; Wojciech Rydecki, first secretary, Gmina Party Committee in Redziny; Teodor Molenda, first secretary, KZ PZPR, Bierut Steel Mill; Col Eugeniusz Ruson, plenipotentiary, National Defense Committee branch in the Czestochowa region; Antoni Wrobel, milling machine operator, Enameled Utensils Manufacturing Enterprise in Myszkow; Wiktor Stachwiuk, lecturer, Higher Pedagogical School; Bronislaw Galant, voivodship commander, Citizen's Militia [MO]; Daniel Szyszka, farmer from Starokrzepce; Adam Szymczyk, first secretary, KZ PZPR, Central Administration of State Forests [CZLP] in Stradom; Kazimierz Golba, first secretary, Gmina Party Committee [KG PZPR] in Miedzno; Feliks Swiac, communist party veteran; Kazimierz Turek, superintendent of education and upbringing; Stanislaw Zielinski, director, State Farms [PGR] Combine in Olesno; Grzegorz Makowski, chairman, ZW ZSMP; Marek Dobrzanski, secretary KM PZPR in Lubliniec; and Grzegorz Lipowski, Czestochowa Voivodship governor.

A dozen or so comrades submitted their speeches for the inclusion in the minutes.

The conference delegates were greeted by Tadeusz Panek, chairman, WK ZSL, and Marian Zyzny, deputy chairman, WK SD. They pointed out to the achievements of the PZPR, ZSL, and SD with regard to the socialist transformation of the country and they wished the delegates a fruitful conference.

During the discussion a great number of speakers shared with the delegates the experiences of their organizations and basic echelons.

A particular attention was paid to the need for honest and continuous implementation of the party leadership resolutions and for reporting on activities to all party members. This ought to be achieved through continuous perfection of new forms of contact of the rank and file with the leadership members. "It is the duty of the elected organs of the party authorities to perform control functions and to maintain close contact with the entire organization," stated a delegate from the Bierut Steel Mill. The experiences of the past months are positive, therefore it is necessary to continue and perfect those forms of the party work which have survived the test of life.

Several comrades talked about problems of the struggle with the political opponent. It was emphasized that the barrier of distrust with regard to the party and the authorities recedes as a result of decisions and actions taken by the party and the government, which presented the only realistic program to overcome the socioeconomic crisis. Of great importance was also the involvement and inflexibility with which the party began to put in order its own affairs.

The discussants emphasized the need for continuous strengthening of the ideological unity of the party, for solidifying the principles of democratic centralism, and for encouraging all PZPR members to present in all situations involved, honest, and active attitudes.

Another topic focused on was the possibility of influencing the decisions made by the local self-governments, social and professional organizations by party members. As it was noted, "Through the work of PZPR members in those forums the party may do a lot for the benefit of all."

Much time was devoted to internal matters. Newly elected authorities and the new functionaries, lacking experience in party work, had to find effective forms to reach the workers. This issue was discussed, among others, by Krzysztof Kondracki, first secretary, KM PZPR in Czestochowa. One of the most important tasks to us was strengthening ties between the city echelon, party organizations, and their members. We have established, among others, a 60-member consultative council we also have a group of more than 300 party activists, functioning as volunteer instructors. Now we have to carry out a struggle to increase conscience and discipline and fill them with concrete meaning. Sometimes we encounter obstacles in our work. Most of them are poorly thoughtout and erroneous decisions. We hope that the modification of the financial system will have a postive effect on management efficiency.

Comrades who spoke about the work with the young as well as about the situation in education and higher learning, expressed the view that both distrust and belligerence--so natural for the young--are being continuously, if slowly, overcome. This is largely due to the efforts of educators, who exhibit greater involvement partly due to the efforts of the party which increase the ideological knowledge particularly among teachers of humanities and social sciences. There are difficulties, however, which handicap teachers' work with the young. For example, lacks 700 village teachers, while 28 schools are housed in buildings not fit for this kind of activity. There is an urgent need in the region to solve the problems of insufficient number of school buildings, insufficient housing for teachers, and expansion of schools of higher learning.

Czestochowa region agriculture is primarily based on individual farming. The most important task, which will guarantee achieving food sufficiency for the entire country in the future, is consistent implementation of the joint resolution passed by the 11th CC PZPR and SC ZSL plenary meeting. Comrade Daniel Szyszka, farmer from Starokrzepce, noted that the worker-farmer alliance must bring about closer ties between industry and agriculture. There is no good agriculture without industry. It ought to be considered as an integral part of the entire national economy.

Economic problems, living conditions of society, and problems of state administration work were the main focus of the speech delivered by Comrade Grzegorz Lipowski, Czestochowa Voivodship governor. He noted, among others, improvements in goods supplies and pointed out to better functioning state administration, which honestly and promptly reacts to both complaints and proposals from citizens. Comrade Lipowski also presented undertakings aiming at improving living conditions of the people. In his speech, ending the meeting, Comrade Manfred Gorywoda, CC PZPR secretary, noted that when summing up the activities of the voivodship party organization in the last 19 months it is necessary to keep in mind the scale of transformations that has taken place in that period in the social, political, and economic life of the country and both the internal and external factors, which influenced the developments at the time. It must be understood that our internal and external opponents still refuse to accept the course of events and continue to hope that they will precipitate unrest in our country.

Comrade Gorywoda devoted considerable time to socioeconomic problems. The economic situation of our country is still complicated although some progress has been already noted. At the end of 1981 the most important task was halting the production drop; in 1982 that goal was reached. The question whether overcoming the crisis is possible ought to be answered in the affirmative. The framework of the program to overcome the crisis was defined at Ninth Party Congress and subsequently more specifically delineated at the CC plenary meetings. In the immediate future, however, the economy will experience a number of limitations. The imports from capitalist countries has dropped by one-third in comparison with 1979. Therefore, will have to deal with the supply barrier in a different manner: through better management of state resources; lowering the material and energy use; and broadening cooperation with the CEMA countries--all of these are related, however, to the need for increasing the competitiveness of our exports.

The employment situation is unfavorable as well. The work time fund in the economy has dropped by about 12 percent. In the immediate future the number of persons entering the production age will be considerably smaller than in the past decade. This problem can be solved mainly by increasing labor efficiency and proper allocation of human resources. Management must understand that resolving employment problems by offering higher wages is a race to nowhere.

The investment level has been reduced to the minimum despite the fact that the needs of many branches of economy are great. Increasing investment spending is not possible, because it would have to be done at the expense of consumption. It is necessary to secure maximum effectiveness of investments and to tie the investment program with scientific and technical research. The latter is of particular importance, for it is necessary to halt the increasing technological gap with regard to highly industrialized countries.

The solutions of economic reform are being continuously perfected, but in conditions of various limitations there is a danger that some of its mechanisms may not function properly. This is the greatest threat to reform, and therefore the party organizations must make sure that the implementation of the reform conforms to its premises. Many enterprises perfect the motivational systems and tie wages with labor efficiency; some, however, do not preserve this relationship. And yet, without appropriate system of wages in places where the national product is being produced--that is, in enterprises--the reform cannot succeed.

Comrade Gorywoda also answered a number of questions submitted during the discussion.

The resolution, passed at the conference, favorably evaluated the implementation of the resolutions of the 4th Reports-Elections Conference of June 1981 and of the work program for the years 1981-83, approved at the Program Conference in October 1981. The activities and work of the Voivodship Committee have been also favorably evaluated and the style, methods, and forms of its staff were approved as correct one by the conference.

Noting that during the first half of the term the program line and strategy, delineated at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress and subsequent CC plenary meetings, the delegates agreed that this has found its best expression in decisive struggle with political opponents coupled with searching for any possible platforms to reach agreement based on the systemic principles of a socialist state.

The conference designated the "Directions of Perfecting Activities of the Voivodship Party Conference for 1983-84" as the program document.

The resolution defines tasks for the second half of the term. The participants agreed that proposals, submitted by the delegates at regional meetings and at the conference, constitute an integral part of the final resolution.

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BIALYSTOK/BIALA PODLASKA PROVINCES PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Opinions of Bialystok Party Conference

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 8 Feb 83 p 3

[Statements by Elzbieta Blaszk, Eugeniusz Mankowski, and Aleksander Bielak, delegates to the Voivodship Conference of the PZPR in Bialystok]

[Text] Elzbieta Blaszk, head of the installation and repair department of the Bialystok Enterprise for Mechanized Work and Construction Machinery, a member of the Executive Board of the POP [basic party organization] and of the Voivodship Party Control Commission:

The most important issues presently facing the party organizations are consolidation and the purging of their ranks. People who have been discredited, and especially those who have been punished for misusing their positions for their own benefit, should no longer be on the 'herry-go-round of positions." Such examples are painful to most members of the party.

Ideological and moral purity should primarily be taken care of by the primary organizations, without relying upon the city or voivodship Party Control Commission, since it is better to avoid punishment of a colleague or a superior, not to expose oneself, and to stand behind someone's shoulders. Strictly speaking, only dismissals should be brought to the WKKP [Voivodship Party Control Commission].

It is necessary to return to ideological training from the basics, since many party members do not know the basic principles of marxism-leninism, and do not know the statute accurately. Every individual entering the PZPR should be prepared for this by those sponsoring him, and should pass an examination on knowledge of the statute, as was once done.

Consistency in daily action must be our characteristic as a party. When we adopt a resolution, we have to implement it. It is also time for the appearance of the ideolotical-political declaration, the draft of which we have all been discussing for many months.

Party organizations should not, in any case, duplicate the work of the administration or of self-managing bodies. Nevertheless, an organization operating in an enterprise cannot leave aside any problems, for example, those of the economic reform. We have influence over all issues through our representatives, following the party line.

Eugeniusz Mankowski, a repair mechanic in the chief mechanic's section at the Hajnowka Plant of the Timber Machinery Industry:

Our organization at the plant has 100 members, and thus a quarter of the work force consists of party members. I hold three posts. I am the second secretary of the Plant Committee, a member of the Executive Board of the City Committee in Hajnowka, and a member of the Audit Commission of the party's Voivodship Committee. As a result of the last of my posts, I see many matters to which greater attention should be paid.

It must be acknowledged that discipline has improved; the party organizations are registering all suggestions and are attending to their implementation. I see a necessity of performing preventive work--talks with the PZPR members who are for various reasons neglecting discipline. Crossing someone off the list is a very simple matter. There are also many other penalties, lighter ones, which can be utilized, without resorting to the most drastic one.

As a member of the party, I am linked to my milieu--to the work establishment and to the city in which I live and work. I am obliged to act in their name, and they would be upset with me if I did not discuss the problems that are very important to them. One of these has to do with peasant workers, who are in nearly every plant, and in ours as well. I am talking about the ones who after work cultivate their small farms, usually half a hectare in size. These people are deprived of social services. They do not receive compensation for the members of their families, and the women do not have a right to maternity leave. This is a problem that requires an equitable resolution.

One of the important difficulties perceived by Hajnowka is the shortage of hospitals. A great deal has been said about this for years, but the construction has not been brought about. One more school is needed in the city. Teaching conditions are very difficult, and children study in two shifts, since the present school cannot hold all of them.

It is also necessary to call attention to the problem of wages. What is presently being observed is abnormal. There are plants which adopt low plans, and have large earnings; even in the same branch of industry the differences in wages are enormous.

Recently a great deal of attention has been paid to the problems of educating youth. For us, for example, it is possible to pay a great deal of attention to the activities of the ZSMP. Young people are not very active and are often indifferent; it is difficult to persuade them to

participate in social life. Our party organization is placing enormous weight on the problems of educating youth. The question, however, is having the efforts to win over young people yield better results.

Aleksander Bielak, a machinist at the Instrument and Handle Factory in Bielsk Podlaski:

The first problem, which is a very important one, is the lack of full motivation for increasing the productivity of labor. Wages are too small in comparison with the earnings of various schemers. The workers at the production plants, who are bearing the burden of the crisis, perceive this, and meanwhile the clever people who are making use of the situation are developing their private interests and enriching themselves. This also applies to certain plants where the management has not yet matured to the point of autonomy in management. Instead of efforts to strengthen labor discipline and increase productivity, they are establishing excessive contract prices. This would be proper if the market were competitive.

We are also encountering criticism of certain aims of the reform, especially the view that it is being implemented too quickly, at the time of the greatest problems and difficulties. This may be observed at meetings with party organizations, at which many critical remarks are made on this subject.

A member of the party should be sensitive to the problems affecting his milieu, to the difficulties with which we still have to struggle. In Bielsk Podlaski there is a problem with drinking water, and the necessity of building new boiler rooms is becoming clear. The city has grown and its population is increasing. We cannot cope with such matters as the lack of a sufficient quantity of schoolrooms, which is disturbing the parents of the children who are studying in the evening. We are searching for solutions.

There are also smaller problems, but ones that are important to our city. For example, among other things, the railway station is one of these. This is not a question of an edifice of glass and concrete, but rather a suitable small building where travelers could wait for trains. Many young people leave for school from Bielsk Podlaski, but under the present conditions travelers do not have any place to drink hot tea.

I am young, 26 years old, and so I am close to the problems of young people. I think that it is not possible to direct young people and impose one's will on them. Their elders have to educate them through the positive results of their activities. One should help them, indeed, but not solve problems for them that they will be able to cope with themselves.

I would also like to call attention to party education. Subjects are being imposed on us which, to tell the truth, are not the most important ones for us. I think that this problem should also be dealt with energetically, but without disengaging from matters that are the most urgent and pressing to the organization.

Executive Board on Scientific Research Center

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 19, 20 Feb 83 p 2

[Article by (c): "Meeting of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Bialystok"]

[Text] At yesterday's meeting of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] in Bialystok, an assessment of the activities of the Scientific Research Center was presented. Basically this is a new establishment, a little over ten years old, which has made its presence in our region well known. In the course of this period, through its own efforts it has completed about 80 percent of the analytical-statistical works, studies, and scientific research work, including 18 projects commissioned by Polish institutes and scientific establishments. It has issued a total of 830 publishing sheets in the fields of history, culture, nature, the national economy, etc.

The growing stature and significance of this center are also demonstrated by the fact that it has collaborated with good results with about 20 institutions of the Polish Academy of Sciences, higher schools, and many scientific research institutes, organizing numerous scientific conferences with not only voivodship and regional, but also national and international significance. Among the various subjects dealt with by the Bialystok scientific center, we should cite in particular the work inspiring the resolution of such problems as conservation and protection of the Biebrza and Narew Valley, protection of the natural environment in the region of the Augustow-Suwalki Lakes, the development of sugar beet cultivation, conservation at the Suwalki Landscape Park, and finally, the development of the Bialystok metropolitan area.

While the undoubted achievements of the center were emphasized, the need for a modification of its functions was indicated. Specifically, this has to do with a gradual departure from universalism, toward a definite selection of the subjects of research, and toward greater satisfaction of the needs of the region. This applies mainly to such problems as agriculture and the food population.

On the second item on the agenda, the KW Executive Board received a report on the situation in the labor market in the voivodship. Discussing this problem, which is difficult and complex in the present economic situation, the Executive Board adopted the main directions for action to straighten out employment. We will return to this subject separately in the near future.



## Biala Podlaska on Task Implementation

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 17 Feb 83 p 2

[Article by (sw): "In Biala Podlaska: Schedule of Tasks Arising From the Resolutions of the Joint Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party"]

[Text] At yesterday's meeting, the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] in Biala Podlaska discussed and adopted for implementation a schedule of the tasks for party echelons and organizations arising from the report by the Politburo of the Central Committee and the Presidium of the Supreme Committee, and from the resolution from the 11th Joint Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the Supreme Committee of the ZSL. Members of the Presidium of the ZSL Voivodship Committee also participated in the meeting of the KW Executive Board.

The basic subject matter of the proceedings was enriched by an assessment of the implementation of agricultural investments, including mainly land reclamation investments and those associated with supplying agriculture with water, electrification, and construction in 1982, and by a presentation of this year's tasks.

In general, it was stated, the planned outlays for construction and installation work amounted to 1212.7 million zlotys. Last year, only the sum of 984.3 million zlotys was utilized here. The land reclamation enterprises worked well; on the other hand, the agricultural construction enterprises cannot boast of having carried out the plan.

Last year positive trends were observed in land management. A previously unencountered interest from farmers in purchasing land was observed. On the other hand, the grain harvest was low (the voivodship plan was carried out to the extent of over 25 percent). There was also a considerable decline in the yield of livestock, especially hogs; a high rate, however, was observed in the collection of milk and eggs.

