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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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27 June 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Korcak Addresses Czech Women's Union (Prague Domestic Service, 19 May 84) .....	1
Ministers Sign Note of Understanding (Tehran Domestic Service, 30 May 84) .....	3

HUNGARY

National Social Security Council Founded (MAGYAR HIRLAP, 9 Jun 84) .....	4
Discrimination in Wage Distribution Noted (Laszlo Karcagi; NEPSZABADSAG, 16 May 84) .....	5

POLAND

Role of Lawyers Debated (Jerzy Olszewski; TRYBUNA LUDU, 27 Feb, 12 Apr 84) .....	10
Lawyers' Responsibility Questioned Criticism Clarified, Reiterated	
Schaff's Recent Book Critically Reviewed (Ireneusz Gwidon Kaminski; RZECZYWISTOSC, No 18, 20 Apr 84)	17
Activities of New Writers' Union Evaluated (Kazimierz J. Kowalczyk; NOWINY, No 92, 17 Apr 84) .....	21
Services, Living Conditions Decried (Ernest Skalski; TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, No 19, 6 May 84)	24
'Extremist' Lawyers Attacked (Henryk Wandowski; ARGUMENTY, No 20, 13 May 84) .....	27

Cultural Development in Socialist System Viewed (Kazimierz Molek Interview; ARGUMENTY, No 15, 8 Apr 84)	33
Minister of Education Discusses Educational Policy (Boleslaw Faron, NOWE DROGI, No 4, Apr 84) .....	37
<b>Briefs</b>	
Briefing for Bloc Journalists	49
Party Line Briefing for Press	49
Security Service Seminar	49
Kubiak Addresses Nurses	50
Porebski in Katowice	50
 <b>YUGOSLAVIA</b>	
Authorities Criticized for Ignoring 'Agrobusiness' Scandal (Mirko Sajler; VJESNIK, 18 Mar 84) .....	51
Belgrade Magazine Criticizes Croatian LC Ideological 'Analysis' (INTERVJU, 8 Jun 84) .....	56

## KORCAK ADDRESSES CZECH WOMEN'S UNION

LD192116 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 19 May 84

[Text] The congress of the Czech Union of Women opened in Hradec Kralove today under the slogan "Through Women's creative deeds for the flourishing of the socialist homeland and for peace throughout the world." The proceeding was attended by a delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Czech Government headed by Josef Korcak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and Presidium Czech premier. The delegation of the Czechoslovak Union of Women Central Committee is headed by Marie Kabrhelova, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and chairwoman of the Czechoslovak Women's Union Central Committee. Our reporter Premysl Sramek has more details:

Comrade Josef Korcak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech premier, spoke in the debate. He said, among other things.

[Begin Korcak recording] Your deliberations have shown that a further step has been successfully made in increasing women's role in the life of our socialist society. The Czech Union of Women, and the selfless work of thousands of their officials and members have played a not insignificant role in this. This was not an easy period. Our women have acquitted themselves well in that period of trial in terms of political orientation, economic prudence, the sense of responsibility, steadfastness and socialist conviction and the ability to understand socially-wide needs. Jointly with you we are gladdened by the successes achieved in the economy, culture, in improving facilities in our villages and towns, in political work and in bringing up our young generation. Together with you we are conscious of the tasks and possibilities, difficulties and obstacles to fulfilling the requirements for the social mission of women, for a just appreciation of labor and the creation of conditions for its all-round development.

We are aware of your worries and we will help, together with your contribution, to resolve them gradually. In keeping with the line of the 16th CPCZ Congress we are endeavoring, in order to fulfill the indispensable mission women have in society and the family, to create ever more favorable conditions. The care devoted to constantly improve the social position of women is for us a fundamental issue of realizing the very essence of socialism--the fulfillment of its humanistic aims. In this we also see the means of mobilizing all resource and forces to master our aims in all areas of social life.

Dear comrades. The linking of the struggle for the liberation of women with the struggle against imperialism, which is connected with the threat of war, ranks among the significant traditions of the progressive women's movement. In the present period the struggle for peace--this basic need and man's most important right--is the primary task, the principal condition of resolving all other problems facing the world today. The Communist Party, our socialist state, and millions of citizens of our country have never been confronted so urgently by the question of linking the tasks contained in the national economic plan with the development of the international situation and the defense of our homeland. This is why we are placing such emphasis on the consistent realization of the long-term economic strategy, on a high degree of effectiveness and quality of all work, on the economical utilization of all resources, and on a broader integration of our economy within the socialist economic community.

As you know, the tasks of the plan both for the current and next year are being up-dated on the basis of the results already achieved. We want to fulfill the tasks set by the 16th Party Congress in the field of improving the quality of attained living standards and social guarantees through a more rapid rate of the development of the national economy. We are convinced that the women in the Czech Socialist Republic will set about to fulfill the increased tasks of the plan with understanding and will support our intentions through their honest efforts and working initiative. [End recording]

CSO: 2400/342

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MINISTERS SIGN NOTE OF UNDERSTANDING

Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 30 May 84

LD301942 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 30 May 84

[Excerpts] At the end of the talks held between Iranian and Czechoslovak officials since last Sunday in Tehran, a memorandum of understanding was signed today between Mr Ehrenberger, Czechoslovak minister of fuels and power, and Mr Ghafuri-Fard, Iranian energy minister. We asked Mr Ehrenberger what (?the fields of cooperation) between the two countries are.

[Begin Ehrenberger recording in Czech with superimposed Persian translation] A memo of understanding was signed today which includes possibilities for talks and an expansion of cooperation between the two countries. Of course, a major part of my talks in the Islamic Republic concerned energy and fuel. I think that the possibility for useful and lasting cooperation between Iran and Czechoslovakia in that field exists. I think that cooperation can take place in the field of oil industries, gas industries, coal, production of non-ferrous metals and also in new fields such as [words indistinct]. We are prepared to start extensive cooperation beginning with research, geology, and extraction up to supplying the relevant machinery. I should point out that non-ferrous metal mines in Iran are among the best of their kind in the world. I believe that it would be beneficial to the Islamic Republic's economy to utilize these non-ferrous metals. [End recording]

I asked Mr Ghaffuri-fard to tell us what facilities Iran and Czechoslovakia can place at each other's disposal according to the agreement signed.

[Begin Ghafuri-fard recording] In the memo of understanding signed today both sides expressed their desire for technical cooperation, which is undoubtedly in the interests of both countries. We hope to implement it soon; to invite various experts so that we can continue our cooperation in electricity and water, God willing, in the interests of both nations. So far our cooperation regarding water wells has been in [word indistinct] places, which have been easy. We have made some studies on dry, calcerous areas. [Words indistinct] there are fresh water resources in Kazerun and Mashhad [words indistinct]. [End recording]

CSO: 2400/339

## NATIONAL SOCIAL SECURITY COUNCIL FOUNDED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 Jun 84 p 11

[Text] On Friday, in the central school of SZOT, the National Social Security Council held its founding meeting. The council will advise the National Social Security Directorate.

As it is well-known, starting on 1 July, social security will become a task of the state. It will be controlled by government from now on, not by unions. However, wide-scale social regulation will continue. The recently founded organization will examine and analyze the situation of the social security provisions for society. It will collect the suggestions of the special interest groups, and forward them to the state organs. The council will carefully watch the health care provided to the population.

The governmental and social groups affected also sent representatives to the founding meeting.

Lajos Faluvegi, deputy premier of the Council of Ministers, greeted the members of the National Society Security Council and wished them well in their important and humane work, in the name of the MSZMP Central Committee and the government. He pointed out in his speech that our system of social security, as proven in the past three decades, despite all of our concerns, and the existing disproportionalities in the distribution of income and the tax burden, can and does withstand the test of international comparison. The unions and some of those involved in the new group, who are continuing their work, play a large role in this.

The council has an especially important responsibility in today's conditions, because one has to manage the available material resources in such a way, that despite difficult situations, the government's social policy succeeds. This is what has to be kept in mind when enforcing social security regulations, even when the council provides guidance to the county organizations, that is, when it regulates their work. The deputy premier stated that it is certain that debates will precede decisions, but the council has to take on the burden of representing the interests of various social strata, harmonize those interests, and keep social awareness alive, so that the fairest decisions, based upon suggestions, can be produced by the state organs.

At the organizational meeting, they elected Olga Prieszol as president of the National Social Security Council, Mihaly Lehoczki as vice president, and Istvan Bartos was selected to handle secretarial matters.

DISCRIMINATION IN WAGE DISTRIBUTION NOTED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 May 84 p 5

[Article by Laszlo Karcagi: "Wages and Differences"]

[Text] Aniko and Andrea are twins, 17 years of age, and weavers. They are visibly touched as they enter the plant manager's office. The weaving plant's hellish din practically shoves them through the door. They neatly sit down on the chairs prepared for them. They are modestly tugging on their shop coats to cover their boney knees. Actually they are grown women yet when even they themselves do not notice their legs are dangling back and forth under the chair during the conversation.

"They are still children"--Janos Teglas department manager says later.--  
"As soon as they finished school we put them on 16 machines. We ought to let them rest from time to time but we cannot afford to, there are not enough workers."

Weaving plant manager Sandor Tamasits says:

"Some years ago when the girls did not work on 16 machines yet but only eight, we bought a step counter because we were curious about how far a lady weaver walks in one shift. The result at that time was 32 kilometers."

How much might this be now?

Beginners and the Advanced

In Budaflax's weaving plant in Győr the Werner Company from the United States executed a complete work reorganization. As a result of this the number of weaving machines operated per worker increased from 10 to 16 for the SZTB weaving machines and from eight to 12 for the other types. The reorganization was preceded by testing the abilities of workers and that is how those were selected who are suitable for this work which requires the greatest manual dexterity, attention and coordinating ability. The internal system of interests was also reorganized so that the machine set-up men, the maintenance and service personnel would also be financially interested in the increased performance of the weaver ladies. The differences resulting from changes in the quality of raw materials were also determined.

Permit me to not detail the nature of the incentive system. The fact is that since the girls and women work in the weaving plant under equal conditions and circumstances, the differences in their performances result from the variations in their individual abilities, capabilities and industriousness. And since their wages depend in direct proportion on their performances, the wages here very clearly express the differences in the work done. The average hourly wage recalculated from the performance wage varies in the plant between 17 and 28 forints.

Department manager Teglas explains that differences greater than this are not possible. That is, it would even be difficult to find takers for this extremely difficult work for less than the 17 forint hourly wage. But still the ultimate reason is that the plant environment does not accept over the long range lower performance than this, since--as we mentioned--the wages of other workers depend largely on the weaver ladies' work.

The speed corresponding to the maximum wage cannot be increased either because the upper limit of human performance ability is somewhere here. With work faster than this the quality would deteriorate and the wage would correspondingly decrease. That is, the organizers had also thought of this and made the pay depend also on quality.

Aniko and Andrea--since they are still beginners--are among the weaving plant's lowest paid workers. Their monthly pay is around 3,300-3,400 forints. Usually, Aniko takes home 100 to 200 forints more at the end of the month than her twin sister.

Mrs Laszlo Fekete has been a weaver lady for 23 years, this is how long she has been working the three-shift rotating schedule. Her average hourly wage exceeds 28 forints. In the 1960s she operated four weaving machines, later eight, then 10, and finally now she is on 16. Of course the types of machines changed during the time but still she has a lot more to do now than she had 20 years ago.

"It is typical"--says Mrs Fekete--"that in our plant, performance is only 10 percent higher in the enterprise economic work association [VGMKs] than in the main working time. Even this extra results only from the fact that the mechanics also pitch in with weaving."

#### No More Closet Money

Supplemented with overtime and the various subsidies, the difference between the lowest and highest hourly wages is modified in the weaving plant in such a way that the highest monthly pay is double the lowest one. Within one plant and one trade this characterizes well the difference between work performances which can be achieved.

Elsewhere, where human performance can not be measured this accurately, the differences between the lowest and highest paid groups are generally greater. In the intermediate machine assembly plant of the Ganz Electrical Works, for example, even fourfold differences in income can occur between the assembly tradesmen.

Laszlo Kiraly and Laszlo Szommer machine mechanics graduated in the fall, and earn 3,400 forints. Group leader Lajos Dunai tells us that the majority of the group's workers are also members of the enterprise economic work association. When they have work in the vgmk (there are months, that is, when they do not have any), they work an additional 70-80 hours. The two boys are not in the vgmk, therefore their income is only a fraction of the others'. Laszlo Szommer does not have the desire to work more, and Laszlo Kiraly is completing his highschool education in the correspondence division and therefore usually gets up at 4 AM and gets home at 11 at night so that he does not have any time left for extra work.

We do not have any way to judge whether the fourfold difference in incomes developed in the plant is fair or not. (The large difference between the two income extremes comes about due to the accumulation of the basic hourly wage rates, performance percentages, the various subsidies, overtime and incomes derived from the vgmk.) We are mentioning it only because it has spread in rather broad circles that the differentiation of incomes is not big enough nowadays in the Hungarian plants. This is not so everywhere, especially not where the work can be measured by standards. And if relatively large income differences exist even within one plant or one job, it is important to examine what these result from.

It can be strongly suspected that real differences in performance are not always there behind the income differences. Among other things, the measurement of performance is not accurate. For example, lathe operator Bela Gyurki has been at the Ganzvill for 37 years (he has worked the last 20 years on the same machine). During this time each year they stiffened his standards by at least 5 percent (at the beginning of this year, for example, they raised it by 18 percent in one clip), but in spite of this every month he overfulfills the actual norms of the time by 30 percent. Even he does not understand exactly how this can happen, even though he remembers that at one time he had closet money, and now he does not have any. (The essence of closet money is that the worker--since it is not worth his while to produce more than 130 percent--puts his job slips into his closet for the following month, and submits them then.) Let's add to this: among the jobs in the iron industry perhaps the performance of lathe operators can be determined with the greatest objectivity.

It is proof for the inaccuracy of performance measurement and accounting that in various parts of the year production fluctuates excessively at the machine industry enterprises; on the average it is 30-40 percent lower at the beginning of the year than at the end of the year. But interestingly this fluctuation does not show or just barely shows up in the wages based on the individual work performances; those are roughly the same in every month of the year.

A whole series of sociological evaluations of the plants uncovers the reasons for this oddity. The essence of this is that since in general the management can not furnish work steadily but since it is an elementary need of the workers that their earnings be more or less uniform, therefore in most places they play magician with the performance percentages, overtime hours, the various subsidies, premiums and rewards until "everyone comes out ahead."

That is, actually not everyone comes out ahead because there are also some losers.

#### Less Work for More Pay?

Zoltan Farkas, the young sociologist at DIGEP [Diosgyor Machine Factory] was assigned by his enterprise to examine why so many young tradesmen at the beginning of their careers are leaving one particular department. The evaluation was made, and the sociologists were surprised by its results.

"In the final analysis, how well those at the beginning of their careers fit in is determined by--as Zoltan Farkas explains it--whether they can obtain adequate earnings with an acceptable effort. This is particularly significant where the earnings are largely determined by performance evaluated for each person. And it is the distribution of job assignments and working equipment within the plant which determines what performance and, through this, how large an income can be achieved with a certain investment of work."

