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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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6 June 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ECONOMIC NATIONALISM SEEN LOOSENING WARSAW PACT SOLIDARITY

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German Vol 39 No 18, 27 Apr 84 p 1

[Article by Christian Schmidt-Haeuer, political editor: "In the East: Outlines of the Future--a European Sense of 'We' Is Undermining Moscow's Power Claim"]

[Text] Thousands of Germans have switched from East to West in the past few months. For some time now, the dogmatic members of the SED leadership have been urging that the Soviet Union should block this trend. It appears that a decision has now been made in the Kremlin. PRAVDA has sharpened its tone considerably in the past few days.--This is what a Moscow correspondent with a crystal ball could have reported in August 1961, immediately before the building of the wall. And what about today?

In many ways the situation reminds one of 1961. Thousands of GDR citizens have moved to the Federal Republic in the past few months. For some time now the dogmatic members of the Kremlin leadership have been urging that the inter-German impetus, Honecker's pleas for a "community of responsibility" of the two German states and the independent course of detente of the four "fraternal countries" of Hungary, the GDR, Bulgaria and Romania should be curbed again.

For a start the Soviet Union sent its MIG's thundering over Berlin and had the media interceptors of the Prague party organ RUDE PRAVO go into action. There could be no such thing as a "quasi-independent ideological course in foreign affairs" of individual socialist countries, said the staunchly party-line paper. During Easter week PRAVDA and Foreign Minister Gromyko themselves put their cards on the table. Immediately before conferences of foreign ministers and the Military Council of the Warsaw Pact, they recalled the Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty, thus also making it publicly known that they would like to block their East European allies' policies toward the West.

The years 1961 and 1984 are worlds apart. The East Europeans do not let themselves be restricted to their camp any more either. Because Russia--as during the last century and during the early 1960's--has utterly overreached itself in the wake of its own drive and the foreign drive for international influence, its security policy and its alliance policy have now suffered painful breaches.

A wave of refugees and the building of the wall not quite a quarter of a century ago were the consequences of an unsuccessful Soviet offensive. Overestimating the political weight of his first intercontinental missiles, Khrushchev with his Berlin ultimatum of November 1958 wanted to force a consolidation of the East European sphere of power and recognition of the GDR while, at the same time, to detach the Federal Republic from NATO and its close partnership with Washington. He had, however, underestimated U.S. resistance.

Twenty years later Moscow's foreign policy followed a similar pattern. The Soviet Union overestimated the worth of its new intermediate-range missiles. It strove to decouple the Federal Republic from the alliance and partnership with the United States in order to be able to prevent counterarming without any kind of concession on its part. Underestimating the U.S. determination once again, it suffered another fiasco. The Kremlin made this defeat even worse by driving its own allies with counter-counterarming in the GDR and CSSR from a latent into an open process of succession in foreign affairs.

An unprecedented situation has arisen in the Warsaw Pact. This time it is not an individual country which is drifting into a desperate estrangement from the Soviet system; rather, at least four countries--the GDR, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria--are practicing an evolutionary turn toward a European "community of responsibility." It is a question of a cautiously coordinated initiative, not of an isolated uprising such as in the GDR in 1953, in Hungary and Poland in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in Poland again in 1980. What has developed in the past few months looks like a delayed echo of the Sonnenfeldt doctrine by the East European leaderships, according to which the Soviet Union can be sure of its approaches only if it has an "organic" relationship with the East European states and, rather than considering them mere vassals, lets them have their own space for initiative.

Hungarian Central Committee Secretary Szuros made this clearer than anyone by replying to the calls to order by RUDE PRAVO and the conjuring up of the danger of war by Moscow with a kind of charter of the European approach areas and by praise for the "sober middle-class politicians." He said: "In the future, Europe is bound to remain the initiator and continuator of the policy of detente. This derives from mutual interest and having to rely on one another.... In the 1960's General de Gaulle defined the essence of Soviet-French relations in the broader meaning of East-West relations--detente, entente, cooperation.... In our opinion these principles remain immutably valid these days."

The most amazing thing was that NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, central organ of the SED, reprinted this Hungarian position. While not yet conjuring up de Gaulle, the man from Saarland at the head of the SED was already late last autumn among the advocates against counter-counterarming in East Europe. The Soviet missiles, said Honecker at that time, will "of course not cause any jubilation in this country."

The Soviets themselves triggered the "independent ideological course in foreign affairs" which the Kremlin now finds objectionable on the part of some of its allies. Because it was unable to offer the East Europeans neither reserves or reforms, nor assistance in fighting the energy crisis nor prescriptions to remedy the growing debt burden. Moscow virtually forced its allies to resort to self help.

From Poland to Bulgaria, not country can do without the West European economy today. The desperate attempt to escape the collapse of the central planning system is forcing the East European states through the eye of the needle--from extensive to intensive economic development. But this requires closer involvement in the world economy. The bankruptcy of "real socialism" has made the fraternal states hostages of an "imported" economic progress with which they seek to discourage an uncontrollable political commitment on the part of their peoples.

It therefore would amount to an existential threat to most East European leaderships if the cold war destroyed their laboriously constructed network of domestic reform and foreign trade integration. And the over-taxed Kremlin, under pressure from Washington's ideological and military armament, is bound to feel that the rational self-help of the East European states which brings about system-changing consequences not only for society but even for the Eastern alliance must constitute an ominous decline in its prestige and power.

What can Moscow do about it? The old prescription of relying on the dogmatists of proletarian internationalism is opposed by the economic nationalism of the younger and qualified leadership elites in East Europe. Andropov apparently recognized the dilemma between global claim and the change in hegemonic structure. Foreign Minister Gromyko, who under Chernenko exclusively determines foreign policy, has remained too immobile as a pedantic reform agent of the overburdened postwar imperium. He has held on to what could be held on to. But he has hardly shaped, reshaped or renewed anything. Thus the Kremlin to this day has no concept for gradually turning its imperial approach area into a Soviet commonwealth.