The fundamental tasks in party work following the 11th joint plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee in the Biala Podlaska Voivodship are disseminating the contents of this resolution among the members of the PZPR and ZSL, and through them, among the entire society; and forming the conviction that implementation of the resolutions of the 11th Plenum is not only implementing decisions by the central bodies, but also a matter of the inspiring and supervising function of the basic party organizations and the ZSL circles in the villages, in socialized farms, units for serving the villages and agriculture, the state administration, plants in the agricultural-food industry, and those producing goods for agriculture.

In order to acquaint the party aktiv and the workers in the state administration with the details of the schedule, it was decided that a voivodship consultation would be held. Also planned were training of the agricultural aktiv, joint plenary meetings of bodies at the primary level, and joint open meetings of the rural basic party organizations and ZSL circles, devoted to the subjects of the 11th Plenum. In addition, there will be a consultation among the directors, the first secretaries of basic party organizations, and the chairmen of ZSL circles operating in plants producing goods for agriculture or having the capability of undertaking such production.

#### Biala Podlaska on Analyzing Complaints

Lubin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 24 Feb 83 p 2

[Article by (sw): "In Biala Podlaska: Analyzing Complaints and Letters From the Public"]

[Text] At yesterday's meeting, the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] in Biala Podlaska discussed the annual report presenting the contents of letters, complaints, and signals from the public, the reasons for their appearance, and ways to resolve the problems raised.

It turns out from a statistical standpoint that last year a total of 1,397 complaints, letters, and signals were received, including 631 to the PZPR KW or to party bodies at the primary level, 432 to the Voivodship Office and the local elements of the state administration, and 334 to other voivodship units. Interventions were addressed directly to the KW and the party bodies at the primary level by 6,141 inquirers. In comparison with 1981, there was an increase in the number of complaints, letters, and signals, but at the same time, there was a decline in the number of anonymous ones, which permits one to infer that the Biala Podlaska party organization has gained credibility in society and is beginning to win its trust.

Among the letters sent to the KW, the majority are addressed directly to the first secretary. All of the complaints are a mirror reflecting the public's problems and negative phenomena.

The letters were dominated by agricultural issues, housing problems, and problems in human relations at plants. Individual inquirers also reported similar difficulties, both to party bodies, and to the institutions and organs of the state administration.

An analysis of the reasons for the appearance of the complaints shows that the dissatisfaction of the citizens is caused by the not always good work of the service and production units, and by the lack of effectiveness in countering cases and occurrences of their improper activities, as well as by the personnel situation, the lack of jurisdiction for the offices, and the lack of control from below and social pressure with respect to the representatives of institutions.

The voivodship party body is devoting a great deal of attention to the proper handling of inquirers and to the effective resolution of the affairs and problems. Among other things, a decision by the Secretariat of the KW requires department managers and KW secretaries to maintain full schedules in their reception rooms. In justifiable cases, the problems contained in the signals from the public are to be investigated by the KW's intervention group. Sometimes it becomes necessary to examine the complaints at meetings of the presidium of the commission. It has also occurred that complaints against representatives of the local organs of the state administration have been forwarded to the Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP], in order to bring about party and also official consequences.

The problem of complaints and letters is an inspiration to undertake concrete subjects in the work of the KW Executive Board and Secretariat, and furthermore certain negative phenomena are being subjected to various types of control activities.

At yesterday's meeting, the members of the Executive Board of the PZPR KW also received a report on the progress of party education in the first half of the 1982-1983 year, and adopted a schedule for implementing the resolution from the Voivodship Reports-Electoral Conference.

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GDANSK PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Meeting of Party Aktivs

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 17 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by A. Met., maj, hb: "After the Reports Conference in Gdansk"]

[Text] The output of the PZPR Gdansk Province reports conference is being discussed at meetings organized by the municipal and area party aktiv. Means by which the tasks laid out by the party's program will be accomplished are being discussed in the context of the conference's resolution. Postconference meetings of the PZPR's aktiv took place yesterday in the City Section Committee (KD) of Gdansk-Portowa, the KD in Wrzeszcz and City Committee (KM) in Tczew.

A meeting took place yesterday of the party's section committee that was dedicated to discussing the course and output of the PZPR Province Reports Conference. PZPR KW secretary Edward Kijek participated in the conference chaired by KD secretary Ryszard Mroczkowski.

In characterizing the preparations, the atmosphere, the course of discussions and substantial conference results, Edward Kijek reminded the delegates and invited guests of the context and significance of the basic documents presented to them. He likewise emphasized the importance of the resolution which had become an authoritative interpretation of the conference's discussion and context, a conference that was a big political event on the Gdansk seacoast. The KW secretary stated that the voices of the workers on the problem teams were most constructive and worthwhile in the plenary session. The 3rd problem team discussing ideological problems, that was to prepare the province echelons' position for the 12th PZPR CC Plenum played a special role. An analysis was completed at the Gdansk conference of the party's activities and their associated sociopolitical effects. The delegates accepted the contents--continued the speaker--presented in the reports, and also reacted positively to the political appraisals contained in the KW executive board report. The course of discussions confirmed the unchangeable role of the party in overcoming the sociopolitical and economic crisis, and in initiating economic reform. The necessity for strengthening the basic party

organization [POP] secretary's position in the work plant was pointed out. The secretary must be a partner to management, labor unions and self-government. It is necessary to consistently strengthen the party's role through influence on cadre policy: it is advisable to create a cadre reserve of nonparty people representing specific moral, political and vocational inclinations.

During the course of the meeting, the conference resolution context and goals were presented in detail. The large problem area covered by that document was pointed out. Among others, it was also proposed that conference materials relative to the impact of marxist theory on the present day be published quickly in view of the ideological conference in Gdansk planned for March 1983, and the necessity for exploiting conference output and materials currently.

In answering questions by the aktiv, PZPR KW secretary Edward Kijak discussed the current goals of party-political ideological and propaganda work, as well as of work with youth. He also characterized the nature and activity of the opposition's efforts.

KW Secretary Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska participated in a meeting of the PZPR KD aktiv. The meeting was conducted by KD secretary Zygmunt Stachowiak. Taking part in the meeting were the secretaries of POP and District Party Organization [OOP] educational institutions, the construction and transportation sectors, and delegates to the province conference.

Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska discussed the course of the conference, and character of the basic discussion subjects of individual problem teams. She also said that work is already taking place on achieving some of the suggestions and conclusions raised during the conference--especially those of an interparty or overall social nature.

Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska said that a joint PZPR KW and United Peasant Party [ZSL] KW plenum on economic problems is being prepared during which a joint program of action will be developed. One of the earliest KW plenary sessions will concern itself with the ocean economy.

The secretary then dealt with suggestions and questions raised by participants in the course of the discussion.

The course and deliberation results of the PZPR Province Reports conference in Gdansk also were the primary subjects that were discussed yesterday during a meeting of PZPR KW secretary Andrzej Karnabala with the party aktiv from the Tczew area, an area that encompasses six echelons and PZPR industrial plant committees in the Tczew agglomeration. The meeting took place in the PZPR City Committee [KM] in Tczew. It was conducted by the head of the Area Party Work Center [ROPP] in Tczew--Tadeusz Nieruchaj.

The opening address was a presentation by PZPR KW secretary Andrzej Karnabala, who discussed the course and effects of PZPR Province Reports-Program Conference deliberations in detail. The secretary stated that

the most important achievement of the conference was the further organizational-ideological strengthening of the province's party organization, an increase in its militancy, and strengthening of the party's leadership role in society. Realization of the program embodied in the conference's resolution has caused a reactivation of area POPs which have great influence in resolving local questions and problems.

Statements that indicated ways in which some of the problems discussed during the conference could be improved dominated.

#### Debate: Current Agricultural Problems

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 26, 27 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Joint PZPR KW and ZSL WK Plenum in Gdansk--Debate on Agriculture's Current Problems"]

[Text] Deliberations began yesterday at 10 o'clock in the province office's conference hall in Gdansk at a joint plenary session of the PZPR KW and ZSL WK. The deliberations were conducted by deputy member of the Politburo PZPR Central Committee, and KW first secretary Stanislaw Bejger, and ZSL Supreme Committee member and WK chairman Boguslaw Droszcz. Besides the PZPR and ZSL political activists from the Gdansk Province area, and the heads of economic units producing for and rendering service to agriculture, also taking part in the meeting were representatives of the central authorities--a member of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON], naval commander, admiral Ludwik Janczyszyn, and the deputy chief of the PZPR CK's Department of Agriculture and Food Economy--Jan Zegartowski, and deputy chief of the ZSL SC's Economic Agriculture Department--Tadeusz Ruchniewicz.

As indicated by KW First Secretary Stanislaw Bejger in his introduction--the purpose of the meeting was to discuss agriculture's current problems in Gdansk province and reports by both echelons on accomplishment of tasks they had taken on at a joint PZPR KW and ZSL WK plenary meeting on 28 April 1982. The task of the present meeting likewise was the development, specification and adaptation to Gdansk area of activities whose directions had been defined by the joint plenum of the PZPR CC and ZSL SC.

KW secretary Mieczyslaw Stefanski was the next speaker. He presented a report in the name of PZPR and ZSL provincial echelons that discussed the tasks of the committees and organizations of both parties that resulted from the decisions of the joint plenary conference of the PZPR CC and ZSL SC. He stated that this plenum, constituting an essential step toward the realization of an agricultural policy and its adaptation to the country's needs, is also the expression of a new quality of ally-partner interparty relations and new political contexts in a worker-peasant alliance. It recognized the need for reaching food selfsufficiency as the primary goal.

The present meeting--said the speaker--ought to update and specify goals for the further development of agriculture and the food industry economy of Gdansk Province based on decisions of the 11th Plenum's resolution and an appraisal of the achievement of the joint PZPR KW and ZSL WK plenum of 28 April 1982. Despite the relatively short period, thanks to the involvement of PZPR and ZSL echelons, organizations and area circles, this resolution brought measurable results. One of them is the improvement in the productive use of the soil. In 1982 the State Land Fund [PFZ] took over 2,100 hectares of land from units of the socialized economy, and liquidated 900 hectares of fallow land. Overall, 4,500 hectares of PFZ land was sold to private farmers.

Among agriculture's greatest sore spots, the KW secretary listed the lack of an appropriate fodder base. Industrial plants and the POP's functioning in them have little interest in the production of machinery and equipment for agriculture. Of 525 items, they took on but 98 for production and produced even fewer.

The results of Gdansk agriculture's production are also unsatisfactory. Despite increasing the total production of grains in 1982, the goals set for their purchase were only 81 percent accomplished. The lack of the expected increase in the fodder base exercised a negative effect on the number of farm animals.

Important changes took place in the system of managing and directing the entire national economy, including agriculture. Agricultural enterprises became independent, self-governing and self-financing. Reform brought positive results. The PGR's financial result improved in 1981 and 1982 by more than 966 million zlotys but only 1/3 of that was due to more economical management. A disproportionate increase in wages in relation to the increase in production is likewise observed in some agricultural-food industry enterprises, such as the Gdansk Poultry-Breeding Plants, "Baltyk" Sugar Plants [ZPC], and the area enterprise "Bacutil." On the basis of results to date--according to M. Stefanski--it can be said that the progress attained in agriculture and food industry in our province as disproportionate in relation to existing production capability, potential and labor resources.

Thus, taking part in activities that improve supplying and serving agriculture, and assuring outlays for agricultural investments in gmina and province budgets is an important task for all organizations, echelons and PZPR and ZSL members. The purpose of these activities is to increase the production of grains and fodders and to arrest the decline tendencies in animal husbandry, and to improve the living conditions of the rural population. It is necessary to examine the possibilities of initiating additional production for agriculture in socialized plants and in crafts establishments, to further improve the agrarian structure, to use available equipment more effectively, to raise farmer expertise based on the latest attainments in science, and to improve the activity of units serving agriculture. It is also necessary to activate possible reserves by

improving the operation of the food industry, food preservation and food turnover. The KW secretary gave assurances that an appraisal of these activities during the preceding year will be completed by 31 March 1983.

The speaker emphasized that sociovocational and farmer self-government organizations are important partners of the PZPR and ZSL in accomplishing these tasks. Labor unions operate presently in more than one-third of agricultural and food industry enterprises and in technical enterprises that service agriculture, while worker self-governments have been established in 40 percent of such enterprises. Rural youth problems also demand a great deal of attention--youth's life start and vocational start. PZPR KW and ZSL WK youth commissions concern themselves with them.

An important task for PZPR and ZSL area elements will also be an analysis of the present situation, and elaboration of a program for development of the rural infrastructure with respect to education, culture, health, sport, tourism, trade, services, roads, provision for water, transportation and communication. In achieving these tasks it is essential to have the cooperation of all of the progressive forces in the rural environment, whose area should primarily be the structures of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, as well as consistent realization of the worker-peasant alliance idea. For example, through direct work crew contacts with specified gminas and villages.

The reorientation of the economy for agriculture's needs is a difficult and expensive undertaking, particularly under conditions of the present crisis. Because of the long cycle, changes in agriculture do not take place very quickly. However, our activities, said the KW secretary, must be undertaken immediately.

Next, ZSL KW presidium member, Vice Governor Jerzy Schwarz summarized the situation in Gdansk's agriculture at the turn of 1982-1983. A basic problem, he said, is increasing the production of grains and fodders, and restoration of the agricultural and rural market to stimulate agriculture's production activity.

Good results were obtained in harvests of grains in 1982--an average of 25.1 quintals per hectare were obtained. Fruit harvests, particularly of apples were also good. Beets, whose sugar content was a record high amounting to 17.5 percent, also exceeded expectations. On the other hand, because of the continued drought, harvests of potatoes, vegetables and fodder plants were smaller.

Despite an increase in the area for grain cultivation by 6,500 hectares, and harvests higher by 18,000 tons than in 1981, grain procurement encounters various difficulties. From July 1982 to the middle of February 1983 barely 50.2 percent of the planned amount was procured. Among others, that is a result of a negative grain-fodder balance, and lower supplies by 50 percent of fodder from state stocks. The continuing high grain prices on the free market do not constitute an incentive to sell



in state procurement points. However, it is essential to procure no less than an additional 13,800 tons of grains. That is a realizable goal. Talks will be held with farmers for the purpose of stimulating procurement. Farmers who will be avoiding selling grain to the state will not be able to count on help in being supplied with production means and will be the last to receive them.

The results of the July (1982) census showed a small increase in the number of farm animals in comparison to 1981, however, the number is constantly lower than in 1979. Unfavorable changes in the structure of herds, particularly of hogs is noted. The results of the January census also confirm these unfavorable trends. A decrease of 13.7 percent took place in the number of hogs owned by private farmers, including a decrease of about 24 percent in the number of piglets. Only the number of cattle was greater by 2.6 percent. In connection with this it is anticipated that the supply of cattle for slaughter will decrease in the second quarter of 1983. Free-market prices for piglets have been rising recently and the sale of sows is decreasing. This means that improvements can be expected in the animal husbandry situation in the second half of 1983. The scarcity of fodders and the small supply of production means and consumer goods for the rural market, restricts possibilities for the full utilization of peasant farm production potential.

Better results were obtained in procurement of milk than in 1981. This procurement is proceeding particularly well this year. In January it attained a rate of 117 percent.

Supplying agriculture with production means improved last year. There were greater supplies of mineral fertilizers, however, there was a smaller supply of nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium fertilizers for the peasant economy. Supplies of tractors increased 18 percent, as did also supplies of simple tools--forks, shovels, scythes, chains and nails, although the demand for these products was not fully satisfied. Land management also improved. The average size of a private farm increased last year from 7.8 hectares to more than 8 hectares.

Great efforts are being made in order to improve provisions for water for the rural area and for land reclamation. The resources designated for these purposes this year are 12 percent greater than in 1982. These and other actions have in mind raising cropland productivity. This is a very important goal because nearly half the land in Gdansk province are weak class V and VI soils. Decisive changes must take place in the make-up of sowings in favor of structure-forming papilionaceous crops. In connection with this, it is necessary to improve the management of seed supplies. It is also necessary to expand the contracting out of these crops on a wider scale.

Improvement in the protection of crops against pests and weeds becomes essential because there is too much damage caused by fungus diseases, potato blight, etc.