For example, the sociologist found in the machine shop under examination that generally the older workers are doing those jobs where the standards are easier to reach. And the younger the worker the more jobs he is assigned with stiffer standards. Beyond this discriminative distribution of the better and poorer paying jobs it was also found that there are more problems in the steadiness of work supply for the young workers or those at the beginning of their careers. The reason for this is that primarily they are not the ones who receive the frequently returning jobs and the ones which "have already been debugged;" their tasks change and rotate more often. It was found that for the most part the young workers are working on machines in poorer conditions, and their supply of tools is much poorer than those of the older colleagues. The disadvantages are accumulating for some of the workers while the advantages are accumulating for the others, and thus in some cases surprisingly low and surprisingly high earnings are also seen even among workers of the same plant in the same job category.

"The pay of the highest earning group of workers is almost six times as high as that of the lowest paid group"--says Zoltan Farkas.

I would like to look around at the scene of the evaluation, but the sociologist is unwilling to disclose which plant he studied because in his opinion it is in part not the specific location but the phenomenon itself that is interesting. In addition, he worked for years on gaining the confidence and sincerity of the enterprise's workers and managers--which is indispensable to sociological work. He does not want to lose this by disclosing the subjects of his investigation to the public. (This by the way is not customary in sociological literature, either.)

"The inequalities experienced in the distribution of work assignments and working equipment lead to the situation that the young workers in more disadvantageous situation achieve lower performances with the same amount

of work--says the sociologist.--"Thus the income differences between the younger ones and the older ones are excessive, and do not correspond to the differences between the jobs done. Those at the beginning of their careers feel this unfairness, this is why they very quickly lose their desire to work here and this is why they try it elsewhere."

Of course it would be a mistake to generalize the conclusions of Zoltan Farkas's study, and even he cautioned about this. This kind of situations are more likely to occur where the workers work for individual performance wages, where the manpower supply can be said to be relatively good, and where the composition of the machinery park, the level of complexity and length of production runs of the products and the failure to establish good work standards make this possible. These phenomena are not general, but they are typical.

#### Broom and Oil Can

When visiting the plants I myself also followed up here and there on what differences there are, for example, in tool inventories. It can be seen almost everywhere that while the inventory of beginner lathe operators is not more than a broom, an oil can and four or five turning tools, there is an actual treasury of accumulated tools in the tool boxes of some of the colleagues; some of them accumulate as many as 300 or 400.

It is no coincidence that in the first years the performance of lathe operators coming from trade schools is in general around 50-70 percent everywhere, while in the past they "produced" the adult standards for longer periods of time in the teaching shops. It is obvious that the things said above are also among the reasons for this regression.

It would be a serious error to reduce the above conclusions to some kind of a generation conflict. This is not what is involved here. The reason for the differences is that by means of his greater experience, knowledge of the situation and mainly his connections, one worker is better able to implement his own interests in the shop than the beginner, whether he is older or young. All this is natural, since the workers who have been there longer are trusted more, as they have already proven themselves.

The problem begins when distribution of material goods according to work is carried over into the distribution of work according to material goods, that is, when those get the easier jobs who earn well to begin with, and those get the difficult ones who earn less.

It is an often spoken slogan: Equal pay for equal work. But if the emphasis is only placed on equal pay and the requirement of equal work is forgotten, a mockery is being made of the correct principle and this causes very great damage.

It is a good thing that they were willing to spend the effort in DIGEP to make the outlined study because this way they have come to see clearly quite a few of their important tasks. Hopefully their example will also be followed elsewhere.

ROLE OF LAWYERS DEBATED

Lawyers' Responsibility Questioned

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Feb 84 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Olszewski: "Attorneys' Professional and Civic Responsibility"]

[Text] The profession of an attorney, a man to whom people entrust their secrets and their fate, is definitely a very respectable one. An attorney's duty is to defend the accused. He concentrates on the extenuating circumstances, draws attention to social or psychological determinants of his client's behavior, emphasizes the facts that show his client in the best light and interprets the events in a way that is justified from his point of view as the defense council.

Although the prosecutor and the attorney are adversaries in a trial, objectively speaking both pursue the same goal--that of presenting the objective truth and obtaining a just verdict at the end of the trial. Both represent the social interest--after all, full observance of a citizen's rights and of a universally binding legal order is in the interest of society.

An attorney is obliged to act within the law. If a prosecutor seeks to obtain a conviction regardless of the facts and circumstances, it is legitimate to speak about a violation of the rule of law. The situation is no different when an defense counsel is trying to obtain the acquittal of his client at any price, when he deliberately conceals the truth or distorts it or even participates in criminal activities in order to shield the accused. Such conduct testifies to a lack of professional ethics as well.

A prosecutor is entitled to hold a critical opinion on the defendant's actions and may portray him in negative terms but he has no right to insult him. Similarly, the defense counsel has no right to insult the advocate of public interest, question the impartiality and autonomy of the court or disregard the binding legal norms. This is so not only because he participates in the quest for truth and a just verdict. As a rule, an attorney appears in public and his statements not only defend his client but also influence the thinking of outsiders and the state of the society's awareness of law, its respect or disregard for law and the judiciary system.

When an attorney forgets--or does not want to remember--that he remains a citizen of his state while defending his client, that when he appears in public he may be held accountable for the words he utters, it may be a sign of irresponsibility or of ill will. A defense counsel who presents his own assessment

of reality in the courtroom or speaks on public matters outside it, and who engages in pursuits not related to his professional work, is held accountable under the law and is subjected to public assessment, just like any other citizen. This applies to his words, actions, or his posture, when these are incompatible with the dignity of the profession and counter to the principles of civic obligations and loyalty toward the state.

These reflections about the rights and duties of defense counsels come to mind when one looks at the activities of a small group of Polish lawyers who nevertheless get a lot of publicity both at home and abroad.

Those who follow the course of public life in Poland are aware of the pronouncements and activities of such lawyers as Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki or Maciej Bednarkiewicz; the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe associate the latter with the investigation into Grzegorz Przemysk's death and allege that the authorities arrested him in revenge for his decision to represent the boy's mother in court proceedings. The truth is totally different: Maciej Bednarkiewicz was arrested on charges of being involved in criminal activities and of failing to report a crime of which he had knowledge.

Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki has made no secret of his "opposition" leanings for many years. Last October, this lawyer who was closely involved with former Solidarity, gave an interview to NEWSWEEK. "I would like to live in better conditions," he said, and he would be speaking for all of society if he meant living conditions, economic development, more order and a quick end to the crisis. However, the NEWSWEEK story suggests that what the Polish attorney has in mind is a change in the political conditions. "Lawyers should not be guided by the interests of the government of the day but by the long-term interests of the state. Though these are not necessarily contradictory, they can be," he said at the conclusion of his talk with Jacob Young and Douglas Stanglin [the whole relevant passage in NEWSWEEK reads: "When martial law tested the ideals and courage of some attorneys, most were sustained by a vision of a freer, more just Poland. 'Lawyers should not be guided by the interests of the government of the day but by the long-term interests of the state,' one said. 'Though these are not necessarily contradictory, they can be.'"]

One should ask what these long-term interests of the state are, knowing that socialist Poland will be 40 years old this year. Should the notion of long term, applied to state interests, denote a continuation of the policies of the Jagellon dynasty [15th-16th c.] or merely the policies of the two decades separating the two world wars, with the well-known consequences for the Polish nation and state? Sila-Nowicki would like to "live in better conditions" although he is hardly a pauper. Regional and peasant-party papers reported that he was contesting the inheritance of a farm of more than 10 hectares near Kazimierz Dolny and had an appetite for land that he did not till himself. The case has not been resolved yet.

Government spokesman Jerzy Urban spent much time explaining the essence of Bednarkiewicz's case. It should be pointed out that this attorney's criminal contacts with Janusz B. took place a long time before Przemysk's tragic death. An arrest warrant had been issued for Janusz B. while the attorney deliberately hampered the work of prosecuting bodies. This is what he was arrested for

Maciej Bednarkiewicz, who maintains that he is a man of modest means, earning little more than 14,000 zloty a month, found it quite easy to give 200,000 zloty to Janusz B. Let us add that the immovables which Bednarkiewicz owns in Warsaw are valued at several million zloty.

Another attorney NEWSWEEK talked to was Piotr Andrzejewski, who is nearly 30 years younger than Sila-Nowicki. He has defended people charged with political offenses for many years. In one such trial, when he was defending an employee of the Nuclear Research Institute at Swierk, he used such language that the justice minister was forced to suspend him from the bar. When he resumed work, he deliberately ignored his earlier experience and charged the Navy Court with employing "kangaroo-court practices." After hearings before the Disciplinary Commission of the Supreme Council of the Bar, the justice minister's request for a retrial, and the resulting verdict, Andrzejewski began walking around in the limelight of a "martyr" as he was barred from the profession for one year. Incidentally, he was defended by Sila-Nowicki and Jan Olszewski, both of who walked out of the court room before the presiding judge had finished reading the substantiation of the verdict. This was peculiar conduct from the point of view of professional ethics....

Attorney Jan Olszewski was KOR's legal advisor, Solidarity's plenipotentiary during the union's registration and a Mazowsze Solidarity expert. He is a close associate of Jan Jozef Lipski, who was the co-author of a tendentious Madrid report prepared by the anti-socialist opposition and a founder of a committee for the defense of prisoners of conscience. Olszowski is considered an influential person with many connections.

These representatives of the bar have formed a noisy, informal group, wishing to attract public attention. Equally important is the fact that these people want to shape, in a definite manner, the activity of attorneys' self-management bodies and their supreme council. At a national congress of the bar, "influential persons," whose views were generally anti-socialist and clerical, demanded a change in the status of attorneys and of their self-management bodies. The minister of justice's supervision of the bar was said to be "humiliating"; concern for a few persons lay behind demands for extending attorneys' retirement age; regulations concerning the rights of defense counsels during investigations, trials and a convict's term in prison were questioned. The pressure by opposition-oriented attorneys occasionally proves effective and thus produces controversy and divisions within the attorneys' community as well as arousing protests from various attorney groups.

The law on the bar, dated 19 December 1963, decided the organizational structure of the bar in Poland. The law on attorney's profession, passed by the Sejm on 26 May 1982, has expanded and substantially supplemented the 1963 law. It was anticipated and received with satisfaction by the majority of attorneys. Internationally recognized as one of the most liberal, the law grants a definite social and legal status to attorneys and defines precisely their rights as defense counsels and as participants in attorneys' self-management bodies. By passing the law, the Sejm met the demands of attorneys whose representatives participated in consultation about the law's provisions.

Implementing socialist renewal, displaying various legislative initiatives and taking up various organizational measures the Polish authorities consider the observance of the law one of the most essential conditions for the implementation of socialist democracy. New laws as well as laws amended in the spirit of renewal, development of self-management, extension of citizens' rights and codification of the law in order to avoid voluntary interpretations, all these also serve socialist democracy.

Just like all other state and public organizations, the institution of attorneys should serve society and its highest organizational formation, namely the state. It is therefore impossible to accept actions, attitudes and statements by the people who reject literally everything that takes place in their homeland, who popularize through Western mass media a fabricated, and deformed image of the situation in Poland. This situation is certainly difficult and complicated but there are also some developments in it that give rise to optimism.

An attorney is not only a defense counsel but also a citizen. So drawing from various sources he must remember that the closest ones are located in Poland. The British say, "right or wrong--my country." [...] It is wrong to put on the attorney's cloak and not to praise Themis but factiousness and represent an un-Polish cause in order to win dubious popularity.

#### Criticism Clarified, Reiterated

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Apr 84, p 4

[Article by Jerzy Olszewski's Substitute: "Once Again About Attorneys' Responsibility"]

[Text] In connection with Jerzy Olszewski's article entitled "Attorneys' Professional and Civic Responsibility," which was published in TRYBUNA LUDU on 27 February we have received a letter from one of the attorneys concerned--Piotr L. J. Andrzejewski. Here is an excerpt from his letter:

"I am sorry to inform you that the article entitled 'Attorneys Professional and Civic Responsibility,' which was printed in TRYBUNA LUDU No 49 (12292), publication year XXXVII, on Monday, 27 February 1984, and was signed by Jerzy Olszewski, contains untrue statements."

"As far as I am concerned, the article contains the following untrue facts:

"I. 'In one such trial, when he was defending an employee of the Nuclear Research Institute at Swierk, he used language that forced the justice minister to suspend him from the bar.'

"II. 'He charged the Navy Court with employing 'kangaroo-court practices.' (...)

"III. 'Incidentally, he was defended by Sila-Nowicki and Jan Olszewski, both of whom ostentatiously walked out of the courtroom before the presiding judge had finished reading the substantiation of the verdict.' (...)

"(...) The above untrue facts violate my legally-guaranteed personal rights (...)."

Since the author of the article, Jerzy Olszewski, is in the hospital, his substitute will answer the charges presented in the letter and will comment on parts of this letter, the publication of which Andrzejewski demanded.

Let us start with the following charge put forward by Andrzejewski: "The suggestion that only Jan Olszewski and Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki decided not to listen to the verdict's substantiation once it had been read is not true." The author of the letter adds that dozens of other bar members observing the trial "ostentatiously walked out of the room." The reason for this protest, Andrzejewski writes, was that a "guilty" verdict was passed "(...) although the argument put forward by the spokesman for extraordinary appeal was refuted, contrary to the course of the trial." The verdict was passed by "the Supreme Court composed of specially selected people (...)."

The fact is indisputable--Jan Olszewski and Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, who defended Piotr Andrzejewski, walked out of the room before the court presented a substantiation of the verdict. Such behavior is unheard of in attorneys' practice, it is a manifestation of disrespect for the law and the judging team, i.e., disrespect for the administration of justice in Poland. This fact was stressed by Jerzy Olszewski, who had a right not to be interested in the audience's behavior, even if it consisted largely of attorneys. Whether their leaving the room was a sign of protest or not is a problem of very subjective feelings.

How has Jerzy Olszewski's true information about Jan Olszewski's and Sila-Nowicki's behavior violated Andrzejewski's personal rights? This question is unanswerable even if you resort to the most refined sophisticated ruses.

Some comments on this part of the letter: this is the first time in my journalistic practice that a lawyer has demanded the publication of a letter plainly questioning the independence of the Supreme Court, putting in doubt the honesty and impartiality of a team of judges and totally denying the justifiability of a verdict.

The second charge concerns the interpretation of Andrzejewski's behavior as defense counsel in a trial at the Navy Court. He writes, "My description that the proceedings had the character of kangaroo-court in my view fitted the professionally defined characteristics of the proceedings. The claim that I used this phrase to describe the character of the proceedings conducted by the Navy Court in Gdynia is another slanderous insinuation addressed to me."

It follows from Andrzejewski's letter that in using the phrase "kangaroo-court proceedings," he considered it appropriate to disparage legal regulations under martial law and question the legality and decency of these regulations, but did not intend to insult the Navy Court.

What bewildering reasoning! Andrzejewski used the phrase "kangaroo-court proceedings," which is unquestionably derogatory, not in a private letter, but in an official letter to the Navy Court of 1 November 1982. Someone who states in a letter to a court--even a politely formulated letter--that legal norms which determine court proceedings are bad, tricky, inhuman and unjust is insulting both the law and the court. Andrzejewski is doubtlessly aware of the cause-and-effect relationships between legal norms, proceedings, courts and verdicts.

If certain legal norms befit a kangaroo court, a court acting on these legal norms becomes a kangaroo court. If it had not been for the special legal regulations during martial law, there would have been no trial before the Navy court.