Have the majority of the pact countries now been forced to adopt the same method? There are a great many indications that in this way the East Europeans are seeking salvation from a foreign policy which bears the stamp of the old men in the Kremlin aptly described by Alexander Mitscherlich when he says: "Ritualization is cancellation of time as a changing, developing force."

Realization of their comparatively limited possibilities constitutes the East Europeans' opportunity; if they ignore this insight, they challenge Soviet intervention. Realization of their comparatively unlimited possibilities constitutes the West Europeans' opportunity to prevent East-West relations from becoming bogged down in unrestrained confrontation;

if they ignore this realization, it would amount to shaping the future. A pan-European concept must include the partnership between West Europe and the United States but exclude complicity with a U.S. policy toward the East determined purely by ideological considerations. It must include the Soviet Union and consider its security interests, but it should help to reduce its power over East Europe. Margaret Thatcher's visit to Budapest and the preparations for a visit by Mitterrand to Moscow are indications that comprehension for this West European task is growing not only in the Federal Republic.

8790

CSO: 2300/483

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

OFFICIAL URGES PERMANENT CHURCH-STATE DIALOGUE

Schwerin MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG in German 6 May 84 p 1

[Article by Fritz Rabe: "Dialogue as a Permanent State--Consultation in Neubrandenburg With State Secretary Gysi"]

[Text] On April 25, the council of the Neubrandenburg district and the National Front, within the framework of the "Neubrandenburg Talks", invited to an exchange of ideas with Klaus Gysi, undersecretary for church affairs. Some 80 representatives of the state churches of Mecklenburg, Griefswald and Berlin-Brandenburg, as well as free churches and religious communities came to the district city. In his opening speech the state secretary pointed particularly to three areas: 1. The development of the GDR must be seen in its overall historical context. 2. The decisive task of our time is to secure and safeguard peace. 3. The civilized dialogue between state and church must become continuous and lasting.

In the 35 years of its existence, the development of our nation has consistently come close to the goals outlined at its founding. Now it becomes ever more important to perceive the GDR as [our] homeland. In the future, knowledge of German history must be deepened even more. From this point of view, history books for schools are presently being revised. The 1983 Luther Year already marked important steps in realizing our historic heritage.

The present, complicated world situation demands joint peace efforts by all citizens of our country. "We want to eliminate war as a means of solving political problems." Expert knowledge, and the willingness to learn from history, are an integral part of the peace effort. The activities of some "peace groups" are problematical and dangerous, "since frequently, they try to attain quickly visible results, with impatience and little knowledge of the subject." In these cases, the church in particular must take its responsibility very seriously, to reintegrate the activities of individual groups into our country's joint peace efforts.

Last year's tributes to Luther demonstrated "that much more was possible in the relationship between state and church than one would have guessed beforehand." Ecumenical visitors experienced and appreciated that fact. "Extraordinarily frank and hypothetical talks between state and church

are possible (church conferences). The chances of the Protestant churches in particular are great and expandable within the socialist state." A course of good cooperation is consistently carried out in our country.

Speeches by church representatives stressed the "mutual learning process between Christians and Marxists, the significance of ecumenical relations," and the necessity for "civilized dialogue on the subject." Questions and problems of youth, the peace effort, and environmental protection were also addressed. In his final reply the state secretary pointed out that, although there is no direct dialogue between NVA, national education, and the church, many other possibilities for dialogue ought to be utilized. "A dialogue between Marxists and Christians should become a permanent institution.

A mutual exchange of ideas demonstrates how proper relations between state and church can be managed. This does not exclude open questions. Superintendent Winkelmann showed a course of development from "agitation on both sides" to "discussing with each other," and to "joint consultations," which may well point the way to the future. Maintaining one's own position honestly is, and remains, an essential prerequisite. There remains the questions how we, as Protestant Christians, can also find a way to our Catholic sister church in order to discuss jointly the problems of our time. It requires and demands solidarity among Christians.

9917

CSO: 2300/462

SED ANTI-EMIGRATION PROPAGANDA DETAILED

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 27 Apr 84 p 4

[Article by Joachim Nawrocki, head of West Berlin editorial staff, datelined Berlin in April: "Anxiety About the Emigration Wave--How the GDR Leadership Is Trying To Keep the Citizens in the Country"]

[Text] The GDR leadership, it seems, has conjured all the more the ghosts it wanted to get rid of. Circa 20,000 immigrants have arrived in the FRG since the start of the year. At least 10 times, if not 20 times, that many GDR citizens have applied for emigration. Not all those applications can be granted, one can be fairly sure. Some day the attempt to purge the GDR of restless citizens this way will come to an end.

Whether the GDR government is looking for possibilities to stabilize the domestic political situation by other means, cannot be ascertained, yet the propaganda apparatus is all geared up. The GDR press, e.g., has reported that the plans for the first quarter of 1984 were surpassed--supplying figures never before published. The retail tradeover, in particular, presumably showed a 4.4 percent rate of growth. That would be above the plan and also more than last year. That presumably is to suggest that the GDR is making headway, the standard of living is improving again, and people have no reason to sneak off to an allegedly crisis-ridden and asocial FRG.

Deep Disappointment

The GDR press is making it all too clear: Someone who quits and goes West trades comfort, security and social protection for disappointment, discrimination, bureaucratism and unemployment. Erika Gleisse, a technician in the state-owned Berlin enterprise for women's fashions, in an article on the approaching 35th GDR anniversary, reports that her work means so much to her mainly because she is looking at everything from the social vantage point and is always thinking of the whole, and then she says: "I know this has to do with the good and exceedingly important sense of being at home in the GDR and perceiving the comfort of the socialist quality of life."