Energetic actions are being undertaken for the purpose of expanding mechanization services for agriculture, improving fodder preservation and storage. Drying centers are being expanded and built in rural areas. Veterinary services are also being improved.

Organization of propagation and insemination must be improved in order to improve animal husbandry. This concerns supplies of the highest quality breeding materials.

Various forms of agricultural education will be expanded. Much attention is being given to the development of teams of young farmers and agricultural training.

We want to create a favorable climate for restoring the authority of various forms of rural self-government--said the deputy governor--adding that support of self-government activity in the rural area should favor a fuller realization of the joint PZPR CC and ZSL SC resolution, and the joint PZPR KW and ZSL WK plenum in Gdansk.

In the course of the meeting a discussion developed during which PZPR and ZSL members, staff employees of the political apparatus, individual farmers, workers from the socialized and cooperative sector, and units serving agriculture talked about the rural area's current problems, evaluated the degree to which present goals have been achieved and presented their own proposals for new political and economic solutions. Taking part in the discussion were: Michal Gapa, Kazimierz Samulak, Edward Dziekan, Jozef Grenda, Gerard Kulas, Stanislaw Murawska, Kazimierz Slotwinski, Czeslaw Butowski, Jerzy Kiedrowski, Kazimierz Wierzba, Bogumil Kosznik, Jan Zuraw, Miroslaw Czernis, Jan Kurowski, Tadeusz Urbanowicz and Jan Zegartowski. Five discussants submitted their remarks for the meeting's official record.

Among the many voices raised in the discussion there were repeated opinions to the effect that an improvement of the agricultural situation depends not so much on administrative decisions as on creating appropriate economic conditions for increasing agricultural production, and a successive improvement in working conditions and life in the rural area. One of the factors hampering production progress is the considerable break up of private farms--larger farms can bear an unsettled price condition more easily, and utilize their technical equipment more fully. It was also proposed that more notice be taken of the economic ineffectiveness of the many farms that are owned by so-called peasant-workers.

Appreciable reserves in increasing the effectiveness of agricultural production are also inherent in the proper use of the acreage owned, in improving management, in eliminating needless losses in crop production caused by the lack of insecticides or improper storage.

Discussants emphasized the urgent need for rebuilding and expanding water-land reclamation facilities in Gdansk Province, but particularly in the Zylawy area where the greater part of the most fertile lands are located in low lying areas. Reclamation not only guarantees raising agriculture's productivity but also an improvement in providing the rural area with water--of more than 670 hamlets only 200 take advantage of rural water works. The problem is difficult of resolution without central authority assistance because--according to the province's Department of Administration [UW] in Gdansk, local drainage enterprises safeguard barely 30 percent of the province's needs. The technical condition of flood-control embankments, pumping stations and the permeability of drainage ditches is alarming. More than half of these mechanisms and devices require immediate repair or modernization. This is also a very real matter of the safety of about 140,000 people residing in areas that are threatened by floods.

One of the subjects touched on most frequently during the course of discussion likewise was the problem of the profitability of plant and animal production, and establishment of a guarantee of the stability of the state's agricultural policy consistent with the letter and spirit of the 11th Plenum's resolution. Conference participants expressed concern with the lack of a precise definition of the mutual obligations of producer and receiver in the obligatory system of negotiating contracts, the outvoting of rural self-government activities by the economic administration (e.g. by the leadership of the Gdansk-Mackowy District Dairy Cooperative, and the divergences in the opinions of agriculture and finance department representatives in the matter of future agricultural crop procurement price increases. These phenomena--it was found--do not favor increased farmer confidence in actions by the authorities, or motivations to increase production.

The fodder allotment system that, for example, gives priority to porkers over pedigreed sows was called in question. It is perceived as one of the principal reasons why there are fewer hogs. The inflexibility of the present farm inventory insurance system was also pointed up. It was proposed that it be replaced by voluntary banking deductions for those purposes, from the amounts received by farmers for plant and animal products sold.

A substantial number of comments pertained to the improvement of living and working conditions in the rural area. Among the greatest sore spots of rural life are the shortages of equipment. However, this does not only concern the generally known lack of technical production means such as tools, machinery and agricultural equipment, but also the lack of basic articles of everyday use such as clothing, footwear, etc. Discussants felt that the level of equipment in the rural area is considerably lower than that of urban centers. Disproportions also evidence themselves in the development of education and medical care in the rural area that is hampered by the lack of housing for a cadre of specialists. The need for reactivating tested forms of additional vocational training for farmers was also raised.

It was stated during the discussion that as the result of the economic reform, a number of state and cooperatives farms have dispensed with the technical services provided by enterprises that render them and perform their own repairs. Incident to this, enterprises with unused production capacity have turned to making many needed machines and equipment. This production substantially eases the need for these types of articles. Spare parts, whose continuing shortage is reflected in the market, are also being made. Plants providing technical services to agriculture intend to expand this type of activity without, however, reducing their repair potential.

The activity of agriculture-food industry enterprises has met with sharp criticism. Last year there was a 13 percent drop in production by that sector, and in some plants the decrease was substantially greater, even 50 percent. Employment in this industry decreased only 8 percent in relation to 1981, but labor efficiency decreased by 5 percent while in other industry sectors in the province it increased by 5 percent. Thus, production dropped, labor efficiency decreased, while the wage-fund grew larger than in other industry subsectors. These enterprises earned a good deal of profit, for example in "Baltyk" the profitability level rose 2-5 fold with half less production.

Even those enterprises that had previously been unprofitable attained very good financial results. The conclusion flowing from this is, that food producers, that is, farmers and socialized farms, obtain their profits with difficulty and through hard work, while that comes very easily to processing plants. It was said that this cannot be allowed to continue. That is taking place at the expense of consumers who receive fewer items of food and in addition, are forced to line the pockets of food processing plants.

In discussing the problems of cooperative farms it was pointed out that they find themselves in a difficult situation as the result of an incorrect policy of past years. Production cooperatives had to take over the worst class of lands, that in addition were dispersed. This makes it difficult to carry on efficient farming. Despite this, last year an average of 27 quintals of grains were harvested from them. The present reform forces cooperatives to develop initiatives to locate profitable production farms. Consequently, they are undertaking the raising of egg-laying chickens, geese, ducks, as well as rabbits, etc. They are also adapting animal raising to the amount of their own fodder stores in order to be as self-sufficient as possible in that area.

Certain moves by central authorities have met with criticism. For example, it was pointed out that there is a great deal of anxiety in the rural area as the result of an announcement about the introduction of a new equalizing tax on farmers. It is not known exactly who will have to pay this tax, nor how much or when. This creates distrust and is reflected negatively in agricultural production. Some price decisions that had not been thought through were also criticized. On the contrary,

it was asserted, the procurement prices of agricultural crops ought not to be changed in the course of a production cycle. This shows unrest and anxiety in the rural area.

The waste of timber in forests was pointed out. For example, many thousands of cubic meters of wood are still lying around in the Kolbudy Forest Inspectorate area. Hauling out trees felled by the wind would be feasible if there was the possibility of a radical price drop in the price of timber to make it worthwhile for farmers to buy it. It would also be necessary to simplify the procedure associated with its purchase. As the result of impracticable regulations, a farmer cannot saw logs in a sawmill although there is one in Kolbudy. These problems require a sensible solution because, of course, if a farmer could buy logs in the forest, saw them in a sawmill and stack them under his roof, that would be of benefit to the national economy. Meanwhile, a valuable raw material is lying uselessly in forests, and what is worse, in time becomes a nursery for standing timber diseases.

Instances of the wastage of many agricultural crops met with criticism. Over the years, 15-20 percent of the potatoes harvested are irretrievably wasted because of the lack of suitable storage facilities, and processing capability. This also pertains to many fruits and vegetables. Therefore, energetic activity aimed at the proper management of harvested agricultural crops is essential.

The PZPR CC deputy chief of the Agriculture and Food Economy Section [WRiGZ], Jan Zegartowski addressed himself to a series of questions raised during the discussion. Pointing to the significance of the joint PZPR CC and ZSL SC plenum, he said that an increase in agricultural production is an important means for overcoming the economic crisis and easing social tensions. Among others, the route to that goal is the development of self-government and farmer sociovocational organizations. The strengthening of that movement is a very important assignment for fraternal parties.

The reports-election campaign is currently approaching. This campaign becomes a good occasion for activating rural circles and undertaking actions for the purpose of raising agricultural production to a higher level and improving the everyday life of farmers. It is necessary to bestow a considerably higher rank to the matter of developing of self-government and farmer sociovocational organizations.

At the conclusion of the deliberations a resolution was passed and a schedule for basic PZPR and ZSL organization achievement in Gdansk province was adopted.

Joint PZPR-ZSL Resolution

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 26, 27 Feb 83 p 1

[Article: "Resolution"]

[Text] The PZPR Province Committee and ZSL Province Committee gathered in joint session confirm the resolution of the 11th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and ZSL Supreme Committee on the further development of agriculture and improvement of the food economy.

The adopted line of activities contained in resolutions of the 9th PZPR Congress, 8th ZSL Congress and PZPR CC Politburo and ZSL SC guidelines of January 1981 contributes to a further stabilization of agricultural policy, consolidation of the worker-farmer alliance, and further strengthening of economic ties between the city and the countryside.

Today's joint plenum confirms the fact that the realization of the PZPR WK and ZSL WK joint meeting's resolution of April 1981 had an influence on the continued development of agriculture in our province.

In accepting the contents of the PZPR KW, ZSL presidium executive board's report, and those of the governor's address, the plenum confirms: that in the light of the April resolution, the adopted assignment program resulting from the resolution of the 11th PZPR CC and ZSL SC plenum, and the Province Reports-Program Conference, constitute guidelines for the immediate future.

The assignment accomplishment schedule presented at today's plenum is to serve as a full guarantee of task accomplishment for PZPR and ZSL echelons and basic organizations in Gdansk Province. The schedule takes joint plenum decisions of 28 April 1983 into consideration, supplemented by suggestions and proposals from today's discussions. This schedule specifies the assignments, procedure, manner and time-limits for making current and periodic evaluations of assignment achievement.

The PZPR Province Committee and ZSL Province Committee confirm the schedule for achievement of the 11th PZPR CC and ZSL SC Plenum resolution in our province, and obligates the basic echelons of our parties--basic party organization and ZSL circles, to disseminate and initiate its contents. The plenum obligates:

--basic echelons of both parties to specify and adapt the assignments contained in the schedule to the existing conditions and capabilities of their area;

--state and economic administrative authorities to develop detailed schedules for achievement of assignments.

The joint PZPR KW and ZSL WK plenum appeals to the entire public of Gdansk province to actively engage itself in achieving the program for feeding the nation.

## Gdansk Agricultural Situation

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 28 Feb 83 p 3

[Article: "Report of ZSL Province Committee Presidium Member, Deputy Governor Jerzy Schwarz"]

[Text] Deputy Governor Jerzy Schwarz gave a summary of the situation in Gdansk Province agriculture at the turn of 1982-1983. A basic problem-- he said--is increasing the production of grains and fodders, and restoration of the agricultural and rural market to stimulate agricultural production activity.

Good grain harvests were attained in 1982, obtaining average yields of 25.1 quintals per acre. Harvests of fruit, especially apples, were also good. Beets, whose sugar content was a record-high and amounted to 17.5 percent also came up to expectations. On the other hand, harvests of potatoes, vegetables and fodder crops were smaller as a result of the continuing drought.

Despite an increase in the area for growing grains by 6,500 hectares, and harvests that were 18,000 tons higher than in 1981, grain procurement encounters serious difficulties. This, among others, is the result of a negative grain-fodder balance and 50 percent lower fodder supplies from state resources. Continuing high free-market prices of grains do not act as an incentive for their sale at state procurement points. However, the procurement of at least another 13,800 tons of grains is necessary. This is a realizable task. Talks will be conducted with farmers for the purpose of stimulating procurement. Farmers who decline to sell to the state cannot count on assistance in being furnished with the means of production, and will be the last to receive them.

The results of the July census showed a small increase in the number of farm animals in comparison with 1981, however, this continues to be a lower number than that attained in 1979. Unfavorable changes are noted in herd structure, particularly of hogs. The results of the January census also confirm these unfavorable trends. A decrease of 13.7 percent took place in the number of hogs on private farms, included therein a decrease of about 24 percent in the number of piglets. However, the number of cattle increased by 2.6 percent. In connection with this, a reduction in the supply of slaughter livestock is anticipated in the second quarter. Lately, the free-market price of piglets has been going up, and the sale of sows decreasing. This means, that an improvement in the animal production situation can be expected in the second half of 1983. The shortage of fodders, and too small a supply of production means and consumer goods for the rural market, restricts possibilities for utilizing the production potential of peasant farms.

Better results were obtained in the procurement of milk than in 1981, while this year, that procurement is taking place especially well, reaching a rate of 117 percent in January.

The supplying of agriculture with production means improved last year, and there were greater supplies of mineral fertilizers. Supplies of tractors increased by 18 percent, as did supplies of simple tools such as forks, shovels, scythes, chains and nails, although the demand for these products was not fully satisfied. The management of land also improved. The average size of a private farm increased from 7.8 hectares last year to more than 8 hectares.

Great efforts are being made here in order to improve the water supply for the rural area, and to make progress in land reclamation. The resources earmarked for this purpose in 1983 are 12 percent higher than in 1982. These and other activities have as their purpose raising crop-land productivity. This is a very important task because almost half the soils in Gdansk Province are weak class V and VI soils. Decisive changes must take place in the structure of sowings in favor of structure-forming papilionaceous crops. In connection with this, it is necessary to improve seed management. It is necessary to develop the contracting out of these crops. Any important production factor is the problem of soil reaction. Almost 70 percent of our soils are too acid. Magnesium and other micro-elements are missing from the soil in many localities. Thus, it is essential that detailed studies with respect to this be made of all soils, and precise fertilizing instructions be prepared on the basis of them.

In order to improve the production of animals it is necessary to make propagation and insemination organizations more efficient. This concerns supplies of the highest quality breeding material.

An improvement in the protection of crops against pests and weeds becomes essential. We incur overly large losses because of fungus diseases, potato blight, etc.

Energetic activities are being undertaken for the purpose of expanding mechanical services for agriculture, and to improve the preservation and storage of fodder crops. Drying plants are being expanded and built in gminas. The work of veterinary services is also being improved.

Various forms of agricultural education will be developed. A great deal of attention is being given to the development of teams of young farmers, and agricultural training.

We want to create a favorable climate for restoring the authority of various rural self-government forms--said the deputy governor--adding that support of self-government activity in the rural area should favor a fuller achievement of the resolution of the Joint PZPR CC and ZSL SC Plenum, as well as the Joint PZPR KW and ZSL KW Plenum.



Secretary Mieczyslaw Stefanski's Report

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 28 Feb 83 p 3

[Article: "PZPR and ZSL Committee and Organization Assignment Resulting From Decisions of the 11th PZPR CC and ZSL SC Plenum--Report Delivered by PZPR KW Secretary in Gdansk Mieczyslaw Stefanski"]

[Text] (Summary) The joint 11th Plenum of the PZPR CC and ZSL SC is a confirmation of the importance that the leadership of both parties attaches to continuing the decisions contained in the resolution of the 9th Conference, 8th Congress and the January 1981 guidelines of the PZPR CC and ZSL SC Presidium with respect to the further development of agriculture and the food economy.

Bearing in mind the definition of assignments in the context of the resolution by the PZPR CC and ZSL SC 9th Plenum, by today's plenary session, it is essential to make an assessment of what was accomplished as the result of our joint plenum resolution of 28 April 1982.

We achieved an improvement in the productive use of land. The 1982 takeover of 2,100 hectares of land for the State Land Fund [PFZ] from socialized economy units put those farm expanses in order. Last year 4,500 hectares of PFZ lands were sold to private farmers, something that practically eliminated a regular PFZ lands cultivation problem. Eliminated were 900 hectares of fallow lands. We did not, however, manage to stimulate a sufficient enough degree of social disapproval of farmers who make poor use of land.

The decision to transfer and to incorporate a selfgovernment agricultural section into the gmina resulted in a division of agricultural production means that was deemed just by the public. Last year there was a reorganization of the gmina agricultural service. It was divided into an administrative service in the gmina office, and an advisory service under the Provincial Center for Agricultural Progress, which operates directly on private farmer properties.