Andrzejewski writes, "According to the minister, the phrase I used insulted the praiseworthy procedure for imprisoning people in internment camps." This acid sarcasm testifies to Andrzejewski's opinion on martial law regulations and to his general attitude. It was about this attitude and not about imponderables that Jerzy Olszewski wrote. We could grant Andrzejewski's demand by stating with more precision that he had used insulting, derogatory phrases to describe the law in Poland rather than singling out a specific court. Does this precise statement--no longer violating Andrzejewski's personal liberty--relieve him of responsibility for words? Let the readers judge for themselves.

The third charge concerns the justice minister's decision to suspend Andrzejewski as an attorney. Jerzy Olszewski wrote that this was done as a consequence of Andrzejewski's behavior during a trial against an employee of the Nuclear Research Institute [IBJ] at Swierk. Andrzejewski denies this when he writes, "(...). In connection with my defense of an IBJ employee, (...) as a result of denunciation by the judge (...) the justice minister interfered (...) the letter contained a jumble of distorted words and statements taken out of the context of my entire speech, as well as added words and statements which my speech did not contain."

"The case was examined at courts of first and second instance (...) the teams of judges (...) passed a binding verdict acquitting me of charges in connection with the course and character of defense proceedings on my part (...)."

Jerzy Olszewski indeed made an error, and yet at the same time it wasn't an error. In January, 1982, the minister of justice asked the chairman of the National Council of the bar to "consider instituting disciplinary proceedings by attorneys' self-management bodies" against two defenders, one of whom was attorney Andrzejewski. The minister cited Andrzejewski's defense speech at the trial of Zenon N. and Tadeusz P., held at the Warsaw voivodship court. The speech was aggressive and its parts characterizing the situation under martial law were disgusting and fabricated.

Indeed, after the case was heard by disciplinary courts of two instances, Andrzejewski was allowed to continue to practice his profession.

The minister of justice's intervention in connection with Andrzejewski's defense of Andrzej M., an employee of the Institute of Nuclear Research, was the minister's second intervention. Being suspended from practicing his profession by the minister's decision of 16 February 1983, Andrzejewski visited his client in preventive custody on 26 March and, at the same time, had an illegal meeting with another detainee, Jerzy B. These facts served as the basis for the minister of justice's request to the District Council of the Bar to institute disciplinary proceedings against Andrzejewski and other attorneys practicing similar methods.

Jerzy Olszewski's error is connected with the first of these matters. As far as the minister's repeated intervention is concerned, Andrzejewski's suspension was a result of the minister's decision which was not connected with the defense of Andrzej M. but with the attorney's previous activities. In his letter, Andrzejewski considered the part of Jerzy Olszewski's text in which he linked the two entirely different cases together as a "slanderous insinuation," but linked them together himself, emphasizing his acquittal in the first case and keeping silent about his suspension in the latter.

When explaining this misunderstanding in this article, we hope that this time Andrzejewski's sense of dignity will not be offended.

Our final problem is libel and insinuations coming not from Jerzy Olszewski but from Andrzejewski's letter. He publicly accused the minister of justice of manipulating the evidence, if not fabricating it, and accused him of violating the law, i.e., of an offense which is liable to be brought before the Tribunal of State or at least before the Supreme Administrative Court.

Apart from having disavowed the Supreme Court, Andrzejewski wrote that the minister's intervention was a result of a denunciation by a judge. This phrase is unknown in legal jargon and in colloquial language it's meaning is derogatory. One who denounces is a denuntiator. Andrzejewski, defending his personal liberty, offended a judge and disregarded his dignity and good reputation, i.e., the judge's personal rights.

Personal rights involve not only reputation but also dignity. I dare say, I am surprised that Andrzejewski did not announce in his letter that he was going to bring before a court a case against Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America and a dozen Western newspapers which present him and several of his colleagues as "fighters against the regime," i.e., as Polish attorneys opposing Polish authorities, Polish laws and the Polish judiciary.

Mr Andrzejewski, don't you think that by showing you in such a light, those from the West are cynically violating your personal rights and your dignity as Polish citizen?

CSO: 2600/1008

## SCHAFF'S RECENT BOOK CRITICALLY REVIEWED

Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish No 18, 20 Apr 84 p 3

[Article by Ireneusz Gwidon Kaminski: "Mr Adam's Obsessions"]

[Text] As is known, xeroxed copies of Professor Adam Schaff's most recent work called "The Polish Lesson Part Three" have been circulating in Poland. This booklet in being unofficially circulated because Polish journals, somewhat frightened by a sharp retaliations [to Schaff's earlier articles], ceased to disseminate this author's controversial ideas, and the Vienna edition of this booklet rarely manages to pass [border control] cordons.

With interest, I glanced through the booklet only to find a few ideas which are anything but new, along with several contentions so astounding that ignoring them would be a sin. Let me make it absolutely clear that I have no intention of being vicious or denunciatory toward the author. I do grant to everyone the right to cherish his or her obsessions; anyway, the professor's age and his worth to this sponsors from the Club of Rome preclude any impropriety of tone. It is not my job to place Schaff on the right or the left; let He-Who-Is do this on Doomsday.

"The wall between authority and society (and, in this sense, authority's essential alienation) is not a new phenomenon which appeared after martial law was imposed. This alienation has existed throughout the post-war period, with varying intensity. The problem is that socialism was 'imported' into Poland, in spite of the fact that the objective conditions Marxism requires for this did not exist, and that the subjective conditions, i.e., social consensus, were not there" (p 24).

This notion runs through several of Mr Adam's publications. In other words, in order to push through a socialist revolution, the first thing to do is to organize a referendum by which that "social consensus could be measured. He apparently expects this to be done by the existing authority--the capitalists who control the media and the law enforcement system, and who are backed by the bourgeoisie and the intermediate classes. The workers' party, in the professor's eyes, is a club of utopians waiting for the bourgeoisie to hang a rope around its own neck, and for society to ripen in its consciousness for social changes. History teaches us that every revolution was initiated by a revolutionary minority; Mr Adam teaches us that such revolutions were illegitimate and so must be rejected. This also applies to the Polish revolution of 1945.

Adam Schaff's books are reportedly used as instruction materials by some Eurocommunist parties. This makes it clear to me why these parties make strange compromises with their class adversaries while waiting for that mythical "consensus" to come about. The trouble is that meanwhile they lose workers' votes or they disintegrate, which recently befell the Communist Party of Spain. Some cases, such as Chile, appear unmentionable to your theoretician. Consensus (the election victory) was there all right, and yet the people's authority was destroyed. Mr Adam's generalizations, which take exception to the worker movement's experiences, seem to me to petrify social relations rather than to push ahead their socialist transformation. This is why they are so popular in the West. But, what is the point of invoking Marxism in this game?

Incidentally, consensus omnium, meaning a consensus of opinions regarded as correct, is essentially a philosophical term. In antiquity, such people as the Stoics or Cicero held it to be one criterion of truth. But in the 17th century this criterion was challenged by the English philosopher, John Locke. Applying this criterion today to analyses of social processes must be recognized as blatantly anachronistic.

"The Polish Lesson Part Three," which was written in mid-1983, deals with, among other things, the PZPR's present shape. This is Schaff's diagnosis: "The party is experiencing a crisis (...) and its internal--and dangerous--rift is caused, among other reasons, by attitudes toward dialogue with the church, with one faction inside the party not only denying there is something positive in it but even calling for curbing the church's influence, for fighting this influence" (p 15). "Now, this remainder, which is so pertinently called ideological and moral hegemony by Gramsci (who reduced proletarian dictatorship's most essential function precisely to this hegemony), has been lost by the party on the winding roads of its history, especially right after the war, in the period of construction of socialism. (...). Against this backdrop, it is clear how nationalism and racism could appear in a party which declares internationalism as its official ideology."

There are the same kinds of arguments Solidarity used to advance; they expressed the belief that power is within reach and it sufficed to grab for it. But then came the 9th PZPR Congress and 13 December [1981], and it became clear how erroneous that belief had been. But this has apparently failed to reach Mr Adam's consciousness. As for the charge of nationalism and racism, it was penned by the author of "The Polish Lesson" himself. It is as preposterous as that "rightist-nationalistic deviation" invented in 1949, at a time when Adam Schaff was the official ideologue busy patching up theories intended to vindicate the "errors and distortions" of the leadership of that period.

But let us be fair; maybe the author recognizes as racism Poland's critical attitude toward Israel's behavior, or Poland's denunciation of Zionism? Let me therefore remind him of government spokesman Jerzy Urban's statement at a 29 November 1983, press conference. "How is the problem of Zionism treated in the Polish worker movement? Negatively. We regard Zionism as a chauvinist ideology which expresses extreme nationalism and serves as the foundation for an aggressive policy. We backed the UN resolution which interpreted Zionism as a type of racism," Urban said (see RZECZPOSPOLITA, 8 December 1983).

Mr Adam, then, evidently errs in choosing this addressee for his accusations. His message should actually be aimed at the eastern Mediterranean. The conclusions he draws from his considerations are certainly self-consistent. The party in the shape presented in "The Polish Lesson" should, in his view, be sent home for good. Writes Schaff, "A mistake was made which may have historical consequences, and for which a price will have to be paid unless relevant countermeasures are taken soon. (...) What was that mistake? It was that during the night between 12 to 13 December 1981, when martial law was proclaimed and existing organizations and civil rights were suspended, the party was not dissolved, which would have meant shedding this 'burden' in the eyes of the public and clearing the field for the creation of a new party, free of any such 'burdens'" (p 30).

Now, what kind of party would that be without "burdens"? It should disclaim the pursuit of socialist transformations as a matter of principle (there is no social consensus, after all), consolidate the church's influence rather than its own, abdicate the principle of granting the leading role to the working class which, instead of vying for power, should confine itself to its own ideological and moral hegemony. That party should also rid itself of its executive apparatus, because attacks against this apparatus (similar to those made by [pre-December 1981] so-called "horizontal structures" in the PZPR) recur like an obsession in the text. On page 31, for example, he writes, "Willy-nilly, the authorities (...) had to rely on what actually remained of the party, namely its apparatus. Yet, it thereby became a hostage of the very apparatus which represents what is called the hardline. This accounts for the submissiveness toward cadres' pressure, which often paralyzes the bids for liberalization made by those authorities who basically represent a different political line."

Mr Adam's aversion to "party conservatives" becomes understandable if you look at page 25, where he accuses them of launching a press campaign against him and his works, blaming them in particular for having charged him with distorting fundamental Marxist tenets. In other words, whoever praises Schaff is a good communist, while whoever chides him is a hardliner, a pig-headed conservative. That's quite an original criterion for classing party members; the whole world apparently revolves around Mr Schaff. In this particular case, a plurality of views is unacceptable, even though "The Polish Lesson" favors political and ideological pluralism (p 35) and a broadminded freedom of creation and discussion (p 43). This is by no means a new development. I know of a few such liberals who reserve freedom of speech for themselves alone, while keeping a stick with which to beat any unorthodox thoughts out of their adversaries' minds. I have also come across columnists who, having read a polemical article with their views, make a show of contempt for the adversary by ritually washing their hands. It is funny that they should wash their hands, because it would be more practical to wash their eyes, thus gaining a clearer view of the world and of themselves---of themselves, above all.

Mr Adam dislikes many things---the present ruling team's indecision and procrastination (p 39), the configuration of forces inside the party, and especially in the Central Committee (p 40), the communo-fascist factions he invents (p 41), the hardliners' dominance of the [PZPR CC's] Higher School of Social Sciences (p 42), the protective wings over a Club 152, which operates in Warsaw's Technical University (p 41), and so forth. Finally, he concludes, "The question arises, then, if the party has lost all of its viability. Or has it preserved

its viability, but it is using it to launch an attack against the authorities? This is the heart of the matter." (p 42)

This foggy argument by the eminent writer, which bears no relation to socio-political realities, kept reminding me of enunciations and prophecies preached by chairman [of the dissolved Polish Journalists Union SDP] Stefan Bratkowski. It is the same style, the same self-assurance, the same lofty lack of realism. Yet the last-quoted view thrusts readers into the realm of pure surrealism--the party attacking the authorities! Indeed, the intellectual meanderings of this man, who calls himself a philosopher, are totally unpredictable. Fantasy competes with inconsistency in his work. In the first pages, he stands up against the "plot" theory of recent history, while a bit later he embarks--with an ardor worthy of a better cause--on smelling out plots and mafias everywhere, in the party, in social organizations, in the press. By this he proves he is not going to tolerate any difference in views on the modern world's pivotal problems. A fine case of liberalism, indeed.

Since the fourth part of "The Polish Lesson" seems to be in the making, I am taking the liberty of drawing the author's attention to some PZPR documents which he ought to read before speaking out on party problems. Reading the 9th Congress resolutions, resolutions of successive CC plenary sessions, and resolutions passed by the recent National Conference of PZPR delegates will suffice. What will not is to consult a few frustrated has-beens from the 1950's along with LE FIGARO'S correspondent. This, of course, if you intend to engage in serious columnism, and not in reporting what one elderly lady whispered to another.

To be truthful, let me point out that, apart from things which arouse my opposition as a party member, the book also deals with self-evident truths such as an analysis of Solidarity's two stages (revolutionary and counterrevolutionary), opposition toward Western sanctions, a characterization of church-state dialogue, economic problems, etc. Unfortunately, for lack of space, I cannot reply to the concept of "democratic socialism" which Adam Schaff opposes to real socialism, or challenge his erroneous interpretation of consequences of the March [1968] events, or his proposal for "introducing something like political NEPism [reference to Lenin's New Economic Policy of 1921]" or a dozen other things in his book. As for his contention concerning impulses for intervening in, curtailing, or even liquidating the Polish state (p 46), which allegedly came from anywhere but the West, I mercifully prefer to ignore, because you do not usually hit your adversary beneath the belt in polemics.

Mr Adam invokes in his text the [PZPR] Central Party Control Commission. However, he forgets the command, Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord in vain (which does not become a euligizer of the church anyway). But, since he is taking this name in a loud voice, he should be listened to. So far, he has come off unscathed.

CSO: 2600/1007

## ACTIVITIES OF NEW WRITERS' UNION EVALUATED

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish No 92, 17 Apr 84 p 2

[Article by Kazimierz J. Kowalczyk: "What's the New Writers' Union Up To"]

[Text] Let's start with recalling the facts. The government dissolved the former Polish Writers' Union [ZLP] on 19 August. The initiative group for establishing a new writers' union started work in September. Both decisions triggered off a foreign media attack, with Radio Free Europe leading the way, against the new writers' organizations to be established in Poland. And little wonder, especially as there were many experts on the Polish Writers' Union in the West at that time, including Zdzislaw Najder, former ZLP member and boss of Radio Free Europe.

The new union's organizers were called traitors and those who dared to join this union, literary mediocrities, not to say scribblers. The aforementioned Radio Free Europe and other Polish-language radio stations kept publicizing statements made against the new union by Polish writers living abroad. These included those who count for something in contemporary literature as well as those who have never written anything but have always hung around Union (some were even members).

A few days before the new union was established Czeslaw Milosz's opinion from far away California, was widely broadcast. Milosz called the union-to-be "very submissive" to the regime, confessing that he would not like to be a member of it.

A thesis on the publication of contemporary Polish literature abroad took up a lot of time on the air. This said that Polish writers, even those living in this country, will only publish abroad. Such authors count on the extremely favourable rate of exchange for hard currency in Poland. Besides, it is not the writer's popularity at home but the recognition he enjoys abroad that is decisive for his prestige as a writer here in Poland. A small group of men of letters, whom the imposition of martial law found abroad, and who are not eager to return, pretends that only second and third rate writers have remained with the "Jaruzelski regime."