GDR newspapers keep reporting how different things are for emigrants to the FRG. Doing so, they are resorting in detail to reports from FRG newspapers--including the 13 April ZEIT Magazine--through biased selections and quotations, of course. Of the many examples of successful integration and contentment of former GDR citizens nothing is said.

One GDR report in the ADN news agency said: "FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU writes about the great disappointment many former GDR citizens have experienced, describes how big expectations are bursting like soap bubbles and a terrible reality is spreading. Social comfort, security, the community as a protection as it were, as a big family--suddenly that is all gone. Guenter K. is describing his situation. He used to be the top physician in a women's clinic in the GDR and emigrated to the FRG 3 years ago. He is telling in DER SPIEGEL that he has not found an adequate position to this day. That professor is quoted as saying verbatim: 'All in all I have now turned from a proud dissident into an emigrant beggar.'" Another chief physician is quoted in the GDR press as follows: "What I had dreamed of: pluralism, tolerance, creativity----none of that I have found in the FRG. Instead: servility, indifference, ignorance, bureaucratism."

Reports like that, mounting in the GDR press, carry headlines such as "FRG Freedom Has Many Traps" or "You Got Onto the Wrong Side." They then say the GDR emigrants are treated in the FRG like a "better grade of Turks" and looked at as "asocial elements from the other side" and dealt with as undesirable competition on the labor market. And if someone should get a job at all, he would have to work between 14 and 16 hours a day for 700 marks a month.

#### Young and Ambitious

The truth is totally different, of course. Surely there are cases where poorly trained or lazy immigrants are on welfare. "I never worked in the GDR and won't work here either," we were told by a young woman who claims to be an artist and lives better on welfare here than she used to live in the GDR.

Those are exceptions. Most of them are young, ambitious and well trained. We know from our own observation many cases of former GDR citizens getting established rapidly. Two young chemists, e.g., who arrived in the FRG in the summer, shortly thereafter not only had their own apartment but good jobs, are driving their own cars and now are getting set to study. A former motor vehicle mechanic works here as a long-distance driver, another one has made himself independent, bought himself a van and does well as a subcontractor for a shipping firm. A craftsman has found employment in a municipal enterprise and is planning to become a civil servant. A male nurse is working in his old profession.

Through the official announcement from the East Berlin foreign ministry, that many GDR citizens were allowed to emigrate from the GDR "in conformity with the final document of the Madrid Conference," and had applied for permission to return home, all who desire to leave are to be induced to give it another thought. The announcement then carries this explanation: "Official authorities announce that such a request, understandable as it may be, cannot be honored." The meaning: Emigration is definite; possibly regretting it would come too late. For all that, hardly any cases are known in the West where emigrants had tried to return to the GDR.

Emigrants from the GDR are now also told in GDR newspapers that actually it should be the FRG which one should be advised to leave. According to FRG statistics, 60,000 FRG citizens emigrate annually, the GDR press writes. Nothing is said about how many immigrate. The number of emigrants, so it is then claimed, had risen when the "stationing of new U.S. missiles became imminent." Australia is mentioned as the dream land of many emigrants. A spokesman

of the Australian Embassy is quoted saying "It is like an avalanche." In a consultation office in Bremen officials had come to the realization that many FRG citizens "want to get out of the danger zone in Western Europe due to the aggravation of the international situation." That the GDR would then lie at least as much in that danger zone is not being mentioned.

It is doubtful that any of these reports can curb the GDR citizens' desire to leave for the West. Often this target-directed propaganda is seen rather as getting ready for a cutoff in exit permissions. Into such an unsafe and asocial danger zone, official authorities might then go on to argue, a socialist state should not release its citizens for reasons of its obligation to care for them. That the GDR by pointing out that the departures had been allowed in line with the Madrid CSCE final document had virtually recognized a legal basis for the desires to leave, is likely to bother it little thereafter.

When the GDR leadership is going to change this course again and whether it will once again counter exit policy restrictions by somewhat more generous exit opportunities, no one can tell. True enough, of the circa 60,000 GDR citizens who may go West on urgent family business each year more than 99 percent returns home. But that does not mean much. Usually only one spouse may go, the other one and the children must be left behind. Truly free travel opportunities would likely be used for quitting the GDR to a larger extent. That kind of risk the GDR leadership therefore is not likely to assume.

The cautious suggestion by the East Berlin consistorial president Stolpe, that all GDR citizens above 45 years of age no longer under conscription obligation should get visas for repeated departures and return, thus is not likely to be more than a trial balloon. That the Evangelical Church in the GDR has approached the state with requests and questions about expanded travel opportunities, probably is explained by that many clerics themselves feel uncomfortable about the emigration wave and are looking for ways to resolve it.

The Berlin-Brandenburg Synod recently deplored that six pastors had left the GDR with their families: "The congregations concerned find themselves left in the lurch by their ministers. We regret their departure because we need them badly. We are also concerned that other associates and members of the congregations might submit emigration applications." From the vantage point of the church, any Christian leaving the GDR means a loss to church efforts.

In "unsolvable cases" emigration requests are also being supported, to be sure. But generally, so says the Erfurt Prior Heino Falcke, Christians should "hang in there" and hope for an "improvable socialism." Before they apply for emigration, says Falcke, the citizens should, among other things, ask themselves whether they could not also look at the land and life in the GDR as being under "God's dominion and promise when political circumstances do not appear to allow for a meaningful life."