Much attention has been devoted to the problems of increasing one's own fodder base, and decreasing the production of grain-absorptive stock. New technologies that increase productive effectiveness are being introduced and the raising of high protein crops is being popularized. There is a lack of observable progress in solving problems relative to supplying the rural area and agriculture with water. The amount of resources for drainage is inadequate.

Steps were undertaken to improve the use of listed buildings, particularly poultry-breeding structures. We cannot be satisfied with the accomplishment of assignments with respect to machinery and equipment for agriculture. The acceptance for production of but 98 out of 525 items, of which even fewer were produced, testifies to the little interest there is in this problem.

Results cannot rouse optimism. Despite increasing the total production of grains we have serious difficulties in achieving the goals set for their procurement. We have not attained the anticipated increase in the fodder base. This situation has exercised a negative influence on the number of farm animals.

A new economic-financial system was introduced into all enterprises: enterprises became self-governing and self-financing. A review made by the State Farms office showed that the reform introduced had brought positive results.

The financial result improved in 1981-1982 by more than 966 million zlotys, but only one-third of this represents increased thriftiness. The economic results obtained by some agricultural cooperative enterprises do not guarantee their further systematic development in the new system of financing.

Critical comments prompt the slow initiation of a pay incentive system in the agricultural-food industry, and in the PGR. We observe a disproportional increase in wages in relation to the increase in production and labor productivity in many cases.

Progress attained in the province's agriculture and the food industry is disproportional to the existing production capabilities of the available production potential and labor resources. This is when the light of the PZPR CC and ZSL SC 11th Plenum's resolution, it is urgent to undertake comprehensive political, social, and economic activities aimed at increasing production in this sector of the national economy.

An important assignment for all of the organizations and echelons of our party and the ZSL is activity by all of their members, envoys and councillors for the purpose of improving supplies and services for agriculture. So is an assurance in gmina and province budgets of outlays for agricultural investments and their actual execution.

Activities in the food industry should be aimed at better utilization of production capability and degree of processing raw materials, as well as using waste products (agricultural) for fodder and other purposes. Agriculture is expecting a rapid growth in supplies of industrial means of production. Thus, Gdansk Province PZPR and ZSL organizations and echelons are making an appraisal of the possibility of undertaking additional production on behalf of agriculture and the rural market in all key plants and craft shops in the area. The linking of agricultural producers with the socialized procurement and the raw farm product processing apparatus has important significance. Organizations in provincial cooperative associations and the agriculture-food industry should devote special attention to efforts that entail initiating the new system for contracting agricultural raw materials, and supplying agriculture with the means of production. They should be particularly concerned that the system be internally cohesive, that it stimulates the growth and improvement of agricultural production effectiveness, that its structure can be adapted for the manufacture of consumer products, and that it assures partnership conditions and discipline in the discharge of assumed obligations.

The proper utilization of cropland and fundamental base in animal husbandry has decisive significance in working to obtain an increase in agricultural production. It is necessary to counteract unfavorable tendencies in the development of domestic animal breeding.

It is necessary to inspire activities aimed at the quantitative and qualitative development of young farmer groups and agricultural training groups with participation by party echelons and organizations. It is necessary to return to good and tested forms of disseminating agricultural knowledge. WOPR work should be concentrated on the initiation in practice of the latest scientific attainments. We must eliminate negligence and waste from the activity of those that serve the countryside. Both of our parties have an obligation to make periodic evaluations of the progress made in initiating economic reform in PGR and Agricultural Producers Cooperatives, as well as for the development of cooperation by these units with private farms.

We must strive toward getting the food industry, together with contracting units, to become responsible for organizing the raw materials base. Thus, our party elements in those units and in the rural cooperative movement must make periodic evaluations of the contracting process, the development of raw material bases, and also of the cooperation of these units with agricultural producers and trade associations.

It is necessary to appeal more broadly to people's social activity through the worker self-government, trade unions, and youth and social organizations. At the present time registered trade unions are operating in more than one-third of the agricultural enterprises, the agriculture-food industry and the technical agricultural service. Self-governments have been created in 40 percent of these enterprises. The process of creating new trade unions and worker self-government should be speeded up.

It is necessary to stimulate the production of machinery and equipment for agriculture through additional industrial plants and to seek out producers of new types of machinery.

PZPR and ZSL echelons should stimulate further development of mechanical services, organization of technical equipment lending facilities, improvement of spare parts distribution, and development of the repair shop base.

Much time on current political work in the countryside is dedicated to disseminating and putting into practice the resolution on sociovocational farmer organizations. Party echelons and organizations should continue to actively involve themselves in clarifying its goals and assignments. Our organizations should give wide support to rural housewife circles. We must provide protection and assistance to gmina farmer associations and to agricultural organizations. Rural youth problems require a great deal of attention. Youth's participation in self-government activity needs to be increased.

Our area party echelons and PZPR and ZSL organizations will make an analysis of the present situation and prepare a development program for villages and gminas of an infrastructure in the field of education, culture, sport, tourism, trade, services, road network, provisions for water, communication and transportation.

Special concern must be exercised with respect to the highly qualified professional cadre undertaking work in the rural area, particularly in the field of health care, education and culture. Activities whose purpose is the development and improvement of the education level in the countryside become urgent. PZPR and ZSL gmina echelons will initiate the preparation of programs for improving health care.

An essential element in political work in the countryside is initiation and comprehensive support of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. In addition to strengthening it, we ought to win it over for consolidating political unity in the countryside and for achieving the assignments that face agriculture.

The spring season is before us, hence an important task for today is the preparation of equipment and machinery for the spring-sowing campaign, and protection of seed material. We should undertake organizational work in this matter pertinent to maintenance of a full readiness time-limit for entering this campaign.

This is an enormous mass of assignments, but the importance of the moment confirms us in the conviction that we must do everything in order not to disappoint the people, and farmer trust. Although much will also depend on them. Clearly much is being staked today on a good farmer linked with the cooperative and state markets.

The PZPR CC and ZSL SC resolution outlining the road to the attainment of food self-sufficiency does not contain optimistic promises. It is a register of essential economic decisions that in reality burdens the national economy, but is indispensable for attaining progress in the following years.

Reorientation of the economy for the needs of agriculture and the food economy is a difficult and costly undertaking, particularly in the country's current socioeconomic crisis. In view of the long cycle involved, changes in agriculture do not take place rapidly. However, our activities must be undertaken immediately. There is much evidence to show that with the understanding and involvement of the PZPR and ZSL socioeconomic aktiv in the entire province, and the support of the working people of our province, we should be able to cope with the tasks outlined for us by the 9th PZPR CC and ZSL SC Joint Plenum.

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POLAND

POZNAN PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Andrzej Gaszczolowski, Poznan Journalists

Poznan GAZETA [OSNANSKA in Polish 10 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (bej)]

[Text] Newspaper readers radio listeners and television viewers are most competent to evaluate the Poznan mass media--the press, radio and television--but journalists themselves feel a need for critical evaluation of the results of their work. That was given expression during the meeting of the journalist world with Secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee [KW PZPR] in Poznan, Andrzej Gaszczolowski, which took place yesterday at the Press Club.

Increasing editions of newspapers--mentioning only the Friday edition of GAZETA POZNANSKA, which went over the half-million copy mark--attests to the demand and acceptance of its contents by the community. However, as said in the opening address by Leonard Wachalski--chairman of the division of the Polish Peoples' Republic Journalists' Association, which organized the meeting--the environment feels a need for broader research on the quality of the press. An evaluation such as this could become helpful in the editing of newspapers.

Brought up in the discussion were essential problems for the journalist world connected with putting the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress into practice, which in part is linked to the mass media as well as to manifested tendencies scorning the role and importance of the press, radio and television. Examples were given of inappropriate reaction to press critique, or articles which were inconvenient for individual persons and institutions. It was said, that it is possible to put the burden of various imperfections on us, but in order not to lead to that, it's necessary to assure that journalists will have access to extensive information. In discussion, matters also taken up were the question of popularization and presentation of various forms of work done by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, as well as the relation of press-radio-television critique to events in the cultural world.

KW PZPR Secretary Andrzej Gaszczolowski generally agreed with the opinions of the discussion participants, noting that one can detect here and there symptoms of a rebirth of arrogance among the authorities, high-handed manners, and contempt for social opinion. The party's opposition to those symptoms was given expression by the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, W. Jaruzelski, during an appearance in Katowice. The mass media should aid this action. However, it is necessary to differentiate criticism from a cult of denouncement, abusive language and an incapable leadership. Servitude to the authorities should not denote exaggeration of reality, but rather participation in the political battle. In short, there is no need today for "escape into neutrality" because many affairs still require solutions that are in agreement with social demand.

#### Executive Board on Resolution Implementation

Poznan GAZETA PZNANSKA in Polish 14 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (ako)]

[Text] A session of the KW PZPR Executive Board in Poznan took place Friday. The Executive Board familiarized itself with information about the implementation of resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum and the PW PZPR Plenum in Posnan, which was devoted to youth affairs.

The range of topics outlined was very broad for tasks resulting from resolutions on youth affairs, are concerned with all spheres of sociopolitical life of the country, and require consistent long-term ideological, political and economic action by the party, government, and economic administration of a large part of society as well as by the youth themselves.

The Executive Board familiarized itself with a survey of the current store of information in this field. One can already record the first, although still modest, effects of this. Their value is all the greater, because they were achieved during an unusually difficult situation. However, There are unfortunately still many barriers hindering implementation of the resolutions and slowing down the initiative of the youth.

After evaluation of undertakings initiated by administrative channels and party organizations within the province it was ascertained, that a whole line of organizational and program work with the purpose of dissemination and implementation of the plenum's substantial work has been carried out. However, routine and everyday tasks dominate many of these undertakings. There still are not many new initiatives worthy of special emphasis. One also cannot narrow the question of the younger generation down only to the problems of the youth movement, seeking within it the main recipient and executor of the resolution. Action toward creation of a homogeneous educational front should be intensified as well as making better use of ideological contents of that plenum.

The Executive Board pointed out that implementation of the PZPR Central Committee Ninth Plenum resolution cannot be a one-phase operation. A requirement for bringing it to life will be incorporation of the youth generation's problems into the program and practical application of party activity for good.

#### Party Meeting on Youth Indoctrination

Poznan GAZETA POSNANSKA in Polish 16 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (mn)]

[Text] Specific duties in the education of the young generation rest on the teacher, especially those who are party members. Yesterday's conference, which took place within the Poznan KW PZPR with the participation of secondary school educators--members of the PZPR--was dedicated to this problem. KW PZPR Secretary Maciej Olejniczak was also present.

The teacher should educate in the spirit of socialism, of respect for work, of love for one's country. These are evident truths. In order, however, to successfully carry out these tasks we must ask ourselves: Who are the young people, whom we want to educate? Are they the same ones that were there 2 years ago? Have we not lost ourselves in the chaos of events, which took place? Educational contact with teenagers is different in various Poznan schools, however in general it is insufficient, as teachers' groups also are many a time divided among themselves.

The assistant school superintendent, Stefan Barlog, said that the socioeconomic crisis was of consequence to our youth. Attitude of frustration and the burying of moral values characterize the school.

We see suspicion and negation from our youth to all that comes from official sources. That is all reflected in various, frequently harmful phenomena. Various youth movements are being created which socially should not be accepted. Youth seeks its ideal. At the same time we know too little about them. The problem of ideological education does not boil down only to the school, but to the family--the environment in which we live. In the meantime that influence is not successful enough, or in general is not present at all: worse yet if it is destructive.

The fact that the majority of youth is passive results from the fact that it is looking for authority figures and such an authority figure should be the teacher--intelligent and able to establish dialogue with pupils--because no program or set of rules can deal with educational work. The majority of teachers indifferently pass by the problems present in our youth, not even entering into discussion with them. Meanwhile, in order to fulfill educational tasks it is necessary to achieve youth's confidence.

School self-governments, of which teachers should be advisors, have much to do in this. There also exists a need for undertaking work with pupils' parents because the school-home contacts are formalized. The assistant school superintendent appealed to Poznan teachers to work out such educational initiatives, which would give the desired results. Youth cannot be left to itself.

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At the end of the conference Maciej Olejniczak informed those gathered about the economic and sociopolitical situation.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Katowice Province Executive on Control

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 11 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (jan): "The Executive Board of the PZPR in Katowice: A Greater Control Over Implementation of the Rules for Pricing Policies"]

[Text] At the yesterday's session, the PZPR Executive Board in Katowice raised one of the most essential (according to public opinion) problems of the question of prices. The aspect of the evaluation of management activities in the area of the plants in the Katowice Voivodship district was taken up, particularly in relation to market production as well as the question of correctness of fixing and use of prices in small industry and in merchandise turnover.

There was invited to this important part of the deliberations a large group of comrades who dealt with the problem of prices both ex officio as well as within the framework of their party and economic activities. Present, among others, were the directors of selected plants making products mainly for market supply.

In the current year, it was stressed among other things, there arose more opportune conditions for strengthening the systems-type solutions subordinated to an increase in production and the improvement in efficiency. A modified system of enterprises operation in the framework of economic reform serves the purpose of increasing the influence of the state organs on price fixing and it counteracts their unfounded growth. Many examples were cited of correct price fixing and of use of regulated and contract prices in the industry and in small industry; however, in the majority of plants that have undergone control by delegated representatives of NIK [Overseeing and Control], many striking irregularities were found.

The purpose is not so much to direct to the state treasury of hundreds of thousands or millions of zlotys gained, due to control, by too highly estimated expenditures, to chase after unjustified profits, but to bring about the fixing of the correct level of prices as a result of a thorough analysis of all elements of expenditures. A faultily prepared calculation of planned costs of production, an insufficient technical and organizational progress, signs of inefficiency which causes waste of all goods, all these cannot under any circumstances or in any manner be calculated to be part of the burden of expenditures and prices.

In situations in which there is great leeway in fixing prices, and where there is a covering up of the effects of inefficiency and waste, there exists a need --in accordance with the decree of the 8th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee to activate and strengthen plant groups set up for analysis of expenditures and prices. Their activity in a number of enterprises leaves a lot to be desired. It is indispensable now, more than before, to coordinate the interaction of the management and the professional auditing and control organs. In the name of the public interest, a justified need has been pointed out, a need for social criticism and for the party to exert influence on all symptoms of price policy violations in the plants of Katowice Voivodship. The attention of the organs of state control and of the social teams of expenditures and prices analysis should be, to a larger extent, subordinated to the process of price fixing of supply merchandise, investments and cooperative elements which show the trend to increase rapidly in relation to the prices of market goods.

In the discussion many topics were taken up and a series of proposals was made. And this is why the results which were prepared on the basis of furnished documentation were directed for further correcting. The topic taken up by the Executive Committee has not been exhausted, it will continue to be the subject of live interest in the totality of party work of district voivodship organization.

The Executive Committee acknowledges the information about the degree of exploitation of plant radio stations in everyday political and educational activity at places of work. A schedule of fulfillment of tasks was received ensuing from the resolutions of the 9th Plenum and from those of the PZPR Central Committee and the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party, and also from the register of motions presented during the deliberations of the plenum of the PZPR Executive Committee in February of the current year concerning complaints and grievances. An evaluation of social and political situation in the voivodship was conducted and personnel matters were discussed. The deliberations were led by the member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, first secretary of the PZPR Executive Committee, comrade Zbigniew Messner. Comrade Jerzy Romanik, a member of the PZPR Central Committee participated.

#### Krakow Province on Water Intake Plans

Krakow GAZETA DRAKOWSKI in Polish 10 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (mik): "First Secretary of PZPR Krakow Committee Josef Gajewicz on Construction of Water Intake for Krakow"]

[Text] (Our own coverage) The construction of the water intake for Krakow on the river Raba is presently the most serious investment in our region. It is so not only on account of the expense and scope of work which has to be performed but mainly because of its significance for the entire Krakow area. It is unnecessary to recall once again the balance of water in Krakow. Everybody is aware of the importance of this investment. The site of the construction is frequently visited and attended by representatives of the state and of city administrations and that only confirms the significance assigned to prompt delivery of the new water intake.

Just yesterday in Dobczyce a session took place of the construction of water intake coordinating staff for Krakow, in which the first secretary of the Krakow PZPR Committee, Jozef Gajewicz, and the vice-mayor of the city, Andrzej Zmuda, took part. Present also were the directors of executive enterprises, the investor, municipal and party leaders from parishes which will have some of their territories incorporated in the Dobczyce reservoir. They discussed the effects of the executive actions of last year, and defined the tasks for the current year. Let us recall that there are involved here three serious investment enterprises: construction of the tower intake with a pipeline and the territory behind it, expansion of the water pipeline from the river Raba (stage Raba II), and finally construction of a water reservoir in Dobczyce. The construction of intake Raba II equals six serious investment tasks which are, in effect, to insure a supply of two cubic meters of water per second to Krakow, that is, twice as much as the presently existing intake Raba I gives.