After almost 18 months of the new ZLP's operation a little more can be said about tendencies within the organization and that section of the writer's

community which has not yet joined this union. "Not yet"--since there are not many writers who declare they will never join the union; most are taking a wait-and-see position. This attitude may equally well stem from reservations about the new ZLP or from their reluctance to the late ZLP. Whether or not they join the new ZLP will depend on the line the new writer's organization takes.

Translators used to make up almost half of all the old ZLP members. According to the new constitution only writers, critics boasting serious literary output and those translators with critical and literary work of their own to their credit, may join the ZLP. There are more stringent requirements for prospective ZLP members now.

As regards poets, only those having three collections of their poems published may apply for membership of the new ZLP. As a result, the number of people eligible to apply for ZLP membership cards has diminished. There are 543 persons meeting these requirements in and around Warsaw. Out of these 273, including a few dozens outstanding writers, have already enrolled as members of the new ZLP.

The situation varies throughout the country. According to available data 267 people have been accepted or 60 percent of those in the old membership eligible under the new more stringent requirements. Some 16 local ZLP branches have been established so far and another three are being organized at the moment. The chairmen of these branches become members of the main executive. By restoring to local chairmen this right the new ZLP returns to the old tradition, abandoned by the last extraordinary ZLP congress held in December 1980 i.e. in the time when the union was more of a political than a writers' organization. (The congress feared that the local ZLP branches would not be susceptible to the innovations and maneuvers from Warsaw and decided to remove chairmen of local branches from the ZLP central leadership). The Warsaw branch of the ZLP, the largest in the country, with more than half of all ZLP members, established itself and elected its leadership on 15 February.

Immediately after establishing itself, the union energetically tackled the crucial problems of the writers' community. It opened discussions for a "green light" for contemporary writers. This is of great importance since the publishing process drags on for years. There were cases when a contemporary book was historical by the time it actually got to the bookshops. Talks on speeding up this process are under way and there is every reason to think that they will end successfully. The building up of the Literature Fund is very important for the material welfare of writers. The fund has been raised from the 5 percent charge paid by publishers from new editions of works the copy rights of which have expired, chiefly classics. In addition, the fund receives a subsidy from the state budget. The fund is administered by a sizeable council, and is intended for creative scholarships, particularly publications requiring a lot of work, the promotion of Polish literature abroad, symposiums and literary meetings, contests, prizes and social security benefits.

As regards creative scholarships, an applicant for one under the new rules, must have a current agreement with a publisher. The fund will not assist the first publication of a new writer. An author has to make his first appearance by his own efforts. Only a recognized writer can count on help from the state and the union. This will put a stop to the eternally promising young writer.

Several foreign writers' unions have expressed the desire to cooperate with the new ZLP. Working contacts with the authorities of these unions have already been established. Working groups are drafting agreements on cooperation, the exchange of delegations and scholarships. A delegation of the ZLP executive has visited the Soviet Writers' Union in Moscow where it has signed an agreement involving cooperation and exchange. Similar agreements will soon be signed with writers' unions in other socialist countries.

Contrary to all expectations and fears that Polish literature and culture will go into exile or that the new union will recruit so few members that it will not be able to elect its governing bodies, the situation within the literary community is getting back to normal, which is good both for society and literature alike.

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## SERVICES, LIVING CONDITIONS DECRIED

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 19, 6 May 84 p 2

[Article by Ernest Skalski: "Exhaustion"]

[Text] There are no exhaustive data about what people do when they are not working. The information we do have comes from studies conducted at various periods of time and in various places. Nevertheless, this can prove useful, since it gives a general picture of scale of the problem and allows us to confirm certain observations of our own.

According to the estimates of the Committee for Household Management, in the late 1970's housework (excluding shopping) accounted for six man-hours a day in each household.

There are also data on shopping, provided by a poll conducted in Lodz and Warsaw in 1978. It showed that 38 percent of respondents visited three shops a day to buy from three to four food items, losing 1-2 hours in the process. Another 5 percent of respondents visited from four to six shops a day, losing proportionally more time. On days preceding holidays, shopping took even more time. The fact that today shopping is more difficult than at the time the poll was conducted is almost irrelevant for the purposes of this discussion, which concerns a permanent feature of our life rather than the specific difficulties encountered during a crisis.

Adding the six man-hours mentioned at the beginning of this article to the time spent on shopping, it is absolutely no exaggeration to say that housework takes at least 8 hours in the average household--the equivalent of a regular working day. Since there are 11 million households in Poland, housework consumes the labors of 11 million full-time workers, whereas the whole public sector employs 12.2 million people. This comparison illustrates the immensity of the work which must be done to run and maintain households. All in all, the national economy, including the private sector, employs 17.6 million people, and these same people are usually involved in housework. Even if we assume that a great deal of housework is done by those members of the family who are not economically active, it is no exaggeration to say that working people perform at least half of all housework. These cautious estimates mean that the statistical working person has another part-time job at home.

Most housework is done by working women, although the male members of the family are becoming increasingly involved, something the majority of publicans regard as a desirable process. But the truth is that in better organized societies, where both economic efficiency and living standards are higher than in Poland, the said division of labor is more distinct, which in practical language means that normally the husband has a job while the wife runs the house and takes care of the children.

Apart from housework and shopping, there is the problem of time spent travelling to work. When the research on what people do with their time was conducted, 20 million people were using public transport every day. Simplifying matters somewhat, we can assume that these included the 12 million employed in the public sector, who used public transport twice a day commuting to and from work. The average travelling time is unknown, and even if it was known it would be of little use as maximum and minimum travelling times so greatly. In Warsaw, where municipal transport is relatively well-organized and research on this subject is more advanced than in other towns, commuting to and from work--for people who live in the city itself--takes from one to three hours. The conditions in which people have to travel are terrible. The only improvement since the war has been that people no longer have to cling to the outside of buses and trams. In the 1970's, nine passengers crowded into every square meter of vehicles in the rush hour, while just after the war the figure was 10 passengers.

Other frequent, although not daily, tasks include visiting the doctor. In the 1970's, the average patient had to wait 21 minutes to be registered at the reception desk, and another 68 minutes to be seen by the doctor, with 9 minutes being spent in the doctor's surgery itself. The Poles visit doctors about 320 million times a year.

Other time-consuming activities, which cannot be measured for the whole of society, include visiting offices, paying bills and receiving money at the post office, making use of services, carrying out essential house repairs, etc. All in all, working people have to spend a colossal amount of time and energy outside their work to live normal lives. It seems reasonable to assume that this is equal to the time and energy spent at work.

All these things take up people's time, in the better organized societies I mentioned previously, but less time is spent on them than in Poland, even though the range of activities people are engaged in is much larger. The guiding principle in these societies is that you have to make an effort to earn your living, but spending your earnings should be as easy and pleasant as possible, since this is someone else's source of income. In spite of this mercantile approach, or rather because of it, life is more rational in these societies. Most activities which are a great burden for Poles are either easy, or even pleasant and relaxing. While professional work may produce tension and stress, consuming the fruits of your labors does not. In Poland, both these aspects of life place considerable strain on people's nerves.

Stress stems from the fear that the goods we are queuing for will run out, that we are too far back in the queue to get our share, that we will not manage in time. The price and quality of the goods we finally do get also produce stress.

These stresses seem to grow regardless of the economic situation. They are understandable at a time of crisis, when there is less of everything and the quality is poorer. But even in periods of dynamic economic development, new products and services never keep pace with demand (i.e. demand in terms of financial capabilities) and the sum of complications and problems reduces or even eliminates whatever benefits there might be. Owning a car (and about 25 percent of Polish households do) involves enormous financial and organizational effort, and is another source of stress--the poor quality of services, the shortage of spare parts and petrol. Vacationing also produces nervous tension, as prices are high, getting a reservation difficult, the quality of service poor, and travelling conditions onerous. Even dining out gives more pain than pleasure (finding a table, the service, the food itself, the price).

With life organized in this way, people's opportunities for rest and recreation are extremely limited. These opportunities are reduced even further by most people's living conditions and family situation. This not only applies to those in need of an apartment of acceptable standard, but also affects those who already have an apartment in a tower block on some new housing estate--regarded as an almost unattainable goal. All these things affect the domestic atmosphere in most families for most of the time, causing rivalry and disputes over the division of household duties and responsibilities, generally considered to be too heavy. This is compounded by the permanent feeling people have that their justified needs are not being satisfied.

People take all these stresses to work with them. This is one of the most important factors in Poland's low productivity, although not the only one. A job is necessary as it gives people security and at the least the minimum of subsistence, but the fact that someone holds a regular job does not in itself solve any of his most important problems. [...] [The Law on the Control of Publications and Entertainment of 31 July 1981, art 2, sub-paragraph 1, as amended in 1983 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20 of 1981, item 99, and No 44 of 1983, item 204)].

At work, there is the chance of displaying persistence, energy, initiative and conscientiousness, but this does not improve a person's living standards, and in any case, it is often impossible for him to manifest these traits as this is likely to produce undesirable effects in the form of conflicts.

Instead, these traits are becoming increasingly necessary in organizing one's private life--not for the purposes of material or social advancement, but in order to maintain one's living standard or at least prevent it from declining too rapidly. Thus, people's ambitions are becoming more modest, while the criteria of success are less demanding. These criteria are less often linked to achievements at work and increasingly involve acquiring or maintaining certain material goods. Achievements in the sphere of consumption are becoming totally divorced from those in the area of production.

[...] [The Law on The Control of Publications and Entertainment of 31 July 1981, art 2, sub-paragraphs 1 and 2, as amended in 1983 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20 of 1981, item 99, and No 44 of 1983, item 204)].

Unfortunately, in these circumstances, there is little to give people mental comfort or remove the sources of nervous tension.

## 'EXTREMIST' LAWYERS ATTACKED

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 20, 13 May 84 p 4

[Article by Henryk Wandowski: "Ethics and Practice"]

[Text] The Bar is a special element in the judiciary. Its special character arises from defense lawyer's position in relation to the judiciary. He is closer to the defendant, his individual interests and motives, than the judge and certainly more than the prosecutor. He has a legal and moral obligation to consider everything that is in his client's favor. But this situation is not without its limits. A lawyer's arguments must comply with definite principles specified by detailed regulations and corresponding to the general norms, principles and rules of public life. This means that any professional negligence or malpractice by a lawyer violates firstly the law in general and-- something which we do not always realize--contradicts also the essential interests of the defendant himself.

It is because of this interdependence that the media have mentioned recently several lawyers who are facing disciplinary and penal charges for professional negligence and malpractice, a fact which various antisocialist propaganda agencies in the West are trying to exploit to political advantage. This alone is enough to prove that although certain people insist on interpreting it in this way, the law is not a set of a political values and that lawyers cannot escape weighing up their activity from the political angle. Moreover, the law and the judiciary have in recent years become one of the fronts of more or less direct political struggle against the socialist system.

The object of the noisy propaganda campaign mounted in the West is not to protect a few lawyers but to influence lawyers generally. During the past few years Western anti-socialist forces have lost many their footholds in Poland. The dissolution of numerous creative and artistic organizations, which acted as footholds for them, has stimulated these forces in their attempts to influence other organizations, including the Bar, which perhaps is not such an effective circles. It has however become involved in certain events which are arousing the special interest of Western propaganda.

The public probably knows less about the lawyers than about any other professional group and therefore it is worth mentioning certain peculiarities of the Bar. Perhaps it is because of this profession's closed character that so many problems and disturbing events have arisen within it.

The exclusive and hereditary character of this profession is one such peculiarity. On the one hand we see people from traditional legal families joining the profession, whilst on the other hand the entry of people from worker and peasant families to the legal profession is being deliberately obstructed. For instance from October 1982 to October 1983, out of 175 persons who started training in the legal profession, 144 came from intelligentsia type families (and 55 were lawyers' children or relatives of lawyers) whilst only 25 had a working class background and only six came from peasant families.

Someone's social background is of course nothing to object to. But coteries should arise strong protest. The low number of people from the basic social classes among lawyers and their trainees indicates that members of the Bar are a closed group and arouses serious concern and suspicions about the criteria of admission to the Bar.

The events of August 1980 and of the ensuing months stimulated the lawyers' community. Some lawyers became Solidarity supporters, others involved themselves actively in transforming the union into a political movement. These included such celebrated figures as Wladyslaw Sila Nowicki, Jan Olszewski, Jacek Taylor and Zbigniew Dyka who were chief advisors to the Solidarity leadership. Some were also active in the Committee for Social Self-Defense/Workers Defense Committee (KSS KOR) or in both these organizations (e.g. Jan Olszewski and Jacek Taylor).

At the same time self-management activity in the Bar intensified. Local Bar councils saw heated critical discussions on the current regulations and proposals to amend the law in accordance with the concepts which were popular amongst lawyers at that time. This activity would have indeed been welcome if the proposals had been acceptable. Unfortunately, apart from correct legal concepts which could be taken into account in legislative work many self-management bodies, including the Central Council of the Bar, proposed measures which were either too radical for the socio-political situation or were generally incompatible with the socialist system.

New laws passed after August 1981, have also produced differences of opinions among lawyers. This has been true for instance of the 1981 law on the legal profession. The previous law, passed in 1963, had from the beginning aroused strong objections from the Bar since it imposed serious restrictions on lawyers' professional and socio-organizational self-management. It was criticized most sharply at the Poznan Congress of the Bar held in January 1981. After the congress, several new bills on the legal profession were drafted, including one prepared by members of the Bar themselves. These drafts served as a basis for formulating the law on the legal profession adopted by the Sejm in May 1982.

First and foremost, the new law significantly expanded lawyers' administration of their own affairs and their independence from the state administration. For instance, many powers belonging to the minister of justice, including the supervision of the Bar, were handed over to the Council of State.

Most lawyers approved of the new law. Lawyers in France, West Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Hungary also considered the Polish law on the legal profession to be one of the most liberal acts of its kind.

But some lawyers, including members of the Central Council of the Bar, took a very critical view of the new law. It was subjected to particularly strong criticism at the October 1983 congress of the Bar. These critics refused to recognize that this law is much better than the previous one. They want more. They demand extreme measures. For instance, they call for complete independence of the Bar from the state administration. In their extreme stubbornness--for there is no other name for attitudes which concede nothing to criticism and counterarguments--these people go even further and demand that the minister of justice should not be allowed to act in accord with what he considers to be the public interest.

These extremists give the impression that they do not or do not want to understand that in order to serve its purpose and maintain its socialist, class character, existing and new law must accord with the prevailing socio-political situation in Poland generally and in particular areas of public life including that of the lawyers themselves.

The discontent characterizing certain circles of the Bar and the ideas propounded by some lawyers concern not only the law on the legal profession but also other aspects of public life. These ideas could perhaps be welcomed as manifestations of lawyers' civic aspirations if they were not incompatible with the existing law which protects class interests and the needs of the whole system of our state and society. As it is they are at variance with the socialist legal order not only in theory but also in practice--as is shown by activity which does not come within the ambit of the law and are incompatible with legal ethics.

These words are addressed to several lawyers whom Radio Free Europe and other propaganda organizations have been presenting as the leading defenders of human rights in Poland, and who are facing disciplinary charges neither because of their political views nor because they act as defense counsel in political trials but because they violated professional rules. So charges against them are ethical rather than political in nature, although admittedly individual political attitudes may have lain behind particular malpractices.