#### Intensive Contacts

In the emigration problems, the interests of state and church are in many ways quite similar: both would rather have the citizens stay home. Whether the

state and the church can jointly solve the problem, remains doubtful in spite of the evidently intensive contacts between them. Consistorial president Stolpe has appealed to the GDR leadership "to find a helpful way soon for the sake of the country's stability." And the Goerlitz Bishop Wollstadt addressed the authorities with the wish "to create conditions in our country under which all people can feel comfortable and would want to live." More generous travel opportunities, however, won't do it, even though Stolpe says: "I am quite certain, in that case we would hardly get any more emigration applications." The GDR security organs are not likely to be quite so certain.

5885

CSO: 2300/482

FRG COMMENTATOR DOUBTS EMIGRATION CUTOFF IMMINENT

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 27 Apr 84 p 4

[Article by Carl-Christian Kaiser, member of Bonn editorial staff, datelined Bonn in April: "The 'Special Action' is Having Repercussions"]

[Text] Is the GDR stopping the migration wave? Bonn experts do not believe it. Chancellery Minister Philipp Jenninger has been misunderstood in being recently quoted with the prophesy the action was likely to be terminated in May. Actually the minister had come out with a hypothesis: Were one to assume, roughly speaking, between 15,000 and 20,000 "old cases" of persons who want to leave, the contingent might be expected to get exhausted in the months ahead.

The fact is that 20,000 fellow-countrymen and more have already come from the other part of Germany since the start of the year. There also are remarks, from the East Berlin attorney Vogel, who plays a central role in all emigration affairs, as well as from Politburo member Guenter Mittag, who recently was in Bonn, that suggest a "tug wave" of some 20,000 GDR citizens. Yet among those who have thus far been registered in the reception camps of Giessen and Berlin-Marienfelde there are not a few who applied for emigration only recently. Thus there is a mix of "old" and "new" cases, the benumbing expression in bureaucratese for poignant human destinies.

Such statistics should be treated with caution anyway. Bonn finds out about desires to leave in many different ways: through relatives and acquaintances of GDR citizens in the FRG; from letters coming out of the GDR directly or indirectly, from the permanent representation in East Berlin or foreign embassies--even if the opportunity to involve diplomatic missions has been confined since the "embassy occupations." All information is turned into lists; on that basis then negotiations are going on via the "attorney channel" with Vogel, Erich Honecker's confidant and agent. It is par for the course, of course, that much remains obscure, and about the pull that may emanate from the astonishing emigration wave one can merely speculate.

A sudden cutoff would hurt the GDR much. It declared its amazing freedom of movement officially as meeting international deals. Now it would compromise itself by an abrupt reversal. Therefore much suggests that the emigration wave, while it may bottom out, will not ebb away but rather assume a "normal" size again--possibly at the clip of recent years bringing in between 8,000 and 11,000 fellow-countrymen annually. The influx of recent weeks was a spring-tide,

a "special action." In the encoded collusion between the two Germanys, Jennings's prophecy also had the purpose to facilitate returning to emigration normalcy for the GDR. Bonn is not interested in "depopulating" the GDR.

The special action has gained a weight of its own, to be sure. Trips and freedom of movement in both directions are more than ever on the all-German agenda. If the GDR really wants to get rid of rebellious, discontent citizens who are unwilling to accommodate or integrate themselves in order to gain more "internal stability," the question remains how that can be arranged over the long run.

There are quite a few indications that the East Berlin government is pondering more earnestly than in the past how to grant more freedom of movement--and is doing it already to a limited extent. Trips on grounds of urgent family business, according to Bonn statistics, increased from 1982 to 1983, from 45,709 to 64,025 instances. Yet to allow a larger general freedom of movement is something East Berlin is evidently still far away from. That is still a drain on their resources and has to do with the worry about contacts and infiltration.

The Hungarian model of being allowed to visit a Western country at least once a year is not up for debate as yet, though it is obvious that even the possibility of such a trip, without even being used, would be a great valve. Incidentally, again according to Philipp Jennings, of the 60,000 who came last year on urgent family business only 600, one puny percent, failed to return to the GDR.

Bonn is going to continue to urge generous handling. Erich Honecker's visit in September or October will offer an opportunity for it. The debate has been enlivened by the emigration wave. The "special action" has made concentric circles transcending its special target.

5885

CSO: 2300/482

SED ACADEMICIAN OUTLINES INTERTWINED SOCIAL, ECONOMIC POLICY

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 38 No 19, 6 May 84 p 8

[Article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, director of the SED Central Committee's Academy for Social Sciences: "Internal Growth Sources and Social Security"]

[Text] One important prediction is likely to be unarguable today: The question of who can turn scientific-technical into social progress and solve the social, political and intellectual-cultural problems that go with it in the interest of the entire society will mark the core in the decade ahead of the international conflict between socialism and imperialism and ultimately decide that conflict. Preventing a nuclear inferno is of course the fundamental condition for it. Economic dynamism, political stability and a steady continuation of the unified economic and social policies in the GDR are the crucial contribution we have to make to it, as Erich Honecker observed at the seventh SED Central Committee session.

The SED's economic and social strategy is aimed at that goal. The essential fact today, however, is that we have not only a clear strategy. Rather, the evidence has come out of the last 4 years that this strategy can be realized in practice.

First, in spite of the complicated conditions since the late 1970's, high economic growth was ensured. Since 1982, that rate of growth was further speeded up. While in 1982, the national income rose by 3.8 percent, the 1983 figure was already 4.4 percent, and that for the first quarter of this year, even 5 percent.

Second, this growth was accomplished primarily through a more efficient use of our own potentials and opportunities. Since the 10th SED Congress in 1981, the specific raw material and fuel consumption dropped by 19 percent. Labor productivity was boosted at a significantly higher rate (rising by 5.3 percent in 1983 and by over 6 percent in the first quarter this year).