One may say that Raba II is an expansion of the intake of Raba I, and the term "expansion" means in this case putting into effect a completely new line of production, with a new plant of water preparation, a pipeline carrying water to Krakow, as well as reservoir buildings for water. Additionally there are roads leading in and high-power lines. The total expense according to 1982 prices amounts to over 6.5 billion zlotys.

Last year was an unusually difficult year for the builders of the water intake. The well-known difficulty with building materials, a delayed intervention concerning the delivery of special pipes for water intake, shortage of carpenters who perform work of great scope in the Power Industry Pipeline and Hydrotechnical Construction Enterprises 2, delays in relaying pipelines on the existing territory of the preparation of water intake plant, or else problems with construction on the dam itself, as well as the caving-in of the excarpment of the excavation site, all these are now the past. Nevertheless all this influenced seriously and complicated the cycles of production in effect. Nevertheless, we can look to the future with optimism, and that will allow us to foresee first results in 1986. It is then that there will flow to Krakow the first cubic meter of water per second. As was stressed at yesterday's meeting, the plan for the current year was prepared based on existing financial and building-material realities. As far as the construction in Dobczyce of the reservoir, it was expected that 460 million zloyys would be allotted for the current year. However, since this investment comes from the so-called central plan, only 400 million zlotys were assigned. This has not disturbed set deadlines yet, although in 1984-85 work will have to be done to the amount of 1.5 million zlotys. This is possible from the technical point of view if there are no surprises. A serious increase in investment means took place on the territory of the construction of the plant for water preparation. For the current year it was estimated that work should be done to the amount of 643 million zlotys of which 267 million is work performed by the Power Industry Pipeline and Hydrotechnical Construction Enterprise 2. As had been stressed, this is probably the most difficult of all tasks at the present moment. Geological conditions create serious danger for the existing buildings and a similar thing may happen to the new ones. There is a need for a partial exchange of the territory.

The construction of equalizing reservoirs in Siercz from which the water will gravitate to flow in the pipeline to Krakow is to begin in April of the current year. This is a necessity since otherwise there may occur a dangerous piling up of tasks. A lot of time was devoted yesterday to the question of the so-called sanitation protection zone of water intake from the container in Dobczyce. This zone will occupy 102 hectares and is indispensable for activating the water intake. It is impossible to utilize the reservoir without it. And there is much work to be done, 37 kilometers of fences have to be put up, a marina for floating supplies has to be built, as well as cesspits for 70 farms and many other, seemingly insignificant tasks.

In general, the immensity of the enterprise which is the construction of the water intake for Krakow and of the reservoir in Dobczyce can be appreciated fully only on the construction site itself. It is enough to say that 28 enterprises of different specializations are working here. It is extremely complicated to coordinate these activities, but the fact that it is possible is attested to by the effects of the first two months of the current year. The plan in force has been fulfilled in excess of 3 million zloyts. Almost all enterprises which participate in the construction realize its importance, which generates concentration and understanding. This was stressed by the first secretary of the PZPR Krakow Committee, Jozef Gajewicz, who at the same time expressed thanks for the efforts spent in the construction. Many difficulties will still have to be overcome before water from Raba will flow to Krakow but that date comes closer with each month of good work.

#### Krakow Province on Party Theory

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 11-12-13 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (wcz): "From the Party Conference on Theory; We Cannot Act Separated From Social Realities"]

[Text] (Our own coverage) The offensive of the antisocialist forces against the sphere of social consciousness consists of depreciating the system of ideas and aims represented by the party. Socialism is represented as a real threat to national values, to culture, to human dignity and to sovereignty--the secretary of the PZPR Krakow Committee, Franciszek Dabrowski, said in his expose given at the Institute of Metal Working and Cutting in Krakow at yesterday's conference devoted to the methodological problems of party education.

The ideological confrontation continues, there is no lack of attacks and that brings confusion to the public consciousness and to youth opinion-forming milieus. Thus the party is forced to verify quickly its present methods of ideological influence, to use more effective ideological and educational methods. However, it was stressed in the discussion that while it is comparatively easy to answer the questions: Why did the system of party education not bear fruit in the moments of the most difficult tests? What caused part of the party's theoretical stock to be so weakened? Why is there no proper transmission between theory and practice?--it is not easy to establish a faultless and future oriented method of action.

What then should be this corrected methodology to be most effective? This was discussed exhaustively. One of the conclusions noted in the speech of the deputy chairman of the ideological department of the Central Committee, Andrezej Czyz, is probably the most essential--the ideological influence of party over members cannot be done in isolation from social realities. The best school is life itself. If the party manages to make it convincing then we do not need any better teachers.

The lectures of Prof Wlodzimierz Szewczuk, PhD, truly integrated all the topics that were taken up: "On psychological conditioning of effective education of adults"; Prof Marian Stephien, PhD spoke about "Language culture in party work"; and Dr Marian Dabrowa spoke about "The role of the lecturer." The director of the Center for Research and Ideological Education, Julian Wielgosz, raised the question of the functioning of the center from the point of view of ideological and political education of the employees of the party and of party activists, from the point of view of the activities of the lecturers, the preparation of the cadres who popularize the policies of the party and, what is most important, from the point of view of the program of schooling activities.

#### Kielce Province Executive on Efficiency

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 16 Mar 83 p 2

[Article: From the Work of the PZPR Executive Committee in Kielce"]

[Text] The executive body of the PZPR Executive Committee in Kielce at its session yesterday became acquainted with the utilization estimate of production capabilities of 44 industrial enterprises in the voivodship. It can be seen from the information presented to this body that the degree of utilization of productive capabilities in 1982 was not uniform and oscillated from 35 to 100 percent. However, the latter indicator was reached only by two enterprises. For purposes of illustration the Metal Works "Predom-Mesko" in Skarzysko utilized their productive capabilities to 48 percent, the Truck Factory in Starachowice 65 percent, the Brake Spare Parts Plant in Skarzysko 71 percent, Cement Works "Malogoszcz" 45 percent, and the Flagstone and Stone-ware Plants in Staporkow utilized their production capabilities to only 35 percent. If one would group the reasons why many enterprises did not utilize their production potential, then the following order would emerge: lack of supply of materials (mainly due to imports); inconsistent cooperative supplies (severance of interplant ties existing at present); freeze on hiring of qualified personnel (mainly of lathe operators, grinders, and foundry casting workers); sick leave absences (increased idled hours on that account reach 20 percent in some plants); low fuel allocations; inadequacy of transport; and increasingly important lack of market demand for the produced goods.

In spite of these difficulties and troubles, the enterprises which have been surveyed brought serious profit in the final outcome. Those were achieved, however, not by increasing the effectiveness but thanks to the increase in prices for the produced goods. This road fortunately cannot be followed any further. And that is why for 1983 almost all plants plan an increase in the

utilization of productive capabilities and in the effectiveness of economy, in perfecting the motivational system, and also in counteracting the decapitalization of machinery and in activating technical and organizational tasks and changes in the assortment which in the consequence should lead to the increase in production. The leadership of the Executive Committee, considering these strivings to be right, focused attention on the necessity to increase assistance to plants by the department of state and by the Commission of Economic Planning, and mainly on more effective allocation of materials and consistent claiming by the bank of amounts owed to it because of waste.

Next, the leadership Executive Committee took a stand on the issue of party training in the first half of the current year of schooling. It can be noticed from the analysis conducted of all ideological and educational centers that a real change in the extent of elementary training of party members and candidates took place. The work was undertaken by 1770 meetings in which 52,000 persons participated. All provincial and plant party organizations were offered training. In some party parishes, however, such as Slaboszow, Raclawice, Checiny, Pacanow, Konskie, Dzialoszyce or Skalbierz, the party training network continues to be unsatisfactory.

In accordance with accepted principles, training activity in the current year is conducted on three levels: for candidates for membership in PZPR, for party members for which there are ideological meetings, and for party activists. Over 900 party activists are being trained at the Voivodship Center for People's Youth in one- or two-year-long courses held at the city centers or at the city and provincial party parish centers.

The leadership of the Executive Committee, having paid attention to the need of constantly perfecting of the various forms of party training, announced that at the present moment a greater stress should be placed on the utilization of ideological and political literature of which there is plenty, and on setting up of self-instructional programs, seminars, and various discussions. All party members should be involved. A thorough political knowledge is needed by us every day.

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GLEMP HOMILY VIEWS PAPAL VISIT PREPARATIONS, DIFFICULTIES

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 18-20 Mar pp 1, 2

[Homily at St. Michael's Parish by Josef Cardinal Glemp, primate of Poland:  
"Social Conversion," 6 March 1983]

[Text] Beloved prelate, dean, reverend priests and liturgical servants. My dear sisters.

Orientation Towards God

In today's liturgical reading, so full of content, first of all, we have heard about Moses, whom God calls over to convey to him God's intention regarding His people. This intention was to liberate the nation of Israel from the Egyptian slavery. Hence, God was the initiator of emancipation. It is He who gives birth to the great process towards the recovery of freedom. In order to accomplish it, the chosen nation must, however, get to know God. But not in a general sense. It must get to know a true God. His forename, which is His essence. For the essence of God is that He is, His existence is among this people, that one cannot separate the concept of God from the concept of existence. God contains in Himself the very existence which does not have a beginning or an end. This is the God that Israel must get to know in order to receive its freedom, deliverance. It must enter the path, which though difficult and of continuing conversion towards God, will be a necessary path for the nation of Israel to call itself a beloved nation of God and to be self-determined.

In today's holy Gospel we read, even more clearly, about the need to orient oneself to God. The substance of the holy Gospel is the need to convert. Two chronicle-like examples are cited. In the first Christ is informed that Pilate ordered his soldiers to kill some Galileans at the holy yard. Their blood mixed with the blood of victims. Thus, a sacrilege was committed. Christ does not see, however, the social interpretation of this painful event, but talks about conversion: "If you do not convert."

The second example deals with the collapse of a tower in Siloe. The inhabitants of Jerusalem had been conducting waterworks. Eighteen inhabitants were killed because of the tower's collapse. Again, Christ does not want to interpret it as some kind of retribution over sinners, but reminds: "Become converted." If you do not convert, you head for death, not only a sudden one, but also a death that excludes one from God. Nevertheless, God is forbearing.

God's forbearance is also shown in the third picture, cited in the holy Gospel, which refers to a fig tree. A winegrower comes in, sees a tree, which impoverishes the soil and had not yet yielded fruits for three years--he orders that the tree be cut down. But a gardener begs: let us apply some remedy, perhaps it will bear fruit again. Let us wait another year. God's forbearance as to the conversion of sinners goes far.

#### Jubilees and Pilgrimage

My beloved, as the prelate said at the beginning, we experience in the current year many religious events. The Jasnogorski Jubilee which is now going on overlaps the Year of Redemption. That is, a year of the Holy Father's special grace designed to commemorate Jesus Christ's death on the cross 1950 years ago. This Year of Redemption is also to be above all a year of conversion, hence a coming to Christ, to His salutary sources, to what brings us liberation. First of all, liberation from sin. Religious reflection, orientation towards God is thus necessary. Moral reflection is needed. Self-examination is needed as well as a spiritual understanding of a great many of the circumstances of our lives.

This great circumstance of our live, situation, as the focal point of the Jasnogorski Jubilee's period, is the expected arrival of Holy Father John Paul II, for the second time, to our homeland. We have been following all of the Holy Father's journeys, who in an unusual apostolic hardship, with the unusual courage of an apostle and missionary, undertakes yet new pilgrimages, travels to different continents of the world.

We pray, every time he visits the countries of Central America, knowing how much trouble, social ferment, human wrongdoing and unhappiness exists there. All this has to strike with great force the sensitive soul of the head of the Church. Nevertheless he goes there with great force of soul. He goes with the sanctified soul to bear witness of the Church's truth, and the unremitting volition of Jesus Christ, who orders the Church to be near those who suffer and yearn for liberation from their distress. Although the pilgrimage of the Holy Father to South America was pregnant with the complexity of religious and social events, we still realize that the Holy Father's expected trip in June to Poland is no less full of not only religious but also social problems, for the Holy Father's arrival will take place in the context of a particular situation of being a compatriot in his homeland which is fraught with the tension and exasperated feelings of his Brothers.

#### Preparations for the Holy Father's Arrival

The spiritual preparation to receive with dignity the vicar of Christ is dominated by prayer. How many people, worshippers, implore the Holiest Mother of Jasna Gora for a happy course of this pilgrimage. How warmly we receive her picture of the visitation when it reaches our diocese. It is known that the picture will arrive to our capital on 14 April. How many rosary prayers, requested by bishps, are shared by almost all worshippers of our homeland. Thus, it is a great force, which lays a steady basis, the foundations for a proper course for the forthcoming papal visit.



In our priestly program we have said that we will bring, on the occasion of this visit, gifts to God. These gifts will be spiritual, but how necessary in our determined situation. To begin with, we wish to bring to God God's gift: Life. Life is not our property. It comes from God and will come back to God. But we are the tenants of our life and we shape the conditions for the creation of life on earth and for its existence as well as development. We think of everything that is relevant to saving or losing life; hospitals, road accidents, the observance of sanitary regulations and above all, we think of saving those who will be born but have not yet seen the light of day. We want to save for the world the gift of their lives, and even more fervently prevent this God's gift from being brought to an end by human intervention.

An effective prevention of attempts at unborn life will be our great gift to God on the occasion of the Holy Father's visit.

We have another gift: the gift of a dignified life. We are a civilized country, our participation in European culture has lasted over a thousand years. Consequently, it is necessary that our social behavior bear the features of respect for all people and their rights. This is the way of shaping the gift of a dignified life. Let us respect each other, and the effort undertaken in this direction will be a magnificent gift.

Finally, we have the gift of supernatural life, the gift of Christian life enriched with the holy sacraments, prayers. It will be a kind of sweet-scented bouquet of our prayers and increased knowledge of our inward life, picked out of the faith of a pious nation.

From the Holy Father's perspective, this pilgrimage has three motives. The first motive of the Holy Father's arrival is to honor the Holy Virgin who has manifested herself for 600 years in the miraculous picture at Jasna Gora, which at the same time means the presence of the entire nation. There is also a second motive to honor, in the postcanonization year, a great martyr of love-- St Maksymilian Kolbe. This Pole, revealed to the world the sign of Christian life in a place of hatred; in a camp, where dignity and human life had been trampled on. He saved love. He bore witness to love that is stronger than hatred, brutality than all oppression or subjugation. Finally, there is a third motive. The Holy Father would surely like to solemnize the beatification of one of the Polish candidates on the altars. The preparations have been pursued in the Apostolic See. All this spiritual atmosphere requires from us such a spiritual disposition that it may be best determined by an evangelic term: Conversion. It is not a kind of social or political conversion. This is a matter of our national morals; of our personal ethics. There is need for a great conversion to this historical event.

In addition to this spiritual preparation there is also organizational preparation going on. Some rudiments of the organizational preparation have been barely initiated. The question that characterizes the talks with state authorities is about the social dimension. Here, I must in the interest of truth ascertain that, on the whole, a kind atmosphere has been prevailing to the extent possible. There are some uncertain points, but no haggling. There is no

friction over the timing of the Holy Father's stay in our country. Thus, this positive attitude towards the preparations on the organizational side ought to be here enunciated.

#### The Papal Visit Will be Clerical

Nonetheless we become aware of certain general principles, which give certain direction of the preparations and of the reception of the Holy Father in our country. One of these principles is that the Holy Father will be coming to see all Poles. He will come above all for a religious-level meeting and meet worshippers, believers, and Catholics. However, the Holy Father not only fulfills a religious-ecclesiastical dimension, but also as the head of the Vatican state will come in a public and social context and that is why we say that he will come to see all Poles, also those who are not Catholics or who call themselves atheists. His great heart continues to be open to them also.