Every lawyer, regardless of his views and the people he defends, must know his place in the lawyer-prosecutor-court triad. There are relevant regulations defining very precisely what lawyers can or cannot do. The right to independence is one privilege of lawyers. But it means that lawyers are independent not only from the prosecutor and the court but also from their clients, something which people who are not lawyers by profession are rarely aware of.

In the meantime, not a month has gone by recently without at least one lawyer being caught out in some kind of professional negligence or malpractice. There are Piotr Andrzejewski, for example, well known for his persuasive defense work, who after being suspended by the justice minister for irregular behavior, referred to the Naval Court in slanderous terms, accusing it of behaving in an "inquisitorial" manner. There was Maciej Bednarkiewicz, arrested on charges of participating in criminal activity and withholding information about a crime. There were Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki and Jan Olszewski, who both spoke in offensive terms about the Supreme Court, or Stanislaw Arend, who was similarly abusive about the Council of State. These are examples of behavior which simply does not correspond with the high ethical standards maintained in this profession, regardless of the motives or temperaments of the lawyers involved.

And have local councils of the bar or disciplinary bodies reacted to this kind of behavior? No, they haven't. (The minister of justice had to intervene, to some extent taking over the role of the self-management bodies.)

Furthermore some lawyers have been known to break "the rules of the game" outside the courtroom as well, for instance in the cells where prisoners are held, and elsewhere.

And have local councils of the bar or disciplinary bodies reacted to this kind of behavior? The answer again is no. Consequently, the justice minister had to intervene again, for instance in cases like those described below. The ministry's letter of intervention dated June 1983 and addressed to the Warsaw Bar Council contains, amongst other things, the following information, "the lawyer Sila-Nowicki and the detainee Zbigniew R. illegally entered a room (...) occupied by Jerzy B., who was being detained in preventive custody, and his lawyer, Wojciech Mieroszewicz. (...) The lawyer Zofia Adamowicz, who was allowed to see Roman B., while he was being held in preventive custody, (...) was several times seen walking into the room occupied by the lawyer P. Andrzejewski and the detainee Zbigniew R. Each time she was seen to be carrying some objects (...) In a room where the lawyer Adamowicz was talking to Adam B. who was held in preventive custody, lawyers Sila-Nowicki and Jerzy Wozniak (...) were present without authorization. (...) It must be emphasized that it was not the first time that Sila-Nowicki and Wozniak behaved in this way. Undoubtedly, illegal behavior of this kind by lawyers is not designed to promote the proper conduct of trials. (...) The ministry hereby requests the council to examine the need to resort to disciplinary measures for behavior contrary to law and to the principles of professional ethics."

There has not been even one case in which self-management bodies have used their powers, opening the proceedings they have the power and duty to institute. Never have they instituted disciplinary proceedings on their own initiative, in such other cases as that of the lawyer Edward Wende (tearing down state flags when under the influence of alcohol) or the lawyer Wieslaw Johann (violating prison regulations).

There have been other problems. Lawyers with a worker or peasant background by and large are a minority in this profession, with party members even less numerous. Meanwhile, people with a shady past and anti-socialist views have joined the register of lawyers.

One person included in such a register was, for instance, not long ago involved in international smuggling. There was even a case, although it was in fact quite accidental, when a person entered in the register in Gdansk had been sentenced by the Supreme Court in August 1983, and suspended from the profession for a period of 3 years. These registers also include lawyers who left Poland and decided to stay abroad, often engaging in antistate activities and cooperation with hostile centers abroad.

And all this is happening almost a year after the Central Council of the Bar passed a resolution on this question!

The inertia shown by the lawyers' self-management bodies can be seen clearly in cases with specific political implications and unquestionably exerts an influence on the antisocialist attitudes of a small, but rather noisy, group of lawyers. I have used the word "noisy," because some of them give interviews to Western reporters, presenting themselves as members of the opposition; some help prepare tendentious reports on domestic affairs for use by various anti-socialist organizations and committees; some try to make themselves useful as spokesmen for a lost cause and its leaders. We all know that such activities are supported by radio stations hostile to Poland, which play on and benefit from such activities.

Let us look at one instance. The lawyer Sila-Nowicki, a member of the Central Council of the Bar, wrote a letter to the prime minister. This letter, which strangely enough became available to the radio station in Munich, contains complaints repeated by hostile centers that the age limit set for legal practise is politically motivated. With the age limit lowered to 70, he will not be able to defend some activists of the former Solidarity and the Social Self-Defense Committee KOR. This letter set off propaganda in the West picturing a supposed "campaign against Polish lawyers defending members of the opposition," and urging the creation of "committees for the defense of Polish lawyers." It sounds good, no doubt, and many people unfamiliar with reality will believe it.

Meanwhile, the trend to lower the upper age limits for practising certain professions and holding public posts is not limited to lawyers and was not invented in Poland. The age limit for scientists has been lowered in our country, but only in the same way as everywhere else in the world. Even in the Vatican, the age limit for Cardinals holding official positions has been lowered and no exceptions are made.

Moreover, the age limit introduced into the legal profession has hit others too, not only Sila-Nowicki. It affected almost 450 lawyers over 70. This puts Sila-Nowicki's arguments into a proper perspective, but also strips them of all glamour and makes them unfit for dissemination by hostile radio stations.

It would be possible to quote many other examples illustrating behavior which should be counteracted, first and foremost of course, by the lawyers' self-management bodies. Self-management bodies, meanwhile, have not required high enough standards or acted to enforce them. Some of the lawyers named above are in the leadership of these bodies, and their activities center on other areas, such as new legislation. Such work, may be quite appropriate but is scarcely sufficient to justify the self-management's activity. Some of its activities lead the legal profession into a dead end.

This can be seen in a letter from the Central Bar Council signed by its Chairman Maria Budzanowska and addressed directly to individual councils of the bar, without first going through the intermediary level of regional councils, which is quite a curiosity in itself! This letter contains a request for information "about violations of the law harmful to the public interest or to individuals. Shortcomings in the organization and functioning of judicial bodies should also be indicated." All this information is requested by the council's chairman in spite of the fact that provisions for such action are not included in the law on the Bar. If only the same care was devoted to the public interest, with which the situation in the Bar is in increasing conflict!

What can one say about all this? Rather than comment, perhaps it would be better to describe another development, which is becoming increasingly apparent among the legal community and provides grounds for some hope.

At a recent meeting of the council's leadership, the lawyer Miroslaw Olczyk proposed that a resolution be adopted in connection with an "illegal" arrest of the lawyer M. Bednarkiewicz. The proposal was rejected by most of the lawyers present, who also criticized Sila-Nowicki's activities, and especially his provocative letter to the prime minister. A declaration adopted at a meeting of the Regional Council of the Bar in Szczecin reads: "Those assembled here accept a report presented by the delegates to the National Congress of Lawyers held in Warsaw and approve of their role at the congress, particularly in view of the fact that some statements made there had little to do with the problems of Poland's social and political life." At a similar meeting held in Walbrzych at the end of March, the lawyers present expressed their disapproval for all activities designed to create disorder and destabilize the state. The meeting also laid down tasks and duties for the bar in the current socio-political situation. Their stand was reflected in a declaration they adopted, which read, "Those assembled at the meeting do not approve of the statements and activities of some representatives of the legal profession, as these statements and activities have nothing to do with lawyers' self-management, professional duties, or their financial situation, and conflict with the reality and the needs of Poland's social and political life."

CSO: 2600/1004

## CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN SOCIALIST SYSTEM VIEWED

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 15, 8 Apr 84 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Kazimierz Molek, deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee Cultural Department, by Andrzej Nowak, date and place not given]

[Text] Argumenty: The situation in artistic communities is more stable than it was a year ago. New actors', writers', and artists' union have been established. A lot has changed in the film community. However, there is still a long way to full normalization. What, in your opinion, are the most serious obstacles? What is being done to draw up a program for bringing artistic communities' activities closer to party policy?

Molek: It is true that the situation among creative communities has stabilized. The most profound transformations are taking place within the newly-established creative unions. We must remember that certain creative organizations have long been an area of active penetration by political opponents, both foreign and domestic, who have been trying to use these organizations when preparing for a political coup. Artists' high intellectual and moral esteem with Polish society enabled them to influence the public effectively. Therefore, it is no wonder that opposition groups, who managed to seize leadership in individual creative unions, offered these unions' services to counterrevolutionary forces.

Martial law acted as a dam to hold back the devastating political avalanche of 1981. It also improved prospects for making the situation within creative communities and unions healthier. However, in saying that the situation has improved, we are far from considering this to be a major success since, as you said yourself, there is still a long way to full normalization. There is the question, however, of what we consider to be full normalization. Is it even possible to achieve such a state? We must remember that the situation within creative unions, with its versatile determinants, has never been and will never be a permanent "state," rather, it is a natural and living process, one which can be called "a state of becoming." Currently, realistic and pro-socialist forces are gaining the upper hand among the creative intelligentsia. The "conciliation" front is consolidating and beginning to dominate the "steadfast front," which groups all those defending the achievements of the political opponents prior to 13 December 1981. The "steadfast front," supported by subversive centers in the West and the remaining political oppositionists at home, is stewing obstacles on the road to a normal cultural life. Still, why don't we try to adopt a more positive view of the situation? Progress in normalization can be achieved by clear assessments, patience, consistency and determination in both eliminating opponents and winning supporters.

The political and organizational transformations taking place within creative unions attest to the party's ability to build a wide national conciliation front and coordinate cooperation between constructive, pro-socialist groups within the Polish society. Examples which illustrate this view are provided both by the composition of these creative organizations' leadership and by their programs.

Question: Culture and ideology.... The opinion that any relationship between these two areas of human activity is virtually impossible is still widespread in many communities. Its advocates claim that culture should exist independently and autonomously. However, what is born in human consciousness is not born in a vacuum; it arises from social experience and ideas. No one claims that culture should be merely an instrument to disseminate ideology. This leads to artistic stagnation as has been the case with works written by emigre writers. They criticize everything which is happening under socialism.... What should the relationship between culture and ideology be to serve constructively both the artist and the ideologist?

Answer: During the so-called congress of Polish culture held in December 1981, which led the struggle for a concept of a non-socialist culture and for a non-socialist cultural policy to a climax, many intellectuals demanded that culture be totally separated from ideology. In principle, such opinions emerge when their advocates want to subject culture to another ideology rather than to make it lacking in any ideology. Historic experience shows that culture has never been free from a specific ideology as it will always be part of the body of ideas reflecting the needs of a given class. Hence, the socialist content and nature of our culture signifies that culture, and in particular works of art, reflects the class character of social relations, helps generalize the historic experiences of the working class, and creates and propagates a set of values and patterns corresponding to the socialist vision of a human being rather than to no vision at all.

The socialist system offers favorable conditions for the development of a culture that is open to humanistic values present in the cultural accomplishments of mankind and, in particular, it stimulates a creativity promoting social progress, the ideals of peace, justice, democracy, tolerance and equal rights. However, the tasks which a socialist cultural policy sets for creative communities do not signify--as is often implied that culture should be used for immediate political goals, or to do propaganda's job. Currently, there are many spectacular examples of artists engaging in political struggle and of the effects of such practices. Artists and intellectuals who had dedicated their talents and abilities to anti-socialist activities shortly afterwards proved to be the extremely prolific authors of propaganda works or libellous articles criticizing socialist Poland. I guess this example could be regarded as an answer to the question about the relationship between ideology and culture.

Question: There have been profound transformations in the area of social consciousness in recent years, particularly in creative communities. A group of artists and intellectuals have become distrustful and aloof. There are prominent scholars among them, all accepting socialism as Poland's socio-political system although their views on various subjects may differ. They should meet and discuss these differences to work out a platform for cooperation. What is

your opinion on the need for such a meeting, congress, or whatever we would call a forum for the architects of socialist culture?

Answer: The present developments are bound to reveal the political and ideological confusion of persons aspiring to the role of moral and intellectual authorities. If such people happen to seek a prominent position among national heroes or intellectual celebrities, the feeling of disgust must be particularly strong among the public. What is the most important, however, is the fact that, along with gradual economic recovery, a sense of realism is gaining the upper hand in creative communities. Increasingly large numbers of artists and intellectuals recognize the political and legal foundations of the socialist system as the only platform for cooperation between all Poles. This is so even though there may be lasting differences in their politics, their view of the past and the present, and in their opinions on the role of art and culture. I draw this conclusion from the fact that artists and intellectuals who are party members, Catholics, ZSL members and people with no party affiliation whatsoever, and who represent a wide spectrum of Polish society, cooperate arm in arm within PRON, the National Cultural Council and various creative unions.

A discussion on the future of our state, on the future shape of socialism, is under way throughout the country. Considerations about the essence of socialist culture and its prospects are an extremely important part of this debate. I believe that a national meeting of those creating socialist culture, which is being prepared within PRON, will be an essential and significant stage of this discussion. I also believe that similar meetings and discussions should be held within individual creative communities. The conclusions and suggestions from these meetings will be used when preparing for the PZPR CC Plenum on science, education and culture, scheduled for 1985.

Question: The 40th anniversary of People's Poland offers an opportunity for talk between people with a positive view of our realities. This is also a chance for outstanding books written during the socialist period in Poland to reach the broadest possible spectrum of readers. How about founding "a 40th anniversary library?"

Answer: [...] We are celebrating this anniversary immediately following a violent attack by counterrevolutionary forces, which was aimed at questioning the sense and lasting nature of socialism in Poland and at discrediting socialism in the eyes of the younger generation. The aberrant statement that People's Poland is a cultural desert was part of this strategy. Therefore, when viewing Polish culture in a 40-year retrospect, we should highlight and try to preserve those assets which are the most valuable and lasting.

As for the literature of the past 40 years, I feel that the "standards" should include works whose cognitive and artistic values have been endorsed by life itself. In organizational terms, I suggest that the "40th anniversary library" be initiated under the auspices of the National Cultural Council this year and continued until the 50th anniversary of People's Poland. Publications in this series should meet the highest editorial standards, and a lot of copies should be printed and distributed in a subscription system.

Question: There are many talented contemporary writers whose books are extremely popular, particularly among the younger generation. These include Borowski, Bursa, Wojacek, Stachura, Milczewski-Bruno and others--writers surrounded by an air of uniqueness, originality and dramatism. Readers are fascinated both with their books and with their biographies. I believe, however, that fashionable interests, which are at the same time genuinely profound, do not conflict with the current cultural policy. I am raising this question because in many artistic communities this is still a sensitive subject.

Answer: You said "fashionable interests." Fashionable popularly means seasonal. In my opinion, Borowski or Stachura cannot be regarded as authors of one season. Popularity with readers is a blend of many factors, among which artistic values and eventful biographies of the authors play a dominant role. Dramatic biographies create an atmosphere of mystery and stimulate readers' imagination as strongly as the climaxes of novels do. I think this can be applied to some of the authors you've mentioned.

As far as "fashionable literary interests" are concerned, there are no plans to ration them, so to speak, or to try to limit the authors' popularity. Our present cultural policy is characterized by genuine freedom of literary message and readers' freedom of choice. Any limitations whatsoever in this area are of a strictly objective nature as they arise from technical and production barriers.