Of the greatest importance is that the national income growth today comes by circa one half out of our reduced production consumption. In 1980, it was only 6 percent. Thereby economic efficiency improvement is placed on entirely new foundations and nourished by what are, in principle, new sources.

Third, among the most important features of our economic and social development is the fact that the party and the state have become more capable of reacting

to new conditions, problems and requirements, set down necessary measures and attract most working people to apply those measures in practice. Tasks have been solved and structural changes have been made in the economy considered impossible only a few years ago. Let us refer here to but a few examples. Those production branches that control economic growth at large have been developed extremely fast. They include above all microelectronics, robot technology and refining techniques. As many as 35,000 robots are already in use. Petroleum is fully done away with for heating purposes this year. That greatly changes the GDR's energy structure and saves several million tons of petroleum. The scope and efficiency of foreign trade were significantly improved giving us an important export surplus even vis-a-vis the capitalist economic region. That foiled all designs in imperialist economic warfare against the socialist community of making the GDR financially dependent and object to political blackmail.

It goes without saying that solving these tasks came as the result of the arduous efforts of many million working people. It was possible only through mobilizing vast intellectual and material potentials. The GDR's great economic potential and the high educational level of its population have played and are playing a crucial role in this. Clear also is that such a process of pervasive economic change does not come without contradictions, with some unforeseen and unexpected problems, which will also be so in the future. To expect an all-round harmonious process would be unrealistic and illusory. Decisive then is not that such problems and contradictions surface, but the attitude taken on them, principally the ability to resolve them on behalf of social progress.

The time since the 10th SED Congress has demonstrated we have that ability even under complicated and rapidly changing conditions.

Sure it is difficult and problematic to compare tasks of various historic eras and estimate their importance to the development of socialist society and the international struggle between the two systems. Yet it is equally sure that the conversion of the economy to new internal sources of growth--as it has been done in recent years in the GDR and continues to be done--is no less significant and historically effective than were many fundamental tasks in the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

Steady economic growth through tapping new sources of growth is the basis for carrying on the policy of the main task, the unity of economic and social policy. Despite the extraordinary aggravation of the international situation, the standard of living achieved was held and, in some areas, further extended. Of central importance to it has been the further extension of housing construction. Dwelling units completed since the Eighth SED Congress in 1971 reached the 2 million figure this year. More than 200,000 of them were for the first time built or remodernized within one year. In 1971, it had been only circa 70,000.

The SED has always assumed economic growth is no end in itself but always a means to an end. Its outcome to us is the foundation for social progress on behalf of all working people. Thus the use and application of scientific-technical progress and turning economic growth into better working and living conditions for all members of society is the core of our social strategy, the key question for the further shaping of developed socialism.

The decisive feature of our development, particularly since the late 1970's, thus evidently has been that the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, our economic dynamics, combined with a further extension of social security. Social security is all-inclusive in our country today, manifold social conditions are entailed in it. Job security comes first, of course. That also includes, however, the real chance for the development of talent--secondary school and mandatory vocational school training. Included are free medical care and the extension of recreational opportunities. The broad extension of nurseries and kindergartens--almost exclusively out of state funds--is an important premise for occupational activity and for development, especially, of the women. An essential element of social security is solving the housing problem as a social problem. The certainty, above all, that one need not buy an expensive apartment and encumber oneself economically over decades but need to spend only a minor part of one's income for it (on the average, less than 4 percent in the GDR), does away with great anxiety about tomorrow. One of the most important elements of social security is the democratic right to be able actively to participate in the preparation and implementation of all rationalization conceptions. Social security implies among us that rationalization and scientific-technical progress are possible only in concert with the working people, while protecting their interests. To us it is inconceivable and practically impossible for a rationalization conception to be prepared and enforced against trade union approval. Social security is ensured today, in the shaping of developed socialism, through the development of all social sectors.

It is not astonishing, of course, that this unity of economic and social policy marks the centerpiece of the ideological struggle, and that imperialist media stage the most frequent attacks and largest slander campaigns precisely in this area. That mainly is supposed to hide the fact that the capitalist use of modern science and technology leads to deep social contradictions, to radical cut-backs in social welfare benefits for the working people and, above all, to growing mass unemployment.

The GDR--so they say--had experienced no unemployment and other negative social consequences of scientific-technical progress only because its labor productivity was still some 30 percent lower. Yet to the extent that this difference shrinks, the same problems will still be there.

Nothing could be more senseless than that argument. All computations indicate that labor productivity in Great Britain also is approximately 30 percent below that of the FRG. If the argument stood up, there should then also be no unemployed in Great Britain. Everybody knows, however, that unemployment there is far higher than in the FRG.

Decisive are the character of a society and its economic and social policy and, ultimately, the question whether science and technology are made subservient to profit or can be made to serve social progress for the good of all working people. That is possible in socialism only. So we think it certain that through the combination between scientific-technical and social progress socialism will demonstrate its superiority better from year to year.

CONGOLESE LABOR PARTY DELEGATION RECEIVED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 May 84 p 2

[Article datelined Berlin ADN: "Friendly Discussion With Delegation From the People's Republic of the Congo"]

[Text] Joachim Herrmann, SED Central Committee secretary and Politburo member, gave a reception on Thursday to a delegation from the Congolese Labor Party, headed by Jean-Pierre Thystere-Tchicaya, Politburo member and chief of the main department for ideology and education of the Congolese Labor Party Central Committee, for friendly talks. The guest brought cordial regards from Denis Sassou-Nguesso, chairman of the Congolese Labor Party Central Committee and president of the People's Republic of the Congo, which Erich Honecker responded to in equally cordial terms.