Finally the Holy Father will come to all of Poland. Not only to determined and selected towns or localities. These localities, which the Holy Father will be visiting, cannot impute it to special services for which such privilege is being offered to them. In coming to a given town, the Holy Father will be simultaneously present in the entire country. Thus, these localities which would expect the Holy Father, but who if only for physical reasons will not be able to come, ought not to complain about his disregarding their requests, albeit their contributions and heriosm have been commonly recognized. The Holy Father appreciates all, but the selection of the localities is not a selection in terms of services, but in clerical terms. After all we keep in mind that the Holy Father will not come to Poland for the last time. We will be expecting his next visit. We are confident that God keeps him in good health and he will be able to visit other towns and parts of our country.

The holy Father comes to fulfill our great expectation, to sympathize with the psychological emptiness that occurred after the silencing of other programs. He will not come to make sudden changes as if by magic. The Holy Father certainly wants, as we do too, that his presence, his prayer here helps extricate ourselves from this numbness and passivity in which we find ourselves. May he be for us a Moses who gives us a soul and awakens it. There is soul in us, but we need a kind of revival. He will not arouse suddenly all our feelings, but will help overcome animosity, indisposition, and for God's sake, hatred. The Church never instigates trouble against anybody. But the Church will always stand guard for the respect of God's rights, one of which is the great commandment of the respect for the dignity of every man.

#### Some Difficulties

We also understand that in preparing the arrival of the Holy Father to our homeland, we encounter quite a lot of difficulties. I do not think here of the nation's unusually important agricultural and economic problems. I would like to mention other difficulties which although not related to the papal visit, are significant in the course of the preparations. Among these difficulties, I would include the prevailing state of depression resulting from a sense of

wrongdoing. We become also aware of a great many matters that have not been handled. For example, we do not foresee in the near future the handling of the matter of liberating imprisoned people so important for us. The subsequent problem deals with indifference to many essential and vital matters in our society, which come from people who, being in charge of leading positions, fall to the temptation of past bureaucratic routine. This type of work-style should disappear from our interpersonal relations. In this field of problems, also, I would see a growing demoralization of social life. It consists in overemphasizing matters in alcohol or disrespect for property.

These difficulties also stem from the many painful feelings that have been experienced by social groups. Farmers get the feeling of being continually lost. With apprehension they look into the future. They keep complaining about shortages in manpower, tools, as well as in means of production.

Craftsmen complain of high taxes, which compel them to close down their workshops. It occurs at the time when society greatly needs small producers.

A significant area of trouble is education and youth. Here also, complaints keep flowing in about dispiriting ideological pressure, with administrators acting as if they would lose a sense of national education, and giving in to the style of the old bureaucracy.

Finally, come the problems with the artistic milieu. It is characteristic of artists that their true and valuable works originate in revolt, in revolt against evil. Meanwhile, they are being advised to calm down, and to create without protest, which appears to be tough.

Beloved, these are not all of the difficulties. I have recalled some of them in order that we can together believe that these difficulties are surmountable. The nature of every problem requires going forward in the direction of overcoming it, and for the matter, we have the capacity to do so. God Himself will not automatically liberate us from these difficulties. The Holy Father will not do so either. Our action, cooperation, our intelligent, wise, and resolute courage, all are needed for facing these problems. After all, in this homeland, where we live, we cannot constantly quarrel and permit the building of our homeland to be doomed to destruction. A great deal depends on us, our hearts, conversion, trust in God, outlook at the world through the eyes of love. This is what the Church and the personality of Maksymilian Kolbe teach us, and what our countryman John Paul II wants to teach us is to look at the world with love. And love is this force which prevails over evil.

Amen

12328  
CSO: 2600/607

1983 HEALTH PLAN, BUDGET OUTLINED

Warsaw SLUZBA ZDROWIA in Polish No 6, 6 Feb 83 p 4

[Article by Dr Antoni Konaszyc, undersecretary of state in the ministry of Health and Social Welfare]

[Text] The government of the Polish People's Republic places the satisfaction of the health needs of the populace in one of the first places among the problems known to be of priority importance in the current economic situation of the country. During the working out of the budget and the bases of the Central Annual Plan, the basic goals that ought to be reached in 1983 and the funds enabling their realization were taken into consideration.

The basic goals and tasks for health care and social welfare derive from the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR, the resolutions of the Plenum of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party, and the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party in the area of health care and social welfare; the proclamation of the Military Council of National Salvation, the resolutions of the government of the Polish People's Republic, and from social agreements.

The leadership of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare recognizes the following as its most urgent tasks:

- countering the most prevalent dangers to health;
- further improvement of the operation of basic health care;
- improvement of mother and infant care;
- improvement of psychiatric care;
- improvement of personnel policy;
- improvement of the supply and use of medicines, materials, and medical equipment and the material facilities for health care and social welfare;
- improvement of the system of organizing and managing health care and social welfare.

The basic task of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare will be the adaptation of the principles of health care operation to economic reform conditions. For this purpose, the activities of the ministry will be concentrated on the resources on hand for improvement of the accessibility, range, and level of health and welfare services.

Specific actions will mainly affect the following:

- A fuller implementation of the principles of efficient hospital bed use through: reduction of the hospital diagnostics period, introduction of current data on empty beds in hospitals, the appropriate preparation of patients being sent to the hospital, and also the adaption of the hospital bed use pattern to existing hospitalization needs, among other ways, by restructuring it.
- Adaptation of working hours to social needs, with special consideration for the utilization of the paid work time of the personnel.
- Fuller identification of needs and increasing the effectiveness of social aid for making it possible to provide help to those most badly in need of it.
- Efficient placement of medical personnel.
- Introduction of principles of controlling employment and the wage found in linkage with the scope of the tasks.
- Economical use of medicines and treatment supplies.

The overall policy of the state directed toward the maintenance of the health services at an appropriate level manifests itself in the provision of the appropriate funds for the implementation of the tasks expected to be realized in 1983. The expenditures for health care and social welfare relative to the national income earmarked for distribution are increasing from 5.7 percent in 1982 to 6.2 percent in 1983. The share of capital investment outlays in health care and social welfare will amount to 3.6 percent of the capital investments of the national economy, and in this, the share of state outlays will be 2.9 percent.

The starting point of all planning structures is the evaluation of the current status. The failure to execute in full the factual tasks of past years has caused considerable delay in the development of the material-technical base of health care and social welfare. This applies mainly to hospital beds and accommodations in social aid homes, and therefore, a part of the planned increase in the base in 1983 consist of items included in the factual plans of past years.

In 1983, we are planning to achieve growth in relation to the planned fulfillment of 1982: 3,330 beds in general and clinical hospitals, 511 beds in institutions for the treatment of patients with nervous and psychological disorders, 17 rural health centers, 3,211 nursery accommodations, and 2,587 accommodations in social aid homes.

The full realization of the factual program in 1983 necessitates large-scale involvement of all participants in the capital investment process and, the granting of special priority to health service capital investments. For this purpose, on 19 August 1982, the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers, through Decision No. 52, accepted the plan of measures for assuring the on-schedule realization of hospital construction, which had been worked out jointly by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare and the Ministry of Construction and Construction Materials Industry.

The ministries and provincial governors concerned with this decision were obliged to adopt the appropriate actions having as their purpose the elimination of the causes leading to delay in the realization of construction and repairs of health care and social welfare facilities. In spite of the very difficult economic conditions in the country, relatively high outlays have been provided for capital investment in health care and social welfare. These outlays, according to current prices in the plan of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, amount to 7.4 billion zlotys, and in the plans of the provincial administrations, it is estimated at 27.4 billion zlotys. In 1983, supplementary financing is also provided for hospital construction realized from the resources of the National Fund for Health Care--for a sum of 7 billion zlotys. This supplementary financing is necessary with respect to the considerable increase in capital investment costs.

Under current economic conditions, the supply of medicines, health care articles, and medical machinery and equipment is starting to be exceptionally important. Supply is one of the most essential preconditions for the level and range of preventive medicine treatment and diagnostic services.

As a result of actions undertaken for the improvement of the supply of pharmaceuticals, and the operational counteracting of negative health symptoms, in the Annual Central Plan for 1983, the "Program for operational provision of health protection in the production of pharmaceuticals, health care articles, and medical equipment was included." The tasks of the operational program encompass, among other, things, the following:

--An increase in the supply of pharmaceutical and health care products by 10.3 percent relative to the planned fulfillment of 1982.

--An increase in the import of "Human" milk by 33.4 percent, relative to the planned fulfillment of 1982.

--An increase in the supplies of medical equipment and machinery by 14.9 percent relative to the planned fulfillment of 1982.

--An increase in supplies of basic disinfectants.

--Improvement in the supplies of food for children.

--Improvement in the necessary supplies of orthopedic products.

In the operational program for supplying health care with pharmaceutical and health care supplies and medical equipment, the necessary supplies of raw and other materials for producing these products and foreign exchange funds were also included. The foreign exchange funds planned for 1983 will make possible the import of finished medicines from the Second payment sector in the amount of 7.6 billion current zlotys, or, 20.9 percent higher than the planned 1982 fulfillment.

The program anticipates also the necessary supply of transport means for the health service, including: 3,000 passenger cars for basic health care, 2,900 "Fiat" basic health care vehicles, and 20 ambulances [expansion unknown].

The realization of the tasks set forth before the ministry requires the employment of highly-skilled personnel, involved in the process of providing health services. In 1983, the higher and intermediate schools will turn out 27,500 graduates. On the whole, in the ministry plan, an employment increment in health care and social welfare of 20,000 positions in midyear, and 30,000 by the end of 1983 is anticipated. The job increase in the health service will be designated for the initiation of new tasks, the filling of personnel complements in basic health care in the city and the countryside, the employment of social workers, and also medicine attendants and overhead employees. The average wage in the health care and social welfare sector, after adding compensation to wages will increase 18.8 percent in 1983 as compared to the planned fulfillment of 1982, and will amount to 10.633 zlotys per month.

For attaining improvement in the area of caring for the populace carried out by general practice medicine, an increase in the number of physicians in this sector of medicine is needed. This will require the creation of the kind of motivation for work that would bring about a movement of personnel from other branches of medicine and would promote the specialization appropriate for work in general medicine. For assuring suitably qualified personnel for general health care in 1983, on the territory of every province, one health center will be selected in which the initial training will be provided for medical personnel taking up practice in the countryside.

The size of the budget in the area of expenditures for health care and social welfare is closed with the sum of 252.3 billion zlotys together with its coordinated ministries. The budget expenditures in 1983 will increase relative to the anticipated 1982 fulfillment by 10 percent, and included in this figure, 9 percent in the health care sector and 22.2 percent in the social welfare sector. The increased outlays for health care and social welfare expenditures are accompanied at the same time by an increase in the tasks thrust before the entire health service.

A steady increase can be observed in the social use of the services of basic health care, which is expressed in the constant disproportion between existing needs and the possibilities for satisfying them. However, we recognize as necessary such provision of basic health care whereby the populace would

receive fully accessible, comprehensive health care in the localities where they live. For this purpose, preference pay differentials were created for doctors taking up practice in general medicine. They will be provided with the appropriate quantities of life-saving drugs and transport means. The general medicine stations will be equipped with radiotelephones.

In 1983, we also plan the placing of particular emphasis on further improvement and development of psychiatric health care and addiction treatment. For this purpose, the basic directions of action have been worked up and will be implemented. These are based, among other things, on the following:

--The organization of intermediate forms of care (day and night sections, and hostels).

--Close cooperation with social aid and basic health care institutions.

--Intensification of preventive activities.

--The creation of the possibility of including outpatient and live-in addiction treatment of a considerably greater number of persons, especially persons undertaking treatment voluntarily.

--Improvement of the effectiveness of treatment of health complications connected with the overindulgence in alcohol and narcotics.

--Increase in the early detection of alcohol dependency and other addictive drugs.

In the field of social welfare, for the purpose of reducing the unfavorable influence of the difficult economic conditions on the lives of people requiring welfare, the government has proposed to increase considerably the funds for social aid services. The funds provided for this purpose in the 1983 budget are providing fully for the known and documented needs in this area. The reserve included in the budget will make possible the extension of aid to newly-found cases, as well as the expansion of the range of the regular efforts.

In 1983, further development of the welfare activity of the Polish Red Cross and the Polish Social Assistance Committee will take place for persons who are ill and incapacitated. We are anticipating a further development of services with respect for the sick and the incapacitated. In 1983, 50 new Polish Red Cross stations will come into being. Polish Red Cross nurses care for over 68,000 persons. Inspection of the health conditions in the country will be increased; especially, attention will be paid to the actual sanitation and hygienic conditions in health care and social welfare establishments and stations. The inspection of the plants producing and processing food will undergo intensification.

The epidemic control activity that is conducted will make possible the further prevention of infections in hospitals, especially in maternity ward nurseries



and childrens sections. We will assure the full implementation of immunization inoculations in specific age groups of school children.

In finishing the review of the main plan tasks of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, and the funds provided for their realization, it is necessary to state that the modest capital investment capabilities, the obsolescent material base for health care and social welfare, the insufficient furnishing of modern medical equipment and machinery, determine to a significant degree the limited approach in the quantity and quality of health and welfare services.

We realize that under the current difficult economic conditions, the state is unable to allocate larger funds for the health service. Thus, the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare will concentrate its activity on the efficient utilization of the funds assigned it, and on a much more effective utilization of its already existing resources.

5808

CSO: 2600/574

## BRIEFS

INSPECTION IN ZAMOSC--In accordance with the announcement by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski at the National Workers' Aktiv Conference, the latest comprehensive inspection in Zamosc Voivodship began on 7 April. It is being conducted by the Main Local Inspectorate of the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection, with the participation of representatives of interested ministries, central offices and central cooperative unions. The goal of this inspection is to evaluate the activity of local organs of state administration, as well as the implementation of tasks and the efficiency with which economic and service units are managed in specified areas, with particular regard to tasks concerning meeting the needs of and providing services for the population. Also to be evaluated are activities aimed at fighting social pathology, inefficient management, waste, and also industrial safety and hygiene conditions, sanitary-hygienic conditions, fire protection, as well as harmony and order. A group of officers from the Armed Forces Inspectorate is taking part in the Zamosc Voivodship inspection in an advisory capacity. [Text]  
[Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Apr 83 p 1]

CSO: 2600/723

RADIO YUGOSLAVIA DIRECTOR'S COMMENTS ON CICAK CASE CRITICIZED

Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 4 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by Tomislav Marcinko: "Z. Pecar's Unacceptable Statements"]

[Text] Zdravko Pecar, the director of Radio Yugoslavia, has shown how one can verbally support responsible public statements while simultaneously damaging the country's reputation with unconfirmed information and demagogic slogans.

The press conference which was organized in Pecinci several days ago to cover the case of Ranka Cicak--the newspaperwoman employed by the Zagreb daily VJESNIK who was convicted for hostile propaganda and damaging the reputation of the SFRJ [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]--brought to light how the public can be deceived by unbalanced selection of information and facts. Pecinci opstina officials expressed their legitimate disagreement with articles regarding the case which were published in POLITIKA, NIN, NOVOST 8, ARENA and INTERVJU because these newspapers had utilized unverified and arbitrary information, thus deceiving the Yugoslav public and others. Particularly sharp criticisms were directed at Zdravko Pecar, director of Radio Yugoslavia, because of statements he recently made to the newspaper INTERVJU.

On that occasion, Pecar asserted that reporters do not always act responsible with their public statements, which is, as he says, a serious matter on which the reputation of the profession depends. Pecar's words, however, also confirm the extent to which he himself adhered to this principle of public information: immediately following publication of articles in the press about Ranka Cicak's arrest--whom he doesn't know--"he reacted emotionally, consulting no one" and sent her a telegram of support. Consequently, having yielded to a false guild solidarity, and failing to check the assertions contained in the indictment, he decided to make that move, thus obtaining for himself cheap publicity and the good graces of those who in recent months have endeavored mightily to prove how basic human and artistic freedoms in Yugoslavia are ruthlessly suppressed by a police-state regime.

One could understand more if someone who didn't achieve his political ambitions and who doesn't accept socialist self-management were to act in this manner; but this certainly shouldn't be the director of Radio Yugoslavia--the man who

is entrusted with providing the world with accurate information about our country. Pecar acted, however, as though he'd completely lost his bearings and was unable to reason soberly. He openly claims that the essence of our periodically appearing excesses "lies in the fact that we've surrendered all authority to the most narrow opstina forums which aren't always able to cope with the problems. Today, opstina brotherhoods are resolving the matter. Here: a village mafia has tried VJESNIK's reporter. Compare for yourselves: Those people there stole 31 billion, and for want of 1 billion Radio Yugoslavia wasn't constructed on time."