Question: Drawing on the leftist tradition in Polish literature, literary criticism and journalism--with the exception of misunderstanding and errors recorded in the history of these literary genres--is the primary objective of our everyday work. Which elements of this tradition are most important? Which deserve particular respect and continuation considering the realities in Poland?

Answer: I agree with the opinion that leftist traditions in Polish literature should be continued more intensively. To this end, literary works which, over the 100-year history accompanied the Polish workers movement in the difficult struggle for the dignity of the working people, for the freedom of the nation, for justice, and for the implementation of those ideas which hundreds of Polish communists and radical socialists were dying for, should be constantly reprinted.

I am not encouraging panegyric writing, or the so-called self-examination literary works. Contemporary emigre writers set a deplorable example of how literature at the service of the anti-communist struggle declines. However, I do believe that, in the imagination and at the desks of many writers in Poland, works are being born which arise from a faith in the sense of, and prospects for, the socialist development of Poland [...].

CSO: 2600/1003

## MINISTER OF EDUCATION DISCUSSES EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 4, Apr 84 pp 41-51

[Article by Boleslaw Faron, minister of education and upbringing: "Problems of Education and Upbringing"]

[Text] "...the development of education and upbringing is indispensable for social and economic progress. Without a modern socialist system of national education, the harmonious development of our society and rapid overcoming of the moral and socioeconomic effects of the present crisis are not possible." This formulation, taken from the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, clearly defines the importance and designates the position of education in the hierarchy of values determining the direction of our country's socioeconomic development. It is fundamentally significant with regard to theoretical categories as well as model considerations. It also has its practical aspect, one that is current and linked with the realities confronting education in its struggle with today's conditions; despite these conditions, work must continue on the future form of schooling.

The resolution contains a broad vision of education, but not only as a functional factor associated with the simple production of cadres for the needs of the national economy and culture, and for social and political life. The congress reminded us that the school also performs an important creative function, perhaps its most important function: it helps to create higher-order values, personal attitudes and convictions, ideals and habits without which it would be almost impossible to achieve social stability and to advance on the road of progress. The school works for today and for tomorrow, and those are its specific, measurable tasks, but by virtue of its nature it must face the future, strive for a goal expressed in the form of the ethical, social and economic ideals of socialism, and toward that which inevitably drives the historical process of our system.

The roles and tasks of education are not internally contradictory in this dualism which was formulated in many previous programs and was expressed in the resolution of the Ninth Congress, but with this difference: we were not always able to go beyond the sphere of intentions and declarations; it was very difficult to adapt the conditions of school existence to its

realistic tasks, those that were immediate, current and future. For the first time, however, despite the most unfavorable conditions ever encountered, a realistic opportunity has arisen to realize the vision contained in the congress resolution. The opportunity is being created by the subsequent decisions in the organizational, material and program areas that were undertaken by political and government representatives, who are implementing the specific slogans of the resolution in accordance with their contents and in accordance with the will of the congress.

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The afflictions of the crisis that torment almost all areas of life have not spared education. These afflictions also reflect years of neglect. The needs are great in the area of preschool upbringing, the teaching cadre, the building base, supplying schools with textbooks, conditions for fulfilling the guardian function, and the vocational education system. The scope of these needs is being magnified by the dynamically growing demographic explosion, which already has reached the first classes of the beginning schooling cycle, and as the current decade progresses it will reach the postprimary schools.

The second layer of the crisis problems, which overlaps the material sphere, is the ideological-political shock experienced by the entire society. Thus the school became a field of sharp conflict over the system of values, over political principles, over ruling the souls of youth. Although in general the conflicts in the schools were not as heated as in other areas, the political and ideological struggle continues and will continue.

Thus, we must deal with the convergence of the various factors joined in the general picture of the state of education and its prospects. The conditioning factors of this picture greatly exceed the limits designating the sphere of the possibilities and jurisdictions of education. The manifold network of relations points in many directions: to almost every home and family, to the factory and office, to the cultivated field and the underground mine, to the enclosure and quiet of the scholar's study, and to friends as well to opponents. Only their resultant will be manifested in the total solutions and in the ordinariness of each education-upbringing institution.

The singular introduction of education in the life of the nation and state, in our socioeconomic system represents its potential strength as its potential limitation. Understanding this limitation engendered an appropriate entry in the Ninth Congress resolution:

"It is necessary to expand broadly the social movement for satisfying educational requirements. The congress affirms that the problems associated with developing education and upbringing must become the subject of concern of the entire society."

The entire society, i.e., all of its citizens and the organizations to which they belong and the workplaces employing them. If education is to train as well as educate people, to produce cadres as well as to satisfy the expectations and aspirations of society, then this is not an entry for growth. But society actually needs and wants such an educational system.

A careful reading of the reports of the PZPR reports-elections campaign provides plenty of examples of what is troubling people and causing doubts, and what is being universally accepted. The emancipated public is requiring high standards of education. On the one hand, this attitude is the source of many critical evaluations, and on the other hand, it is the nucleus of social pressure to improve the functioning of the schools.

In this atmosphere of universal interest, a climate of social support which is so necessary to education, can and should arise. A climate that obliterates extensively the generally conceived limits of common concern about the conditions of the existence of the schools. After all, investigating and eliminating the causes, of which there are many, are much more useful than condemning the effects.

The universalization of the secondary school is the guiding principle of educational policy. To accomplish this task, the ministry's work is directed toward the development and improvement of the post-primary school system.

Conditions are in place to universalize secondary education for young people, without restructuring the present school system, by gradually changing the proportion of post-primary education in favor of unlimited secondary schools and secondary schools for working people. In the annual central plans for 1982 and 1983 and in the national socioeconomic plan for the 1983-1985 period, it is assumed that there will be a systematic increase in the percentage of primary school graduates who will continue their studies in the unlimited secondary schools, that is, the vocational secondary schools, the academic secondary schools and the technical schools. In 1982, 45 percent of the primary school graduates were supposed to continue their studies in the unlimited secondary schools, and in subsequent years this percentage was supposed to increase systematically to 50.5 percent by 1985. These were realistic indexes, because in 1982 42.5 percent of the school-age population were already in the unlimited secondary schools. The basic vocational schools enrolled 54.7 percent of the graduates.

However, the assumptions concerning the gradual growth in the participation of the unlimited secondary schools in educating primary school graduates did not attract public interest. Because of a lack of candidates, in 1982 the planned number of students did not matriculate to the secondary schools. As a result, the percentage of young people continuing their studies in these institutions decreased to 39.7 percent. At the same time, the percentage of primary school graduates who matriculated to the basic vocational schools increased to 56.3 percent. The reorientation

of social interests outlined in 1982 that manifested itself in the career selections made by students was maintained in 1983 and in all probability will continue in future years. This responds to the expectations of the workplaces interested in improving education at the basic vocational school level. This is also not trivial for planning the directions for the development of education or, even more so, for formulating tasks in the area of state social policy.

In this situation, the planned indexes for education in Class I of the unlimited secondary schools were reassessed. It was assumed that in 1984 about 39.7 percent of the primary school graduates would matriculate to these schools. It is difficult to categorize this fact as being good or bad. In addition to its many other tasks, the schools must satisfy social expectations, and are attempting to do so.

Action also has been initiated to find organizational-programmatic solutions within the present model for the vocational educational system that will satisfy the socioeconomic needs regarding training in the worker and equivalent trades and simultaneously increase the participation of the vocational secondary schools in futhering the education of primary school graduates. In particular, we assume the modernization of the vocational secondary schools which, in their current organizational-programmatic form, are not in a position to fulfill their designated role as unlimited secondary schools training qualified workers to the degree expected by the workplaces and by society.

In accordance with the resolution of the Ninth Congress, conditions are in place to guarantee primary school and primary vocational school graduates a secondary education by studying in schools for working people. However, the enrollment plans for these schools are also not complete because the number of candidates is insufficient.

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In accordance with the decision of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, the programmatic-organizational changes in education and upbringing do not disturb existing education structures; these changes are occurring in the system frameworks designated in the Law of 15 July 1961 on the Development of the Education and Upbringing System. The content and scope of the executed changes are so important, however, that they can be considered to be a programmatic-organizational reform of education and upbringing in the entire education system.

The introduction of the new programs is occurring in stages. To date, we have implemented them successively year by year for classes I through VI. In 1986 we will complete the program reform cycle for the eighth-grade primary schools, and starting in 1987 we will proceed simultaneously with all types of postprimary schools.

The substance of the executed changes is characterized by four elements:

- 1) evaluating the social and pedagogic roles of schooling in the entire national educational system;
- 2) redefining the goals of education and upbringing, the principles for the functioning of schools and the criteria for selecting the content of the didactic-upbringing process;
- 3) modernizing and structuralizing the program contents for education and upbringing in accordance with the results of specific scientific disciplines and the requirements of the psychological and pedagogic sciences;
- 4) improving the methods, forms and means for realizing the didactic-upbringing tasks.

These changes were accepted by the Ministry of Education and Upbringing after public consultations of the assumptions for specific types of schools. They also confirm the democratic principles on which education was and is based in Poland and introduce new definitions of the role and function of the educational system. They confirm that the schools and institutions supporting the education process are based on the system of socialist values, on the basic traditions of our nation and on the moral norms embraced by all of mankind. The schools are institutions of a secular nature, educating and training students on an equal basis, based on the premises of scientific didactic-upbringing prognoses, fully respecting the principle of freedom of conscience and religion, and religious tolerance.

The functions and main tasks of the educational institutions have been defined in a modern way. In addition to its already traditionally exhibited educational and upbringing function, the schools' guardian-compensatory and culture-creation functions have been given equal importance. This is associated with the goal of enriching school activities, of achieving a higher degree of consistency between their activities and their social requirements as well as the development needs of children and young people, and of integrating the main spheres and directions of educational activity.

Within the framework of the tasks resulting from realizing the upbringing function, it is necessary for the schools to create situations and conditions to permit the personalities of students to be molded, especially with regard to the socialist system of values, as well as to shape their esthetic and social sensitivities, their sense of responsibility for their own behavior and the behavior of those close to them, and to exploit the community's positive influences while eliminating the negative influences. Upbringing through work by work, shaping civic and social attitudes, preparing young people for the role of intelligent, responsible co-managers of the workplace, community and country are some of the tasks that are being expounded.

Now that the tasks have been formulated, action is being taken to create conditions to realize them. The program "The Primary Directions and Tasks In School Upbringing Work," which was developed by the Ministry of Education

and Upbringing and approved by the Council of Ministers, has been implemented in educational practice. This is an integrated program; it designates the described upbringing ideals, the basic tasks, the forms and methods of upbringing, and the principles of cooperation between schools and parents, workplaces and other cells of the socialist front for upbringing. Our goal is to make teachers more responsible for the results of their work, especially regarding the assimilation by students of the desired systems of moral, civic and ideological values; to provide students with true knowledge and an attitude that is worthy of the socialist character of the school and Poland's reason of state, and to observe the secular nature of the schools. Actions are being taken whose goal is to provide help to teachers in their upbringing work, such as the distribution of methodological material and increasing the scope of influence of institutions involved with teacher training and improvement.

In formulating the tasks resulting from the schools' training functions, the desire has been expressed to eliminate the cardinal sin of pedagogic practice: didactic encyclopedism cultivating the assimilation of knowledge by memory. The scope of this problem, after all, is quite extensive and goes beyond school walls. It is nurtured in the higher schools, on TV and in the press, and in the current criteria for assessing education. Thus we have a very important effort to assess the existing educational model thoroughly. Above all, the goals of this process are to form, in the minds of young people, an integrated picture of the world in association with their own selves, to train them to think creatively and innovatively, and to arm them with practical knowledge on how to use scientific knowledge in everyday life, in new social situations, in making decisions, in furthering their education and in their professional work. New teaching programs that befit such a conceived training function are being constructed.

The universal fulfillment of tasks derived from the guardian-compensatory function should be a new element stressing the enrichment of the pedagogic activities of schools. The goal of these activities is to harmonize students' intellectual, social, emotional and physical development and to equalize development opportunities for children of all communities, especially working class and peasant children. This is linked to assuring students working conditions that are in accordance with health and hygiene norms that create a guarantee of a sense of safety, protection against accidents and concern about their health, and to organize help to combat malnutrition and to provide restful activities. Without knowing students' living conditions and their needs and interests, it will not be possible effectively to shape and satisfy the interests of children and youth, to develop their talents, to avert failure or to apply the principles of prophylactic and pedagogic therapy which are the obligations of every teacher.

The tasks resulting from the guardian-compensatory function, however, are variously conditioned. They require that the schools' material-technical base and cadre working conditions be improved; that there be genuine cooperation with the immediate community, especially with parents;

and that the institutions aiding school activities (educational services, health services, publishing houses, transportation and the like) be restructured and their operations improved, and that society's level of pedagogic culture be improved.

The schools are also realizing tasks resulting from the culture-creation function. They cannot be strictly separated with regard to their integrating nature. The popularization of cultural works, scientific and technical achievements, norms of social life, models of behavior and activities as well as other culture creation activities are occurring in all elements of the didactic-upbringing process that is being organized universally by the schools. They should be supplemented by organizing cultural life in and out of school and by taking advantage of the possibility of contacts with children via TV, radio, tourism and the like.

Relative to the functions of the schools, the goals of education and upbringing, the obligatory principles of the educational processes, the teaching plans and programs for all subjects and activities, and the recommendations concerning the methods, forms and means to realize the didactic-upbringing tasks have been projected.

The experiences of past years, especially the deficiencies of the schools' didactic-upbringing system that have come to light and that have been used with complete ruthlessness by our enemies, have determined the direction of the changes. Along with the acceptance of the new organizational-programmatic assumptions, and the new teaching programs and plans, the following also have been introduced:

--in student practices for primary school classes VI, VII and VIII: reading-information training, didactic-equalizing activities for students requiring additional help, and corrective-compensatory gymnastics for students in classes I through III;

--in the academic secondary schools: supplementary teaching programs encompassing elements of information science, selected problems in pedagogy and psychology, philosophy, ethics, law and economics; preparation for family life, protecting and shaping the environment, the main problems of modern civilization, student practices in all classes and activities in the area of reading and information training;

--in the vocational schools: supplementary training programs similar to the ones in the academic secondary schools; a large selection of additional activities including music, fine arts, foreign languages, various forms of artistic activities, problems concerning rationalization and inventiveness, clubs for work organizers, sports and recreation activities and the like.

The new programmatic-organizational assumptions for education and upbringing create prerequisites that are more extensive than they have been heretofore for school directors and teacher groups to take initiatives in all

spheres of school activities. This is in accordance with the postulates submitted to the Ministry of Education and Upbringing by the education and teacher activists.

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The demographic growth prognoses form the basis for defining the scope of training at specific schooling levels. They also permit better planning of the flow of properly trained and qualified young people into the work force. Errors in prognoses or not taking into account the changes in the country's demographic structure are causing much perturbation including, in addition to difficulties of a cadre or investment nature, the possibility of exacerbating conditions for young people starting out in life.

Since the end of the 1970's, we have been witnessing a dynamic annual increase in the number of school-age children and young people. In 1983 this increase amounted to 132,000 compared to the previous year, and in 1984 it will amount to 153,900. In the entire 1980-1990 decade, the number of school children and youth will increase by 1,128,600. During this time the number of children receiving preschool care will increase by 537,300. The total number of children and youth in the preschools and all types of schools will amount to 8,864,800 in 1990. Presently this index is 7,576,400.