During the talks, Joachim Herrmann reported on the various activities in preparation for the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, which are placed wholly under the auspices of the continued implementation of the 10th SED Congress resolutions. The clear decision by the people in the communal elections on 6 May 1984, he asserted, expressed the GDR citizens' determination to make a decisive contribution to averting the dangers of nuclear war and to ensuring peace through the strengthening of socialism.

Jean-Pierre Thystere-Tchicaya reported on the advances of the Congolese revolution, particularly in the struggle against attacks from imperialism and neo-colonialism. Those who took part in the talks agreed that the most important task of all forces of peace, socialism and social progress was to turn back the confrontation policy of the most aggressive imperialist, especially U.S., circles and effect a turnaround in international relations toward detente and peaceful coexistence. Tribute was paid to the longtime relations of friendship, cooperation and anti-imperialist solidarity between the GDR and the People's Republic of the Congo.

Klaus Gaebler, SED Central Committee member and chief of the Central Committee's propaganda department, and the Congolese ambassador to the GDR, Frank-Gaston Tsikabaka-Lupez, participated in the exchange of views.

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CSO: 2300/476

NOTED AUTHOR-CRITIC SCORES DOMESTIC MOVIE PRODUCTION

Dresden SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG in German 19 Apr 84 "WIR" supplement No 16 p 3

[Interview with Renate Holland-Moritz, author and film critic of the satirical journal EULENSPIEGEL by Roland Burkhardt: "'Owl's Wisdom and Bits of Gossip"]

[Text] [Question] Are you offended when people address author Holland-Moritz as a "movie owl"?

[Answer] No, on the contrary.

[Question] But you are noted for your very drastic and frank film reviews. Is it easier to write about a good movie or . . .? One of your stories says, doesn't it, "if I cannot get excited, I cannot write either."

[Answer] Being excited, that's the satirists's posture. A satirist must get excited. As to being a "movie owl," it simply is easier for me to write something critical than to praise. It comes off more easily. But of course it is more fun to see a good movie. A readable eulogy is more work than some harsh panning, though. So I either have fun in the cinema or fun at home.

[Question] Are you especially critical about DEFA movies?

[Answer] I am as critical of DEFA movies as of others, but it simply pains me more when a domestic film is spoilt. Then I am angry about all the money wasted. I am allergic to anything useless that interests no one, entertains no one, anything that does not get us even one step ahead, that is.

[Question] You're referring to content . . .

[Answer] Also to the aesthetic side, the way it's done, whether something shows enough skill to reach the people in the first place. But also to what is told, naturally. I believe something is being criminally neglected here: the need for entertainment. And by entertainment I do not only mean something cheerful, even though that precisely is being neglected. It cannot be coincidental that among 14 or 15 DEFA films per year, one at best is a comedy, usually not even a good one. I think one should regularly take account of what the public likes the best--comedies, whodunits, musicals. Not enough efforts are made to get authors to do things like that. Some who used to do it have been turned off and got sick of it. One movie made from a story of mine, e.g.--"Der Mann, der nach der Oma kam" [The Man Who Came for Grandma]--was one of the most successful DEFA film ever. (An average of 175 laughs per showing.) Subsequently the studio never again felt the need to contact me again.

[Question] But didn't you say precisely "not only something cheerful"?

[Answer] I am persuaded art has to be entertaining. Entertainment is not confined to roaring laughs. Even Brecht stressed the entertainment value of art, only he is not taken seriously, I believe. Some films are still too didactic, simply boring. Outstanding DEFA films by no means were always cheerful. You surely cannot say that about "Aufenthalt" [Stay] or the "Verlobte" [Bethrowed]. But they had a strong emotional quality and thereby captured, and thus entertained, the audience. That, I think, is very important, and I wish one would get ahead also in this area of coping with the present.

[Question] The owl is rated as the bird of wisdom. Where does the movie owl get its wisdom from?

[Answer] I don't think I am wise at all. Innumerable films I have seen in my life and have read lots about movie history and films. Next to literature, movies are to me the nicest, the most important. Getting older, I have a less superficial judgment now though it is no less critical.

[Question] Do you consider dispute productive?

[Answer] Absolutely. Without dispute everything dies off. The main thing is one finds solutions by way of quarreling, and not every dispute should be considered hostile. To me, people who contend for nothing seem neither particularly concerned nor interesting.

[Question] You are, after all, one of the genuine Berlin ladies, credited with a "big mouth plus heart," just as Claire Waldoff once--are you like her, you are singing too, after all?

[Answer] You can't really say I am singing. I once made those "kitchen songs" together with my friend and colleague Jonny Stave, as evidence for our not being apt at singing. That cannot be said about Waldoff who, incidentally, was not a genuine Berlin lady. She just became one because she had "heart" and the proper "mouth" to go with it. I do think, though, I am a genuine or even "typical" Berliner.

[Question] Do you care for the Saxons? I am asking because you have written a book, haven't you, entitled the "Talkative Saxons."

[Answer] Saxonians are generally friendly, humorous and rather kind. Berliners are fast in the uptake and actually not very friendly. We rather have wit than humor, I believe. We are acting in accordance with the aphorism, "What good is a friend, compared with a sharp point?" By the way, I do find the Saxonians most talkative. Only the Berliners surpass them in that regard. I love the Saxons very much; if they didn't exist, I would invent them. Seriously: we all should show more humor in dealing with one another.

[Question] Your cheerful satirical stories always show much sympathy for people. The "tone" is different there, it seems to me, than in the "movie owl," when you are telling off a director of scenario writer. So by nature you are not so very "pungent" at all . . .?