If someone were to read these statements, unaware of the identity of the author, it would be difficult to escape the impression that these are not the words of a confirmed enemy of socialistic self-management, words from the well known arsenal of our political emigration. Pecar is permitting himself, with no hesitation whatsoever, to attack the decentralization of authority which was achieved through the development of our socialist self-managing democracy. Indeed, in this fact one sees the fundamental cause of our present difficulties. We are able to hear and read just such considerations in the anti-Yugoslav articles of some foreign information media which continually repeat how our system of self-management is only a "great delusion," a "rotten fruit," a "utopia which leads to ruin." Look, they've gained a sympathizer in the person of Radio Yugoslavia's director.

Zdravko Pecar goes still further in disparaging the system: He labels the judicial organs in Pecinci and Sremska Mitrovica "the opstina brotherhood" and "the village mafia." As a public worker for many years, however, and even our country's ambassador to several African countries, he would have to know what an open attack on our judiciary and the sowing of doubt on the integrity of the courts and judges means and what it leads to. It must be more than clear to Pecar that no "mafia" or "brotherhood" tried Ranka Cicak--as clear as it is to every better informed reader of the daily newspapers which have reported on this newspaperwoman's anti-Yugoslav behavior not only in Pecinci and the surrounding area, but also in Macedonia. Was it really difficult for a man in a position such as the one Pecar is in to learn the truth about the so-called "pig-raising affair"? The public was informed precisely as to what occurred: The perpetrators of the affair "loaned" about 1.7 billion old dinars from agricultural combines in Osijek and Vinkovac. The director of Radio Yugoslavia, however, claims that 31 billion old dinars are at issue here, that is, an amount 18 times larger. Dare a man really behave in this manner, a man bound by the ethics of our journalism at least to the same extent as those he supervises? Dare he spread unverified information which he obtained by listening to "hearsay" news, cafe stories and the gossip of conversations in corridors?

Warnings were heard at a recent session of the CC [Central Committee] of the LCY about how foreign circles in both the East and West are intensifying their propaganda toward and against Yugoslavia, magnifying our difficulties and excesses, and that some of our newspapers and journals have contributed to this more than once. One can assume the type of interest with which Zdravko Pecar's statements in the newspaper INTERVJU are now received. Are these not odd situations: Self-management and our judiciary are openly attacked by the director of the largest state-operated radio station, the same man who, as he

claims, didn't permit Radio Yugoslavia to send into the ether the news and commentary about "Golubnjaca" [Pigeon Pit], believing these things to be "unimportant matters which would make our country appear ridiculous in the eyes of the world." How is it possible, then, that he didn't consider the extent to which some would take advantage of his slandering and staging of untruths and doubts about integrity, democracy and justice?

No one can deprive Pecar of the right to his own opinion and attitudes, but a man known by his position as director of Radio Yugoslavia cannot behave publicly in this manner.

Pecar's statements are as evil as they are dangerous. We place them with those which were pointed out at the session of the CC LCY, and with whose advocates our society, and the LCY, must settle things in the proper manner.

12192  
CSO: 2800/195

POLITICAL PRISONER ON LEAVE FROM MENTAL WARD DESCRIBED REGIMEN

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 11 Mar 83 p 28

[Article by Bo Engzell, DAGENS NYHETER correspondent]

[Text] Halmstad, Thursday [10 March]--"For 8 years the Yugoslav authorities have kept my son confined as a political prisoner in the psychiatric section of the ill-famed 'Sing Sing prison' in Belgrade. My son is being broken down. He is drugged as political prisoners are drugged in the Soviet Union. My son has committed no crime. If he is not released and allowed to come to Sweden soon I shall never see him again, as I am seriously ill."

That is what DAGENS NYHETER was told by the 59-year-old Tomo Naglic of Halmstad, born in Yugoslavia but now a Swedish citizen like his wife Rosica and another son, Denko. For several years Tomo Naglic has been on a disability pension. He suffers among other things from a very severe diabetes.

Tomo, Rosica, and Denko Naglic came to Sweden as immigrants in 1964. At first they lived in Emmaboda. Later it was Halmstad. The son Vjekoslav, who is now in the Yugoslav security policy prison PF 56 in Belgrade, did not come until some years later. He went through technical school in Yugoslavia before he followed the family to Sweden. He stayed here 4 years before he returned to Yugoslavia to do the required military service so that he could visit his home country in the future. Vjekoslav never became a Swedish citizen.

From Croatia

His brother Denko stayed in Sweden. He was also called up but refused to do the Yugoslav military service. He would rather renounce future visits to the home country.

The Naglic family comes from Croatia. The Croats are "whipping boys" in Yugoslavia, which is dominated by the Serbs.

"At the beginning it went well for my son in the military service," Tomo Naglic relates. "Then he was called in before officers and offered a chance to become intelligence man in the company. He would report on comrades that did not think and talk in accordance with the régime's line. Vjekoslav did not want to get into that."

A year went by without his hearing from the military command.

"But after a year he was seized and accused of enmity toward the régime. He had not done anything wrong. It was only that, like other youths, he said what he thought to his comrades.

"But that had been reported by a spy of the régime. My son was brought before the court. He defended himself well. The accusations did not stick. But then he was sent instead to a psychiatric section in Belgrade. Doctors examined him and declared that he showed 'psychic abnormalities.' That sufficed for him to be put in the 'Sing Sing prison.' In the psychiatric section."

#### Injections

There he has been given injections and been drugged, Tomo Naglic says. Sometimes the letters he sent have been confused.

"The letters were written when my son was under the influence of drugs. My wife has visited Vjekoslav at the prison several times. On two occasions in 8 years he has gotten supervised leave. The boy is now noticeably marked by injections and the time in prison.

"Sometimes, though, he is relatively well. But sometimes he has to hold on to the walls to keep from falling. He is losing his hair. Certainly as a result of the drugs. He says that the only way out of the prison is through a window on the third floor. A Bulgarian threw himself out that way and was killed."

Tomo Naglic has not been in Yugoslavia himself since 1972. At that time he was questioned by police who wanted information. He was later summoned for another hearing.

#### Amnesty

"But then I fled and since that I have not returned to Yugoslavia," he says.

It may seem odd that now, after 8 years, Tomo Naglic is agitating publicly in his son's case for the first time, but that has a simple explanation.

"We hoped that the authorities would release him. On one occasion the doctors declared him well, but the military court said no. Amnesty International has his case in hand. Amnesty declares that he is a 'political prisoner.' I have appealed to various authorities in Yugoslavia. But in vain. I got an oral answer through the Polish consulate in Göteborg, where I was summoned. It was said in the answer that Vjekoslav had carried on 'hostile propaganda' and that he would not be released before he became well.

"I never got any written response from the consulate," says Tomo Naglic. "They did not want to give me any paper that could wind up in Swedish newspapers."

Now Tomo Naglic has given up the attempt to get his son released "quietly."

"It is not worthwhile to keep quiet; that has been shown. Now I am so seriously ill that we must act strongly if I am to have time to see my son again," he says.

"The Yugoslav judicial system does not work within certain established rules as in Sweden. They pinch anyone that expresses himself relatively openly," says Naglic.

Hold

"My brother Vjekoslav talked quite freely about Croatian sympathies. That was out of place. They wanted to make an example. They wanted to get a hold over me and my father. While he was living in Sweden before the military service in Yugoslavia my brother had learned to say what you think. That is all."

So says Vjekoslav's brother Denko Naglic, commission secretary in Högsby commune. Denko himself did not obey his summons to military service in Yugoslavia.

As in the Soviet Union

"The Yugoslav authorities classify only a few as political prisoners. The others are classified as criminal. Those who are not written about in the newspapers in the west fade away," says Denko Naglic. "It has been made quite clear that my brother has been drugged. He has fared ill. The years in prison have left their traces. Who can guarantee that he will be rehabilitated?"

The political prisoners at psychiatric hospitals in Yugoslavia are certainly treated in much the same way as similar prisoners in the Soviet Union, Denko Naglic believes.

He and his father are now continuing their fight for Vjekoslav to be released and allowed to come to Sweden.

He will contact the world organization of psychiatrists in London. It has previously strongly attacked Soviet psychiatrists that keep political prisoners confined in mental hospitals.

"Such appeals have proved effective in the past," says Denko Naglic.

8815

CSO: 3650/137



## NOVELS ON SUBJECT OF POST-1948 PRISON CAMPS REVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1678, 27 Feb 83  
pp 29-31

[Article by Teodor Andjelic: "From the Island to the Mainland"]

[Text] When "Prelomne godine" [Watershed Years] is published this year--it is now quite certain--in four volumes, the publication of the so-called Goli Otok literature which has gone on for more than a decade will round out to about 20 novels!

Yet it still seems that even the most elementary concepts about them have not crystallized! Or, whether they take it up as a subject or only touch upon the dramatic--and fateful--year 1948, the novels about it are easily confused with the aura about them.

Most of the novels about 1948 went altogether unnoticed both by the public at large and also the more restricted professional public. Nor did they have any particular difficulties getting printed. Just as a majority of other works of art about that decisive year have had no particular difficulties. For example, last week the magnificent new building of the Macedonian National Theater in Skopje opened with the premiere performance of Zivko Cing's play "Maccabean Holidays," which also refers to 1948. We also have several films about those events: "Podne" [Noontime] by Purisa Djordjevic, "Sveti Pesak" [Sacred Sand] by Miroslav Antic, "Lisice" [Foxes/Handcuffs] by Krsto Papic, and "Visoki Napon" [High Voltage] by Veljko Bulajic.

It should immediately be said that works of art about a year which is accurately referred to as the great anti-Stalinist revolution of Yugoslavia have been appearing more than two decades after the well-known assessments (both in the world and particularly in the international working class movement)--assessments both political and historical--about the attack on our country. Even in the mid-fifties the Cominform Resolution against Yugoslavia was clearly assessed in the socialist world and in a majority of the communist parties. This assessment has remained a lasting democratic compass (theirs) to this very day. However, the reflections and the shadows concerning the books about 1948 are still unusually important to the cultural climate. But in that climate even what is being constantly repeated must have at least the appearance of something new if it is to be noticed at all. Thus it is still

said of works dealing with 1948: the new wave--the old (political) shoal. Or, quite the reverse: the new wave--new (literary) shores.

How do those two mutually opposed models operate, if "loosed," say, on "Nedovrseni krug" [Uncompleted Circle] of Jara Ribnikar or, for example, the novel "Kada su cvetale tikve" [When the Pumpkins Bloomed] by Dragoslav Mihailovic? These forerunners have only general indications concerning the Cominform--it is a precious background--but, to be sure, they are not the same genus for all literary critics and that also applies to novels whose subject matter is much "closer" to the notorious island. There is no doubt that this shift from the "shore to the open sea" exists even in a chronological sense. One needs only read "U potrazi za Mesijom" [Looking for the Messiah] of Erih Kos and to compare it to the most recent novel by Zarko Komanin "Prestupna godina" [Leap Year].

Without Politics!

Why is it that the majority of these novels have after all been published in the last few years? Certainly this cannot be answered solely with literary reasons. That in itself is a sufficient reason for a serious discussion of these works--and one of them began with the observation: whereas many critics thought last year to be significant precisely because of the publication of the best novels about 1948, others on the other hand assert that in a few years no one will even mention those books if one is to judge by their literary achievements.

That is how Ratko Adamovic, moderator of the debate in the discussion at the Writers' Club entitled "The Critics Select the Novel of the Year" briefly summed up the differences expressed between the literary critics in that discussion. Last Friday that same writer, again at No 7 Francuska Street in Belgrade, where a 3-hour discussion was held on the topic "1948 in the Yugoslav Novel," called attention to a new fact from the very beginning: that in the meantime charges had been made to the effect that one of those novels--"Tren 2" [Moment 2] by Antonije Isakovic, which received this year's NIN Award as the novel of the year--was a "anticommunist pamphlet."

The real shifts even in this literature have, to be sure, been more in terms of genre. The book of the Slovenian poet Branko Hofman "Noc do jutra" [Night to Morning] is actually a detective story (investigation novel). "Nemi orkestar" [The Mute Orchestra] by Ferdo Godina, another Slovenian writer, belongs on quite the other side in the traditional type of novel.

Right from the beginning we are intentionally referring to authors and books less well known even in the Serbo-Croatian language area (unlike Hofman's, Godina's novel has not been translated from Slovene; it was published in 1981 in Maribor). And precisely from the Yugoslav perspective it is good to see what the experts say. In the journal KNJIZEVNOST (No 10, 1982) Predrag Matvejevic--in his analysis of novels concerning 1948--also arrives at the problem of cultural topography: he notes where that literature has originated in Yugoslavia, how it is published, who has opposed it in its own community, and who has taken it up outside that community, and what possibilities it has had "in our

country as a whole"? (Matvejevic says: "It seems to me greater than in any particular part.")

It is still thought to be risky to cut into the tissue of those years, since the dramatic year 1948 is so charged with emotions as to explode as soon as it is touched.

Yes, to explode--but in differing ways. Usually the most evident of them--the political--is itself extremely complicated. There are those who think that the very publication of these novels is part of the triumph over the Cominform. Criticism of them--the same! But even so conceived the context of the literature concerning 1948 "dare not by any means lead us down another primrose path," rights Petar Dzadzic, one of the reviewers of "Pismo glava" [Heads Tales] by Slobodan Selenic (the other reviewer was Svetlana Velmar-Jankovic).

Petar Dzadzic explains in connection with Selenic's book that there is absolutely no way the conclusion can impose itself that it is, say, a political novel, "since the writer is not primarily concerned with politics--but is obsessed by human destiny."

Aleksandar Ilic, who won this year's "Milan Bogdanovic" Prize for literary criticism, tells us that most of the books about 1948, especially the best ones, do not fall at all in the so-called category of political literature, nor, fortunately, do we find ourselves at some peak of that kind of literature.

Even Aleksandar Ilic is, of course, conscious of the apparent paradox in that thesis of his. But he logically supports it: What is outside literature and is explained in oversimple terms--or reduced only to one "sphere"--for example: the political--can entertain, can be raised to its real historical and existential multidimensionality only by artistic means.

The best among the novels about 1948--according to Ilic they are "Kada su cvetale tikve" by Dragoslav Mihailovic and "Tren 2" by Antonije Isakovic--rise furthest above what is immediately political and ideological. The portrayal of the characters who are Stalinists is one way in which this is evident.

These characters are painted as caricatures in most of the so-called Goli Otok (naked island) literature. They remain caricatures even when they are impregnated with a certain "collection of true details," and which, however, have an unliterary effect in literature, that of cliches.

The literary critic Aleksandar Jovanovic feels that the Stalinists are not even "fertile soil" for literary treatment. He does not consider it especially good fortune to talk about literary works which seem to be connected to one another or even similar by the sole criterion of their theme.

"If we praise those novels," Jovanovic says, "because of the theme, then we are using the standards of socialist literature. It seems that we merely change the value sign in front of it. This is a concept we should not wander into if only because of literature itself. As a motif 1948 is not the same in all the books. These are novels which differ widely--from the unsuccessful

(less successful) to the successful. Yes, in all of them we encounter the dogmatic characters, but as a rule they are the least successful, since the dogmatic frame of mind is not analyzed level by level in literary terms."

Jovanovic also has a number of outline-questions: Are these books which re-assess any of our conceptions about the past? In the context of history--do they "make" it or put up with it? Are these novels taken as a substitute for books of another kind--history, memoirs, sociology--and is this the reason for their popularity? (Incidentally, one of the reviewers of Branko Hofman's novel "Noc do jutra," Andrej Inkret, judges that Hofman's book is "perhaps our first book to treat with the storyteller's natural attention to detail about events and fates which, at least in a legitimate way, we knew virtually nothing. Viewed from that angle, the question certainly arises of the particular obligations and duties of literature, which in our context obviously must also do that part of the job which by the nature of things certainly belongs more explicitly to, say, the writing of history and memoirs.")

#### The Same Matrix

What in all this is actually of interest to literature? One thing it wants to do is to understand the Stalinist dogma from the inside--and not only by means of external characterizations.

"I am not speaking about the cases of the random inmates of Goli Otok, but about possible--and real--situations in which an honorable man made a wrong choice at one point. I am speaking about people who did not have the compass for survival and who were able to take the freedom of their country to the edge of ruin. I am speaking, for example," Ilic says, "about the family of Ljuba Sampion in 'Pumpkins,' an honest working class family. But, at the moment ... and that is what is of interest to literature!"