The demographic explosion is engendering the designated cadre problems. The interministerial group formed by the Planning Commission issued "a Report on the Need for Teachers of Academic Subjects up to 1995." The report data indicate that during the 1983-1995 period 127,000 teachers may leave the profession, mainly primary school teachers. Ministry of Education data based on the demographic prognoses indicate that during the 1984-1990 period 47,800 more school teachers and 26,000 more preschool teachers will be needed merely to satisfy growth needs. With regard to the possibility of working overtime, the statistical calculations do not always conform to the real employment of teachers.

The Ministry of Education and Upbringing and the Planning Commission jointly determined the balance of cadre requirements up to 1990 for all levels of education and in all subjects. This problem is being resolved in close cooperation with the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology. Despite the overall decrease in the number of students, this phenomenon did not include the so-called teachers' trends. We must rebuild some departments to satisfy education cadre needs. Teacher studies concerning beginning teaching with the possibility of continuing studies at a higher school have also been implemented. This solution is primarily in reaction to the dynamically growing needs and, as shown by initial experiences, has been successful.

At the all-Polish teaching conference organized at the end of last February, a comprehensive analysis and evaluation of the teacher training system was presented that was based on many years of experience. Research results

and the presented expertise confirmed the rightness of the approved system concept, and at the same time they indicated a need to increase admissions to first-year studies and to make corrections in the programs, methods and contents of training.

In examining the teacher cadre problems, we must be aware of all the conditionings of the present system. To a great extent this is related to the position of the teaching profession in the social hierarchy of values, which for many years determined the material conditions of teachers that were relatively incomparable considering the work done and qualifications required. Thus, the status of teachers and the morale of this professional group, which at one time were high, decreased systematically. We have reached the point where it has become obvious that if proper mechanisms of teacher selection are not restored then we will not lift the burden of requirements presented by a modern school system. Thus the basic idea for a Teacher's Charter was born, a statute which in its final form initiated a process for improving the level of school work by reconstructing the most important factor determining the quality of the didactic-upbringing process: the teacher.

In evaluating the charter's wage requirements, which are causing so much public interest, we should consider not only those who are now teaching but also those who will consciously enter the profession very soon. The schools need young people who want to be there by choice and not by accident. The increased competitiveness of the teaching profession relative to other professions requires a similar level of training in initiating a true selection process, which is what we need most of all.

The assurance of a flow of qualified pedagogic cadres in sufficient numbers to realize all the functions of the schools and education-upbringing institutions requires many initiatives and suitable inducements for study, a systematic improvement in living and working conditions, the assurance of housing (especially for teachers in the rural areas where housing is the most serious obstacle for employing teachers), concern about young teachers in schools, and the creation of an information system for job openings. Today we are still forced to hire candidates for the teaching profession who are not qualified.

Several months ago we obtained an ally to help resolve the complicated problems of education and the teaching profession, namely the regenerated Polish Teachers' Union. We view this as an important factor in influencing the educational community and in stimulating processes within the compass of worker groups. From the beginning we entered into a dialog that is not free of disputes and polemics, but which are understandable and natural if they lead to changes that benefit education.

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The large increases in the number of children and youth of primary school age in the cities are increasing demand for schoolrooms and are engendering many problems in organizing the training process within the primary school

framework, especially in the newer residential communities. Overcrowding in schools is increasing, and the index of change is increasing. Decreasing the number of teaching hours per week has exacerbated this phenomenon. The demographic explosion is presenting education with difficult problems of a material nature. During the 1982-1983 school year, about 4,000 classrooms were leased to the school system, including 2,546 in the rural areas. There also is a shortage of boarding schools, and in most cases the special schools are using adapted buildings that have deteriorated greatly.

As a result of the demographic explosion of the 1970's, about 1,900 educational facilities were transferred to other users, including 527 that were transformed into teachers' residences. During the 1981-1983 period, the school system obtained about 700 buildings from state and economic administrations that are being used by the primary schools and preschools. All of this, however, is but a very small improvement, and the involvement of the local communities and workplaces to enrich the educational infrastructure is required.

In the 1983-1985 period, 627 additional preschool facilities will be needed to satisfy the needs resulting from the demographic explosion in order to maintain the existing index, 48 percent for the universalization of upbringing. The needs are even greater for the primary schools. During the 1983-1990 period, 1,470 more primary schools should be placed in service (35,330 rooms), including 650 schools (15,600 rooms) during the 1983-1985 period. For the 1983-1985 period, the provincial plans project the construction of 407 schools (8,910 rooms). The estimated shortfall in this period is 150 schools (3,590 rooms). By 1990, 605 boarding schools for 120,000 positions should be built. This is linked not only to the demographic explosion but also to the need to make up for years of neglect.

The Ministry of Education and Upbringing has developed a detailed "Report on the Material Base and Investment Needs Up to 1990." This report considers the needs resulting from the demographic explosion and the needs arising from the deterioration of existing buildings. The report recommendations are unequivocal: satisfying these needs requires a great effort by the state and society, a greater concentration of the state's efforts and resources, and the concentration of the activities of many institutions, social organizations, ministries and state administrations at all levels.

The report was submitted to the Council of Ministers, which decided that it would be the basis of a government program to improve education's housing conditions. The program will include tasks for the regional administrations, which will dispense designated investment funds and realize these investments in accordance with their own local priorities. Except for a small amount of intervention funds, no funds for this goal will be controlled by the Ministry of Education.

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Almost 10 years ago a thesis appeared in an educational journal about the great contributions of vocational schooling and about the aging systemic solutions that have been preserved over the years. At the time, that thesis was of an improvised nature, and it reinforced the decisions associated with preparing a structural reform of the vocational schooling system, but it bore unexpected fruit. It did not dynamize the development process, and by causing a sense of uncertainty, it weakened the natural tendency in this branch of education to keep up with social and economic changes.

In addition, significant problems occurred, which were manifested as:

--insufficient investment outlays;

--an unstable situation in the labor market and an inability to discern the real needs of the national economy for qualified cadres;

--increasing differences between the obligatory programs for vocational training and the expectations of the workplaces resulting from the current state of technology and work organization;

--the increasingly difficult situation in the realm of supplying vocational school students and auditors with textbooks, especially textbooks for specialized subjects, and the insufficient production of didactic material for vocational school needs;

--the deteriorating status of furnishing school laboratories with machines and equipment and supplying them with raw and other materials, which makes complete practical training in accordance with the program impossible;

--the incomplete discharge by workplaces of obligations regarding the organization in workplaces of practical vocational training for vocational school students;

--the increasing differences in the social and material entitlements for students of schools for nonworking people or adolescents employed by workplaces regarding the teaching of a trade and attending primary vocational schools.

These difficulties were aggravated as a result of the economic crisis, the currently implemented economic reform, and the changes in the management system. The law on state enterprises, which ignored the problem of enterprises participating in vocational training and improvement, is causing much concern. It is vague as to who is to finance a factory school: the enterprise or the state. A large number of workplaces no longer conduct factory schools or accept students for practical vocational training.

To counteract this phenomenon, which is unfavorable to the vocational schools, at the recommendation of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers decided to improve

the supplies of teaching aids, furniture, equipment and machinery to the schools, educational-upbringing institutions and laboratories of the vocational schools, and the supplies of textbooks, notepads and school articles to students. It was also decided to guarantee conditions for vocational training organized by the workplaces.

But these decisions have only partially resolved the difficulties of the vocational schools. It turned out that they were not too effective in improving supplies to school laboratories of raw and other materials that are essential to realize the practical training process. They were improvised solutions; they did not guarantee the stability of the factory training system. General decisions are necessary to establish whether the obligation to produce qualified cadres should rest with the workplaces.

As a result of the changes in the system for managing the economy, especially as a result of the reorganization or merging of some ministries, and as a result of the liquidation of the associations, the cadres concerned with vocational training have been weakened, or its cells have been eliminated. As a result, there is a danger that the tasks of the ministries based on the existing regulations of the law on the development of the education system will not be accomplished, and that the new rights and obligations of the ministries as organs supervising the schools that are subordinate to them will not be implemented. Such rights were given to the ministries by virtue of the law of 26 January 1982 on the Teacher's Charter. The problems are increasing, especially in the area of realizing the programs for teaching vocational subjects, supplying didactic material and proper care of and help to the schools. The realization of the programs initiated by the ministries in 1978 encompassed over 1,000 program documents. These documents were to be completed in 1981. As of December 1983 the ministries have developed only 400 documents, of which barely 285 have been published.

To counteract the effects of the unfavorable trends that are a threat to vocational schooling, the Ministry of Education and Upbringing has generated material on the development of vocational schooling under economic reform conditions. The drafts of the legal regulations are an integral part of this material which, in precisely defining the obligations, principles and norms for all the ministries in the realm of the status of factory schools in the structure of the reformed enterprises, practical vocational training in workplaces and school laboratories, and managing the vocational schools, will reverse the degressive trends.

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The list of problems being considered by the Ministry of Education to modernize and improve conditions for school operations indicate, on the one hand, the extensive range of activities and, on the other hand, the scale of the needs that must be satisfied in today's obviously difficult economic and social circumstances. To a great extent the effectiveness of these initiatives depends upon the understanding and cooperation of many partners, upon the willingness to satisfy social aspirations and expectations. Education is good for everyone, but without the support of everyone its chance for development is nil.

## BRIEFS

BRIEFING FOR BLOC JOURNALISTS--On 4 June current social and political problems facing our country were the topic of another in a series of briefings held at PZPR Central Committee headquarters in Warsaw for correspondents and press attaches from the socialist countries. Tadeusz Porebski, member of the Politburo and secretary to the PZPR Central Committee, briefed the audience on the proceedings of the 16th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in Lodz, and on the conclusions drawn in the wake of the debate between the party leadership and representatives of the working class. Next, Jerzy Majka, director of the Public Information Department of the PZPR Central Committee, discussed the progress of the election campaign and gave an account of the actions being taken by political opposition forces in our country in connection with the upcoming elections to the people's councils. The meeting was organized by the PZPR Central Committee Department for Press, Radio and Television and chaired by the deputy director of this department, Stanislaw Glen. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Jun 84 p 6]

PARTY LINE BRIEFING FOR PRESS--A conference attended by editors-in-chief representing the national and regional press, press agencies, radio and television and devoted to a review of public information tasks arising out of the proceedings of the 16th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee was held on 5 June at the headquarters building of the PZPR Central Committee. Policy guidelines on political matters to be followed by the press, radio and television were outlined by Tadeusz Porebski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Jan Glowczyk, candidate Politburo member and secretary to the PZPR Central Committee. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Jun 84 p 2]

SECURITY SERVICE SEMINAR--A 2-day seminar opened in Warsaw on 4 June in connection with observances of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Citizens Militia and the Security Service. During the course of this conference a survey will be made of the research work done to date in the field of the history of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak, candidate member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and minister of internal affairs, delivered an address in which he gave an account of the period in which the Citizens Militia and Security Service were founded and the ensuing stages in the development of these agencies. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Jun 84 p 2]

KUBIAK ADDRESSES NURSES--Crucial problems shaping Poland's current economic and political situation, especially within the context of the forthcoming people's council elections, were the topic of a meeting held on 6 June between Hieronim Kubiak, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, and students and lecturers from the Medical Specialties Vocational School No 1 Nursing Department in Krakow. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Jun 84 p 2]

POREBSKI IN KATOWICE--On 6 June Katowice was the site of a working meeting between Tadeusz Porebski, member of the Politburo and secretary to the PZPR Central Committee, and members of the Secretariat of the PZPR Katowice Provincial Committee. During the meeting the participants addressed problems related to internal party work and the orderly scheduling of and progress made in the implementation of party resolutions. Attention was focused in particular on a discussion of the tasks facing members of the Katowice party organization during the people's council election campaign. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Jun 84 p 2]

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YUGOSLAVIA

AUTHORITIES CRITICIZED FOR IGNORING 'AGROBUSINESS' SCANDAL

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 84 p 4

[Article by Mirko Sajler: "Responsibility Without a Response"]

[Text] The workers of the Belje PIK [agroindustrial combine] sent an anonymous letter to the social self-management legal officer of the Beli Manastir opstina, which exposed the agrobusinessmen in the Baranja area. Directors, engineers, doctors, and people from management structures, who in their jobs had been earning above-average personal incomes for many years already, were illegally engaging in large-scale inventory, or even simply usurping social land on which they were earning enormous extra incomes.

Naturally, an extensive social action began immediately in order to prevent this, and to establish how much social income had poured into private channels in this manner.

The social self-management legal officer and the authorities of the Beli Manastir opstina, especially in the financial field joined in this action, followed by the Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the Investigative Center in Osijek. It was discovered that the phenomenon was widespread, and it was concluded that it had to be opposed energetically. There was bitter resistance, however, assisted by the opportunism of powerful protectors within the Beli Manastir opstina and outside it. In fact, interventions by influential people have come from various sides.

"Protectors" are appearing who are defending their "bandit," and want to justify his actions at any cost by demagogic catchwords. Even the following is being said: Why attack people who are cultivating uncultivated land and producing food that is needed by society? Isn't this better than having the land remain uncultivated?

No one says that the land should not be cultivated. On the contrary, every square foot of fertile land should be sown, not just in Baranja, but also throughout the entire country, but the income from this natural wealth should be of a social nature and should not be poured into the pockets of private individuals. Why wouldn't this be the income of some

neighboring agricultural OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] or even a cooperative, when this land is in any case being cultivated by a social tractor and social equipment, usually without adequate compensation from the one in whose interest the land is being cultivated? Very often -- and this has become a public secret -- the agrobusinessmen, those prominent powerful people, do not even pay for the artificial fertilizer or the expensive seed, making use of social property as if it were their own private possession.

#### Great Mistake

After repeated complaints from individuals, information began to be gathered for the entire area of Baranja, since there were indications that this phenomenon had become widespread. The Secretariat for Finances of the Beli Manastir opstina (the present Opstina Administration for Social Income) arrived at the information that a fairly large number of citizens were leasing land. On the list there were 23 people who three years earlier had earned income that should have been taxed. The Secretariat for Finances of the Osijek opstina taxed some of these individuals, since these tenants lived in the largest Slavonian city.

These individuals, however, were also responsible for paying their tax obligations for many years back, which means that they evaded the tax. The Secretariat for Finances of the Beli Manastir opstina, however, felt that criminal proceedings should not be initiated against them, since no measures of any kind were being undertaken against such business elsewhere.

That was where a great mistake was made. The agrobusiness began to flourish. The tenants were convinced that by paying a tax on the cadastral income, such work could be performed legally.

#### Ping-Pong Game

Here is what Ivan Tormas, the social self-management legal officer of the Beli Manastir opstina, says about all this:

"The Secretariat for Finances should not have become involved in taxing income that resulted by cultivating more land than the legal minimum [sic]. Our legal regulations clearly say that individuals engaging in agriculture can have a maximum of 10 hectares of land, and employed individuals only 3 hectares. Many people leased more than the maximum. Consequently, it is only possible to tax what is legal, and not what is illegal. Otherwise what is illegal is legalized. Only the income that is earned above the land maximum is a social category, and the Secretariat for Finances should have instituted proceedings to recover the earnings."

Naturally, this careful legal interpretation by two opstina organs concerning such work could not be overlooked by the Presidium of the Opstina Committee [OK] of the Croatian LC of Beli Manastir. The problem of agrobusiness was discussed on several occasions, and quite clear and

concrete positions were adopted. Nevertheless, they were ignored in practice.