[Answer] I'm pungent, all right, at times even mischievous yet not malicious at all. I love people and I find there are many fantastic ones among us. Yet I do get angry when I find people handle public property as if they owned it. (In which case they would not handle it that way, incidentally.) I get incensed when I notice that someone is cheating us, by poor work or whatever irresponsibility may amount to. But when I write stories about people, portraying normal life with kindness and smiles, the stories themselves become kind also. I like people.

[Question] Picasso--do you paint too? No?--once answered the question of where he was looking for his material, his themes, saying "I do not look, I find." How is that with you? Do you invent wit or are you finding it?

[Answer] I can't invent anything at all. That may be due to the fact that I am a professional journalist. I keep my eyes and ears open and can--in my literary efforts--write only what I have seen, heard or observed. That is why my stories always are so realistic; in such and such a way things have happened. You have to tighten it up, of course, and add a point or two, but it always is taken from life.

[Question] Are you then not also making discoveries that surprise you?

[Answer] I make discoveries wherever I meet people: about what people can do, what one would not have considered possible, how people live with each other, deal with each other or perhaps should not deal with each other. But then I also always rediscover how our society nurtures humanity, how evident it is in our normal life that we are not a society of wolves but that people are for each other. That you become fully aware of when you go elsewhere sometimes. Then you learn to appreciate how much warmth and humanity there is among us.

[Question] In the "Owl," writing about one of the most recent DEFA films, "Kaskade Rueckwaerts" [Backward Cascade], you passionately knocked a sentence that said "hardly anyone gets along on his bit of shitty living." Did you take offense at the unrefined remark?

[Answer] Not at all. I am all for strong language. That has nothing to do with it. I has to do with what I was talking about. I don't believe anyone can talk about his "shitty life" here. That is just his own fault. He does not know how to make something of his life, to use the opportunities offered him. There are of course people who isolate themselves and are "despairing of the world," actually despairing of themselves.

[Question] What can the effect of art be, do you think? What effect would you wish for?

[Answer] By what I do I mainly want to entertain. I want for people who worked hard all day to find something at their leisure that is fun to them and that relaxes them. And it should be our own output. Much that we still satisfy through imports--in TV and movie entertainment, e.g.--we should be putting out ourselves.

[Question] Suppose you were to portray a "hero." What sort of person would that be?

[Answer] I do not care for heroes, only care for people. That term has been too much inflated. Though I do find it conceivable that there are some and that many people are heroes who do not think that of themselves and would deny it.

[Question] What sort of people are the ones then whom you like best describing?

[Answer] People who are doing their best. I despise people who are sloppy, live at the expense of others, are dishonest, hypocritical and only think of their own advantage.

[Question] And a person with humor, I think . . . ?

[Answer] Lack of humor I take as a fault of character. I would before I assign someone to a responsible position check whether he has a sense of humor.

[Question] What are you working on just now, apart from the next "movie owl"?

[Answer] The people in the publishing house said to me: All these years you have met so many interesting personalities and you must also have had fun with most of them at times; why don't you write something about that? And that's what I am doing right now. That is not going to be strictly a book of anecdotes but one in which I "gab" about living for 30 years as a journalist and author. There is enough applause but, unfortunately, not enough of a clapping of hands. Not enough is known about popular, prominent people: authors, caricaturists, actors, directors, even politicians. And there is lots of curiosity, after all. I am not referring to some squeazy sensationalism to satisfy that would enter the sphere of intimacy. I am concerned with traits of character, and mainly it is supposed to be funny.

[Question] Which would then mean a piece of GDR history of its kind--or your kind . . .

[Answer] Sure. And I want to make a serious book of it inasmuch as I will try to get an "okay" from all the ones I portray. I don't think I will run into too many without a sense of humor. In any case, there will be only authentic truth in the book when it comes out--next year presumably.

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## BRIEFS

ILLNESS IN CHILDCARE CENTERS INCREASING--The frequency of illness in childcare centers in the GDR continues to be worrisome. It is true that in the context of a so-called anti-infection program the number of days lost in 1982, compared to the previous year, dropped by 1 percent, to 14 million. Medical circles point out, however, that the rate of disease is still too high. The majority of children in childcare centers fall ill 1-3 times per year, and between 3-5 percent fall ill 4 times and more. Three-fourths of all cases are respiratory and ear infections. In order to improve the situation, Health Minister Mecklinger recently called upon the childcare centers "to fight against the causes of disease as far as possible." The childcare centers were provided with a program, based on the latest findings, to advance the children's wellbeing. It even includes cold ablutions for toughening purposes, and visits to a sauna. Several of the centers already show some success; the number of sick days is declining. Lowering the illness rate among children in childcare centers is of great economic importance since fewer parents miss work, who otherwise would have to take time off from their jobs to tend their sick children. In the GDR, more than 300,000 babies and toddlers up to the age of 3 are cared for in childcare centers, that means 657 out of 1,000. [Text] [West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 34, 3 Mar 84 p 3] 9917

FOREIGN STUDENTS TOTAL 9,000--The GDR monthly HORIZONT reported that at present, approximately 9,000 foreigners are studying at GDR universities, colleges and technical institutes. The number of foreigners who come to study in the GDR has "increased considerably," particularly from countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, in many cases evidently financed out of GDR "solidarity assistance funds." According to this information, especially those students receive assistance who come from "nationally liberated states which choose a socialist way of development," such as Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, and Nicaragua. Through student aid, the GDR "contributes to the creation and strengthening of their own national intelligentsia, the consolidation of economic independence, and the political and socio-economic development in those countries." In order to do justice to demands for admissions "which go beyond solidarity assistance," the GDR also offers "admission and educational services at commercial conditions" agreed upon with the partner states. HORIZONT states further: "Since 1982, admission is also granted to private persons paying their own expenses." [Text] [Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 3, 10 Feb 84 pp 7-8] 9917

## NATION'S FOREIGN POLICY EXPLAINED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 4 Apr 84 p 6

[Article by Imre Tatar: "The Hungarian Foreign Policy"]

[Text] "We always had more enemies than friends," Zsigmond Kisfaludi Strobl once said, speaking of a statue depicting a single Hungarian hero wrestling with two Turks. This statement is no longer valid. If we look around ourselves and survey the condition of our homeland it turns out that the situation is just reversed. We have a good many more friends than in the past century. It is true, the content and binding cement of this is the identity, kinship and similarity of interests in international politics. And this changed the ratio in our case.