It is that which is also of interest to psychology or at least to Zoran Gluscevic, who had the most to say about it at No 7 Francuska Street. It is a question of a religious attitude toward the revolution and everyday practical matters. Zoran Gluscevic feels that this fact has been taken to its logical end in the novel "Pismo glava." Svetozar Sliskovic, known as Sampion, after his disappointment--prison--closes the circle in that his earlier Stalinist fanaticism culminates in a new orthodox messianism. The matrix of both--and of any other dogmatism--is the same--that of religion.

Yet I cannot altogether get out of my mind the troubles of those novels about 1948 which waited quite a while to be published, making the rounds from publisher to publisher, like Hofman's book, which laid in the drawers for 6 years, or Selenic's, which waited 10 years, but in the hands of the same publisher (Prosveta is just now publishing the second edition). "Prelomne godine" [Watershed Years], say, was announced by the working title "Dress Rehearsal" in the list of future titles of the Zagreb publishing house Naprijed back in 1981, and now the author of the tetralogy himself says that the problem about publishing this novel has still not been "entirely resolved."

## The Numbers Are Not the Most Important Thing

In connection with "Tren 2" there was also that "referendum" with the reviews. There were some 25 of them of various kinds. Yet the book was actually recommended for publication--as one can read in the book itself--by a team of readers of exceptional professional prestige (Petar Dzadzic, Dr Jovan Deretic, Dr Vladimir Jovicic and Vuk Krnjevic). Although some economists have perhaps already spoken about the inflation of reviews and about the inflation of novels concerning 1948, the numbers are not the most important thing here. Thus Franicevic tells us that his four books actually are each complete in themselves, but all of them together make up a single whole.

Much the same can also be said of "Zadat zivot" [A Given Life] by Pavle Ugri-nov and its sequel published last year "Carstvo zemaljsko" [Earthly Kingdom]. Another reason why these books are particularly interesting is the character of the champion of Stalinism--Zaric. When they were explaining to him about the death of so many innocent people, Zaric responded: "Not many, he did not kill many!"

"Prelomne godine" covers the time from the attack of the Cominform to the first workers' councils at the end of 1950. In the author's opinion, his tetralogy speaks only about the socialist alternative to Stalinism--and it is that thesis which has been contested the most by the critics of the novels concerning 1948. Thus Dr Radovan Radonjic in two installments in KOMUNIST (4 and 11 February 1983) saw the Goli Otok literature only as stories about the moral and biological wearing down of individuals and families written by "our own Stalinism." Dr Radonjic feels that "an art which emanates from premises created by 'random combinations' of Goli Otok shadows cannot and does not contribute to a broadening of man's horizons and widening the limits of his real freedoms. Instead of encouraging him and urging him to make bold new breakthroughs on the basis of his knowledge of the insufficiency of his previous acts, it discourages him from revolution in general."

Judging by the text of Dr Radonjic, in which not a single title of a book about 1948 is mentioned, we can only suppose that his judgment pertains to those books he writes about in metaphorical terms. Thus he mentions the "new Karamazovs, unfortunates like those who experienced the Hiroshima of the human dignity in that second Moment, from one Night to (or without) morning, of some not so distant Leap Year...."

At least a portion of the ideological dispute of the works of art concerning 1948, which usually occur after the fact, would not have occurred at all if it had been noted that not a single author of the novels published feels that the isolation on Goli Otok was unnecessary. The only issue is the kind of necessity which most of these writers refer to as "historical."

## The Harsh School of History

Aleksandar Ilic refers to as the "harsh school of history" the fact that in the novels about 1948 often that type of personality which formerly defended the famous Moscow trials found himself in the same situation which he had

himself created for others. But, Ilic says, our revolution is specific even from the vantage point of a Kronstadt--the incident in 1921 when the revolutionaries were fired upon. In the Cominform events, for instance, it was not those who "were in Kronstadt" who suffered, but those who would have fired once again on the revolutionaries (in it)!"

By all appearances we have nevertheless learned to live with works of art which speaks about a year of ours which was historically decisive. The stormy contraindications associated with writing about it, even when they are not merely literary, but even broader, social, do not, all things considered, show only a resistance to superficial criticism, but also to the vitality of a democratic cultural orientation. It is understandable that in the various attempts to raise questions which previously were proper only to politics--from 1948 to, say, the nationality problems--there is not only esthetics, but also quasi-politics. Another by-product is the obviously altogether superficial phrase whereby the novels concerning 1948 are referred to as the "Goli Otok literature." The mistake here does not occur solely out of ignorance, since a majority of these novels do not even mention that island, but also because sometimes it is strangely forgotten that in that very year, 1948, the principal events occurred--on the mainland! The struggle which was waged--along the borders, with weapons, indeed entire battles in certain regions of the country, can probably be compared in their dramatic character and political significance only to the uprising in 1941. Why it is, however, that rather often our association with 1948 is precisely the notorious island is a question that not only literature, but also history and journalism must deal with. That, too, is a fact which, like all the others related to these novels, could be valuable if reflected on with a clear conscience and sound mind. From the island to the mainland!

The contraindications should be taken above all as an opportunity for good literature against which--if it is literature--it is difficult for anyone to initiate an extraliterary battle and to triumph in literary terms!

7045

CSO: 2800/219

YUGOSLAVIA

DISCONTENT, NATIONALISM AMONG BELGRADE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Mar 83 p 2

[Excerpts] At recent meetings of the university LC committee and the assembly of Belgrade University much dissatisfaction among the students at the "Veljko Vlahovic" Student City in Belgrade has been angrily expressed by student representatives because of a clear worsening of living and working conditions. The worsening of material conditions is markedly affecting student living standards, their behavior and attitude, especially sensitivity based on social differences.... This is being variously understood, interpreted, and manifested among the students in this largest student settlement in the country.

It is a fact that the approximately 6,000 full-time students in the Student City (there are still about 3,000 illegal residents) have increasingly poorer food, inconvenient lodgings, a chronic lack of reading-room space, and low irregular student credits. About 70 percent of the students are from worker-peasant backgrounds and stipends or credits are for them the basis of their maintenance and study.

This year the average student credit of 3,060 dinars is not enough to cover the lodging and food cost of 3,153 dinars. The Serbian Community of Directed Education shares in meeting the costs of student living, so that at present it contributes 60 percent of the costs while student payments cover 40 percent.

Social [material] problems of the students are only one of the causes of dissatisfaction.... The discussions at political forums of the university have confirmed what was also known earlier but has been covered up: Some bureaucratic structures among people at the Student Center, in the work organization for lodging and food, have for a long time imposed their own will, excluding even student representatives from self-management decision-making.

Dissatisfaction because of worsening living conditions and the lack of attention given to student problems, aggravated by the bureaucratic relationship toward young people, has assumed such proportion that individuals and groups of students are obviously not resistant to unacceptable ideological attacks which have become ever louder recently.

Some persons in this student settlement have also set out on the unfortunate side-road of nationalism. For the first time since the Student City has existed (1950) there was a mass celebration on 13 January of the so-called Serbian New Year; for the first time the "sajkaca" (type of soldier's cap) and other national symbols began to be worn and nationalist songs sung.... All of this in an area in which---representatives from all peoples and nationalities live and work: 17.5 percent from Bosnia-Hercegovina, 11.1 percent from Montenegro, 13.5 percent from Vojvodina, 4.15 percent from Croatia, 4.5 percent from Kosovo, 2 percent from Macedonia, and 1 percent from Slovenia....

Also the behavior of the Albanian "Perpjekje" musical-literary club (which numbers about 600 members, over half of whom are not students) [has had the effect of ] pouring oil on the fire. In closing themselves off from others, as was said at the meeting of the university LC committee, they are imposing great political damage on this area, disrupting inter-nationality relations. All efforts by the LC aktiv and the Socialist Youth League to solve this problem have been in vain, because it has been shown that this has gone beyond the limits of the power of subjective forces in this settlement.

Some people link all...these dissatisfactions...and digressions with the fall in the living standards of students and their dissatisfaction with the internal divisions and quarrels in society. But the causes are deeper.

In the Student City sociopolitical action is not yet adequately organized, rich enough in content, or oriented according to the rules. The work of the LC and youth league are reduced to that of individual leaders and isolated and ambitious activists. They are wandering in search of content and method and work.

...Students are being pushed into apathy and passivity. An example of the actual situation in the youth organization was seen when the youth organization presidium decided recently that members of leadership organs cannot at the same time be employed in paid jobs (a number of members resigned immediately). In addition, the LC and youth organization aktiv assemblies never have a quorum so their decisions do not have the necessary effect or force on the wider membership. The connection between sociopolitical organizations and their members is broken, their inadequate ideological influence, of course, has created a vacuum, an area for nationalist assaults and provocations.

CSO: 2800/243



RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STATE, SELF-MANAGEMENT EXPLORED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1675, 6 Feb 83  
pp 18-19

[Article by Dr Radoslav Ratnovic: "State and Self-management"]

[Text] The current situation in the economy, in social relationships and in the defense of the constitutional system call for the use of a number of methods of government intervention. Of course, one hears constantly that the majority of these methods can be considered to be temporary, necessary only until the situation which brought about the use of these measures is improved by the actions undertaken or anticipated. However, the problem is deeper, and these measures will not do away with it entirely.

The relationship between state and self-management is one of the major problems of the transitional period and in the creation of a socialist society. The achievement of the basic goal of socialism--the liberation of labor--is connected directly to the successful discovery of suitable solutions to problems in the social and political sphere which satisfy both government and self-management.

Since the state is an integral component of the basic machinery of the transitional process in the creation of a socialist society, its position and role must be considered by the guiding forces of the socialist movement throughout the entire transitional period. Its presence and the function of valid laws are objectively determined here, and no strong desire to the contrary can change this in any way.

If it sometimes seems as if this problem is again "returning" to us, this is an illusion because we have not been able to solve it conclusively, nor can we even posit such a goal for ourselves. The state is not "returning" to us in the social system, but the problem of its place and function in the system appears in new forms in the successive stages of socialist development.

Because this problem is at once both highly complex and extraordinarily significant for the entire social movement, when solutions are found and applied objective difficulties appear, as well as different types and extremes of opposition, ranging from elemental conservatism and anarchism to overt hostility.

It is for this reason that the guiding forces of the social movement need to have a clear and universal point of view of society in the transitional period and they must develop this viewpoint for each individual phase of socialist development. This ideological task must accompany the actual social process; it will be continually reformulated as long as the state is an integral part of the social and political system. The need for ideological clarification and qualification in certain elementary beliefs of the theories of government may even appear, beliefs which were never an issue among Marxists.

It is generally known that various aspects of the problems of the state were subjects of discussion and of different interpretation among Marxists for many years.

However, it never occurred to anyone to accuse the Marxists of holding the notion of naive normativeness, in which the state is created by some legal act, be it by contract or constitution. The creators of Marxism took precisely this juristic concept--that law is the creator of social relationships and not the expression of them--as an example of ideological thought in which real relationships are distorted and presented in a twisted manner.

We encounter ideas in our country which are an exact expression of this twisted ideological consciousness; they state that this country is put together by different legal actions, and thus it can be altered and even dismantled. Overlooked here is nothing less than the war of liberation and the revolution, to say nothing of the broader historical determinants, of the century-old historical struggle which paved the way for the creation of the Yugoslav state and the social community.

Conceptions of this type are beneath the level of any kind of science and should not even be connected with the bourgeois idealism of the 17th and 18th centuries, with the advocates of the theory that the social contract is the basic origin of the state, because they certainly did not think that this contract actually existed; in their theoretical system, this was a supposition which functioned as the basis on which to construct the definitive model of the state.

This does not have any connection with Marxism. However, it is not enough merely to state this, to draw a theoretical boundary. One might ask, what purpose does such a concept serve? Apparently it is convenient to relativize the basis and the motives for the existence of the state and the social community to an extreme, to bring into question their totality and established internal relationships, to pave the way for all sorts of arbitrary demands which will be of use to the process of destabilization.

As far as the development of the Marxist concept is concerned--the political structure in place during the entire period of the construction of socialist society--there should not be any doubt that the positions stated in the five chapters of the Program of the League of Communists, in which reports of the results of the theoretical work of the Yugoslav communists are presented in condensed form, are still completely valid. These positions state that the juncture of state and self-management makes the structure of the political system of the self-managed socialist society contradictory, and they indicate how

this contradiction can be overcome through the process of diminishing the role of the state and expanding the self-management forms of organization and decisionmaking. But at the same time they indicate the lengthy duration of this process and the necessary conditions which must exist so that it can take place.

It is apparent from our conversation how important it is to understand the contradictory nature of our social and political system, and objectively what it depends on. When it has not been taken into consideration, weakness and deformation in development have set in. Goals set in the developmental process could not be realized and unexpected negative phenomena have accompanied the process. Many of the difficulties with which we are now confronted have their origin in precisely this problem area. The fundamental goal of constitutional reform, beginning with the large group of amendments numbered 20 to 42 and ending with the constitution of 1974, was to make great progress in the development of self-management relations, forms of organization, the manner of resolution of social problems, and the repression of etatism in the broad area of social organization and decisionmaking. The basic meaning of the constitutional reform was originally expressed in the regulations which were called the "labor amendments"; in them, the decisionmaking role of associated workers was ascertained, in a manner consistent with self-management, in the management of the resources and the fruits of labor. They also constituted the base upon which all other social relationships were constructed. The reorganization of the federation, relationships in the federation and between the federation, the republics, and the provinces, were also based on these amendments. This means that the reorganization of the federal structure was guided by the thought of adapting goals which would limit the extent of etatism and expand self-management.

But reducing state functions at the federal level does not mean we should strengthen state functions at the republic and province level. The decentralization anticipated by constitutional reform does not mean that state functions are redistributed, that the same functions, the same essence of the state which existed in the federation, was to be simply transferred to the republics and provinces. Everyone was able to realize--they had been warned of it and much had been written about it--that decentralization, understood and implemented as a redistribution of state functions, would be accompanied by great danger. Decentralization was justified in alleviating the process of transforming state functions into those which could be carried out by the organized working class as a part of self-management, by the working people through associated labor, by the communal system and other forms of self-management.

Consequently, if self-management does not develop vigorously along with decentralization, if the social role of the self-managed organized working class and the conditions for working people to take on the function of management do not develop, then the danger of a specific type of bureaucracy--the result of which would be the creation of a gravitational field between political and state power in the republics and provinces--will become a social problem, and a large one at that. Obstacles will develop for the operation of everything that was given so much attention in the constitution, the unity of the social and economic system and unified markets. Since it is in the nature of political authority to integrate what is within its theory but to separate what is

outside, it will be necessary to arrive at a process of disintegration which dilutes etatism. A break up of self-management income relationships and the self-management connection between organizations of associated labor will set in.

These are some theoretical predictions concerning the possible negative tendencies involved with reorganizing the federation and the relationships of the federation, the republics, and the provinces, if at the same time we do not develop self-management structures and relationships. We see that these tendencies are strongly emerging and that they represent just one of the major problems with which our society is struggling.

9548

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

CICAK SENTENCE LESSENED--Novi Sad--According to the report of the Supreme Court of Vojvodina, in the criminal case against the defendant Ranka Cicak of Belgrade for the Crime of hostile propaganda specified in Article 133, paragraph 1, of the Criminal Code of the SFRY and the crime of injuring the reputation of the SFRY specified in Article 157 of the Criminal Code of the SFRY, as a result of the complaint by the attorney representing the defendant Ranka Cicak against the Higher Court in Sremska Mitrovica, the Supreme Court of Vojvodina, after holding a public session of the appellate chamber on 18 March 1983, issued a judgment which partially accepted the complaint by the attorney of the defendant Ranka Cicak. The court altered the original verdict in such a way that it partially changed the description of the crime specified in Article 157 of the Criminal Code of the SFRY, by omitting the definite incrimination from the original verdict, and, evaluating the established and pronounced punishment, found that the punishment was meted out too severely. Taking into account the concretely expressed public danger and the state of health of the defendant Ranka Cicak, the Supreme Court of Vojvodina lessened the individually established sentences and pronounced a single sentence of 10 months in jail. The complaint of the district public prosecutor in Sremska Mitrovica against the original verdict was rejected because the provincial public prosecutor declined to pursue the complaint. [Text] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6 Apr 83 p 10]

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