The problem of the agrobusiness that was flourishing in the area of Baranja was discussed by the Presidium of the OK of the Croatian LC of Beli Manastir on 27 August 1982, when it took the position that from the standpoint of socialist morality, it is not possible to accept the practice of large-scale tenantry. It was concluded that sociopolitical action had to be initiated immediately in the basic organizations of the LC so that large-scale landlords especially leaders, could not be elected again to sociopolitical and economic posts.

The highest organ of the Baranja communists criticized the Secretariat for Finances and the Committee for the Economy, which -- as was stated in the explanation -- were not coping with the sociopolitical task entrusted to them. A recommendation was made to the executive council of the Beli Manastir opstina that it raise the issue of the responsibility of the people employed in those organizations, and that it order that the measures regulated by law be undertaken. The Presidium of the OK of the Croatian LC further demanded that the Opstina Public Prosecutor's Office institute appropriate proceedings in accordance with the complaints. To these requests it attached a list of the 23 agrobusinessmen, with their full names, the area being leased, the location of the lease, the total income, etc.

#### A Book Reduced to Five Words

In the discussions in the LC basic organizations this work was energetically condemned, and the conclusions of the Presidium of the Beli Manastir OK of the Croatian LC were accepted in full. The communists of Baranji expressed apprehension that everything might be left at the declaratory adoption of conclusions, instead of their being energetically put into effect. Furthermore, it was even said that the list of large tenants had to be supplemented, since the investigation had not covered all of the cases.

Little of all this has been done thus far, however. Only eight of them have been symbolically punished by monetary penalties, with criminal charges filed for the usurpation of social property. In 2 cases, monetary penalties were set, in 3 the charges were dismissed for lack of evidence, for 2 individuals the public prosecutor gave up on the proceedings, and 1 person was sentenced. That is all.

The commission for investigating the origins of the property adopted the conclusion that proceedings should be instituted against 19 people who had earned income from leasing land. Later the commission renounced the proceedings against 14 individuals, and decided that proceedings should only be conducted against 5 people who had leased more than 10 hectares of land.

#### And Nothing for Anyone

Thus matters are being dragged out and are continuing without an end in sight. The directors are still sitting in their armchairs and are not giving up the extra earnings from agrobusiness. They know how to make maximum use of the support that they received in the opstina and outside it. They even went on a counteroffensive, accusing journalists of slandering them through the press. They did not even refer to the conclusions of the OK of the Croatian LC in Beli Manastir. Furthermore, when it was time for reelection, they competed for their jobs and were elected.

Finally, it remains for us to ask whether we are really so weak as a society that we cannot carry out a social action based on positive legal regulations. Isn't it time to stand in the way of the agrobusinessmen and their protectors? This is a question of an extremely large social income that can be measured in tens of millions of new dinars.

[Inset] Who Are the Agrobusinessmen?

When the scandal of the agrobusiness broke out, the Presidency of the OK of the LC in Beli Manastir, together with the competent bodies, went into action. It established the names of the large tenants and land usurpers who earned profits of 7.74 million dinars as early as 1981 by cultivating the fertile Baranja land. Furthermore, these people were all employed in the social sector and for the most part had above-average incomes.

These were Obrad Davidovic, Petar Mamula, Jovan Bertic, Dusan Jelacic, Nemanja Ristic, Mitar Tomic, Danilo Horvat, Veljko Vukovic, Savo Sarkanjac, Stjepan Ranogajec, Stevan Radanovic, Mrda Durad, Bosko Prgomelja, Laco Ernest, Stanoja Maksimovic, Matija Cizmic, Srecko Sutalo, Savo Zorkic, Antun Gerdasic, Pavo Sarac, Slobodan Krnjeta, Josip Vujica, and Milan Uzelac.

The Opstina Committee of the LC demanded that all of them be held responsible, but this had to be confirmed by the LC basic organizations. As of today this has not even been done.

[Inset] Manipulations

Vlado Stanic, secretary of the Presidency of the LC Conference of the community of the Osijek opstina:

"In some areas a fair amount has been done in clearing up these phenomena. Here and there, however, almost nothing has been done. The reason for this the fact that here and there directors and other leaders are still manipulating the LC organizations, the management organs, etc. Individual agrobusinessmen from the list of the self-management legal officer have been given such descriptions that they could almost be proclaimed heroes of labor. This is the reason for the resistance to the Presidency of the Opstina Committee and to the entire action. Withdrawn into their collectives, the agrobusinessmen are now hiding behind their various

self-management and party distinctions and characteristics. Such resistance will have to be broken, the action is continuing, and we believe that we will carry it out."

[Inset] Resistance

Vladimir Kokeza, chairman of the Interopstina Council of the Federation of Trade Unions for Slavonija and Baranja:

"Where is the resistance coming from in settling the matter of agrobusiness? The combines, as a rule, reject all requests for action as an unjustified attack against the interests of the collective and all of the workers, an attack on agriculture, and an attack on Slavonija in general. That is how the management structures have behaved. Individual resistance has also been encountered from people who have had material interests or careerist aspirations. Resistance has come from the organs of management, basic organizations of the LC, and the trade unions, from which the leaders have come up. But there will not be any development of self-management or stabilization without settling relations in agrobusiness, through criminal-legal proceedings, political action, demanding increased responsibility, and naturally, personnel sanctions. Likewise necessary are harsh measures with respect to organizations where the socioeconomic and self-management attitude is suffering from the private and group ownership elite. It is likewise necessary to eliminate the influence of prominent individuals on the work of the organs that are supposed to protect constitutional law. It is only in this way that this phenomenon be blocked."

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## BELGRADE MAGAZINE CRITICIZES CROATIAN LC IDEOLOGICAL 'ANALYSIS'

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[Excerpts] A recent discussion in the Croatian LC Central Committee on the situation on the ideological front, especially artistic creativity, has excited a great deal of interest, among other reasons, because it charges Belgrade with being an alleged "center of opposition," and numerous creative artists from Belgrade with a number of [works with] serious political disqualifications.

No recent party document has generated as much interest as a 237-page book put out by the center for information and propaganda of the Croatian LC Central Committee. This is an analysis titled, "Some Ideological and Political Tendencies in Artistic Creativity, Literary, Drama and Film Critique, and Public Statements by a Number of Cultural Creative Workers Which Contain Politically Unacceptable Statements"; this was published on 21 March 1984.

However, its content saw the light of day even before its formal and full public announcement, through the statements of several political functionaries and articles in the press, especially the well-known interview of Goran Babic (in the 25-26 February 1984 issue of BORBA). This is a Croatian SAWP functionary who in an already well-known way brought out the core of this document and started a brisk polemic which lasted a whole 2 months in BORBA. It was therefore realistic to expect that the original document would become polemical because its contents open up numerous questions....

The authors of the analysis have obviously invested enormous effort in collecting in one place information about a multitude of subjects or events in a field which in their opinion merits further political investigations.

The analysis says "it is obvious that in the last few years in our country criticism from the right and from the left of the very direction of our social development and the bases of our economic and political system have increased. ...An atmosphere of petit-bourgeois cultural counterrevolution" exists and attempts by "that part of the creative and reproductive intelligentsia which does not stand on Marxist, socialist and communist positions, or has abandoned them to blacken our society, is slowing down almost all the socialist and humanist currents and perspectives." The authors of the analysis try to document such a severe assessment by examples of "aggressive politicalization of creative workers." And here, at least from the standpoint of our "internal" definition and practice, a delicate problem arises: [i.e.] a huge proportion of the facts

which are given as argumentation are directed toward Belgrade..., and to a much lesser degree, to Ljubljana and Zagreb.

Several questions arise...: first, how is it possible to make an analysis of a situation and to limit it to only three cultural-political centers?... Can one completely bypass events in other areas (Kosovo, for instance, the events of 1981 and their repercussions...); second, have we been so isolated from each other in this field that penetration has not been possible either positively or negatively; and third, has this famous three-legged axis whose starting point is Belgrade (or as Goran Baotic put it, "cohorts from Ljubljana and Zagreb flow into Belgrade") so "outvoted" Yugoslavia that it alone can be to blame for all the worthlessness in our country? The defects of such an approach are obvious.

The analysis begins with outlines of "some controversial books and dramatic presentations and their interpretation by reviewers." Most of these "cases" have been politically discussed. ...Djogo's "Vunena vremena" literature about Goli Otok and 1948 ("Tren 2," by Isakovic, "Noc do jutra" by Hofman, "Nijemi orkestar" by Godina, "Pismo-glava" by Selenic, "Prestupna godina" by Komanin, "Carstvo zemaljsko" by Ugrinov).... In the case of Djogo an interesting precedent was made: three poems were quoted from the banned volume, thus...making them available to the wider public.

There follows the entire story about what was said by whom about the famous "Golubnjaca"... Simovic's "Istocnica," Draskovic's "Noz," Cosic's "Stvarno i mogaue," Zupanov's "Levitan," Kocbek's "Strah i hrabrost," Cuic's "Orden," Lasic's book on Krleza, the anthology...of younger Croatian poets by Drago Stambuk and Neven Juric (it is said that they used religiousness as a criteria for inclusion in the anthology!)

In section "Messages in Literary and Quasi-Literary Form" it says: "We will point to some less well-known literary and quasi-literary works (poems, stories, parodies, aphorism, etc) which convey very ideologically unacceptable and openly anti-communist messages." It points to some Beckovic poems, poems by Lazic, Petrov, Borut Hlupic, a satirical poem by Vasa Popovic, and two by Dragomir Brajkovic, etc--all published in the Belgrade press.

It is interesting that the authors of the analysis say that publication of well-known revolutionary poems...on the humor and satire pages of STUDENT manipulate public political thinking. It also quotes satirical passages from STUDENT, KNJIZEVNA REC, OMLADINSKE and POLITIKA.

The analysis says that "There have been many interviews and articles with unacceptable ideological (openly anticommunist) statements," and it cites most from the "Belgrade circle": Antonije Isakovic, Milovan Danojlic, Momo Kapor, Brana Crncevic, Vuk Draskovic, Mica Popovic, Dusko Radovic, Zoran Gluscevic, Jovan Cirilov.... There are also names of persons from "other areas" who have given interviews or published texts in Belgrade publications: Lojze Kovacic, Branko Hofman, Igor Mandic, Marjan Rozanc, Vitomil Zupan, Dimitrije Rupel, Radko Polic, Predrag Matvejevic.

At the 23 May meeting of the Croatian LC Central Committee at which the analysis was discussed, Zarko Bozic said: "All these books and presentations, essays and critiques, articles and films have been financed, reviewed, published, or performed by certain LC members, by some of our advisory councils, institutions and enterprises and newspapers where hundreds of thousands of people work and make decisions. It would be sectarian to accuse all of them of anticommunism and antisocialism."...

The final part of the analysis critically assess some events in regard to films and writing, discussions and statements by some Polish and East European authors, as well as some books, dramas and films by foreign authors. It says that at the beginning of 1982 there were ever more frequent interviews with the main protagonists of the so-called black wave in films and ever more open demands to rehabilitate and show banned films. It mentions the petition of a group of intellectuals to the SFRY presidency demanding a "revision of the repressive policy toward artistic achievements," and says that the petition was signed by "well-known anarcholiberals and some nationalists, of course, along with a certain number of other intellectuals."

In the "East European" section it says, "Some texts and statements by people who are 'dissidents' or 'exiles' in East European countries or have even emigrated to the West, are imbued with radicalized political views which do not [simply] question this or that aspect of modern reality in these countries, but rather socialism, communism and Marxism as such." It mentions Nadezda Mandelstam, Milan Kundera, Jiri Pelikan; while those critics who have praised their work are criticized [in the analysis] for their method or the formulations which they use.

It should be said that this analysis sets a kind of precedent in our political practice, insofar as it speaks very directly about happenings in "other areas" and directly and politically disqualifies them.... If this is a sign that we are beginning to openly come out of our "gates" and to speak, without diplomatic "beating around the bush," about events in the unified Yugoslav area, then of course this is a good sign. It is good if this offers a chance for a two-or-more-way critical communications. This will certainly contribute to more such analyses, without their being understood as "poking a finger in someone's eye" or interfering in [others'] internal affairs."

If the Belgrade cultural-political circle does not find in this analysis at least indications of some truths, this "book" will have fully missed its mark....

The analysis seems to be directed toward pointing out how a "center of opposition" has formed in the Belgrade area which is linked in various forms with like-minded persons from other centers. For political analysis the seriousness of this connection (and this document and the prevailing view from the above-mentioned meeting) is directed to the conclusion that these forces are exceptionally strong, [so] one cannot avoid the question of what are we doing or not doing to link our socialist, communist and progressive forces in the Yugoslav areas? Is this not the cornerstone for strengthening some other "connective" forces?

Davor Kacar said at the Zagreb meeting: "I expected that we would finally know here the criterion for [recognizing] that red borderline which would tell us what is in fact counterrevolution and not [simply] labeling [something as that], and also that that is Stalinism."

It is to be expected that the time will come when this line can be precisely defined when various analyses will be synthesized, and difficult evaluations not easily made, directly or indirectly, on the basis of assumptions.

The analysis frequently mentions nationalists and their statements and links them even more often to the Belgrade area. ...It says, "Today Serbian nationalism is especially motivated toward that which has happened in Kosovo...."

What this entire activity around the formation of some "liberalist, rightist, oppositionist" and similar tendencies in the Belgrade area shows is a certain eruption of political talk that calls forth, whether one likes it or not, the painful associations of some earlier confrontations. Political wisdom prescribes that Belgrade-Zagreb confrontation be prevented, at least in explosive form, because experience teaches us that no good for the whole country can come from this....

It is doubtful that such discussions are useful (they may even be dangerous) at a time when things are not going as they should in implementing the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization....

[The article includes the following boxed statement titled, "Atmosphere of Unpleasant Expectations," which Prvoslav Ralic of the Belgrade made at a 1 June discussion at the Marxist Center of the Serbian LC Central Committee on contradictions in the LCY.]

In some parts of the LC we have occurrences which, because of politicized interests today (and often private interests stand behind them) lead into question one's own cultural policy. Namely, at political meetings, in order to ingratiate oneself with centers of power--people, authors and works are being politically discredited, although it is our orientation that we fight against texts and books with texts and books.

I think that an important task of the entire LC, at present especially, is to protect people, the authors of works, from the primitivism and improvisation of our ideological struggle. One needs to see what lies behind this ideological confusion in our country when one republic or provincial party begins to offer help to another. Is this bringing us some new ideological confrontation along geographic and not along spiritual lines? What is this about, if instead of consideration being given to unity, there is discussion about an offensive in support of disunity.

Who is bringing this up again, almost opening old wounds which are half-healed? Why is one introducing an atmosphere of unpleasant expectations which these interests basically are when public statements and ideological discussions are being mounted? There are areas which are speculating dangerously and mistakenly assessing what will happen tomorrow! Areas which falsely invite one to open,

diplomatic discussions but do not enter into these discussions, into an exchange of opinion, into dialogue, but rather demonstrate their old earlier views as being allegedly relevant today....

What does it mean to make various ideological herbariums [herbarija] (as NIN says), yet to exclude from these analysis all the problems surrounding, for instance, the ideological bases of resistance to the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, not to say a word about all the nationalist tendencies in our country, from great-Serb to others, including irredentist, autonomous leanings, elements of genocide, and not to analyze the ideological bases of proliferating bureaucratism in our country.

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