The immediate neighbors are very important for every country, and along our borders--in contrast to the past--friends are living today, even if the shadows of former epochs have not yet disappeared completely and in every respect. Neighboring us are close allies and a socialist country and a state with a capitalist system outside of blocs. If we add to this list the Western states which are not neighbors geographically but which are ready for mutually useful contacts we can state that the background is historically good, the foundation strong, our international situation advantageous. But this does not change the fact that Hungary itself must answer the questions posed by history--to put it differently, less pompously and translating it into everyday terms, the tasks of foreign policy. And these are difficult today, even in the midst of the more advantageous situation. The broader and less ambiguous the circle of our allies has become, the more complicated the world has become. Somehow today we feel this truly, partly because in the past 10 or 20 years public opinion has begun to think through international events more profoundly, regularly forming an opinion about them, and partly because in this period it has had a part in swiftly changing experiences of tension and detente which have very much aided this mediation.

We have returned to a period of tension, have been in it for some 5 years, but it can be said also that Hungarian foreign policy is formulating its answers in a more anxious way than formerly. And--let us note in advance--it is trying, in measure with its strength, to contribute to turning events again in the direction of detente. A small country watches the outside world, the economic, political and military relationships, with a special sensitivity. It depends to an increased degree on these circumstances, weathers crises with more difficulty, has fewer internal reserves and is more dependent on the advantages given by

international cooperation. It has good reason to be a member of a close alliance system. From this point of view our homeland is in an especially advantageous situation--its liberator and since then its chief ally is the Soviet Union. Strength and friendship are united in this relationship.

It is for just this reason that our leaders emphasize so often that Hungarian foreign policy can be counted on. Everyone knows what can be expected of it--faithful to our allies, correct toward its partners. Hungary took the path of the building of socialism decades ago, so it has an interest in the advance of this ideal. Naturally it has made a close alliance with those who progress on this same path; our homeland is committed to the cause of socialism, its foreign policy serves national and international interests alike. It places the preservation of peace in first place among its tasks out of the consideration that nuclear destruction would put an end to all social progress also, perhaps for astronomical times. So it tries to nurture its external contacts in such a way as to contribute thereby to the development of a human future.

Harmonizing the aspirations of states with differing social systems is extraordinarily difficult and on every occasion causes new complications. In accordance with this our diplomacy has developed its own methods; at the conference table it represents the common goals of our own system and of our alliance system, but it also takes into consideration the viewpoints of the other party; is cool, not fulminating with rough epithets toward the opinion of those sitting opposite, but rather answering with arguments. This style corresponds to peaceful coexistence, because it is not denunciation or mutual negative descriptions which lead to success, but rather persuasion and patience which considers the interests of every party.

Hungary need not be anxious for its security; the organization of the Warsaw Pact is strong and firm. It is primarily this community which forms the military, political and economic background which gives this feeling of fundamental security. When one talks of the calculability of Hungarian foreign policy our negotiating partners must take cognizance of this first of all. When judging international tasks our foreign policy starts from national interests, harmonizes what is to be done with the friendly states, and then everyone carries out the common decisions in his own way. This harmonization, the machinery of which has developed over the years, is well oiled and successful because countries are cooperating whose social systems are identical, whose chief goals coincide, the national peculiarities and common viewpoints brought to a common denominator so that in the final analysis both gain.

There is no alliance system in the world which would not require continual reconciliation, would not demand of its members the periodic giving up of their own momentary advantages, would not keep in view those vistas for which the alliance itself came into being. Independence and the alliance interest do not clash in Hungarian foreign policy in any essential question. Indeed, they strengthen one another. The decades have proven this, and there was an example of it not long ago. The English head of government selected Budapest as the first socialist capital to visit. We welcomed her and this was not a "separate Hungarian road" (nor was it a separate English road from the viewpoint of the western Europeans). It appears that the guest was released or freed from at least some of the prejudices regarding socialist regimes. But obviously the

real change in the eastern policy of the English conservatives began when Margaret Thatcher went to Moscow and took part in the funeral of Yuriy Andropov. Her visit to Budapest was not in itself of international significance; rather it was an example of how we can serve, with our independent steps, the cause of our alliance system, and that of Europe as a whole.

We view anxiously the danger spots which have developed on other continents, we watch with sympathy or antipathy the events and trends there--but we live in Europe. This continent is the most important one for us. Here we suffered through the wars, here we achieved peace. This continent is divided ideologically, politically and militarily--that is true--but even under these conditions it must remain European and think in terms of the entire continent. And as the past decades have shown, this can be done. Not even the politicians and governments of the other side want nuclear war. Economic and political cooperation is as much an interest of West Europe as of ours. Past years have persuaded them of this and proof and encouragement are not lacking now either in these more difficult times.

At the time of the visit of Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, Janos Kadar said in his toast that their talks had been frank, sincere, worth while and of a friendly character, that they agreed in the necessity of the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. Similar statements have been made at other meetings at which Hungarian leaders sat together with western Europeans, although they never kept silent about the fact that there were differences in opinions among them in important questions. The Hungarian Government holds the United States responsible for the present tension, and those circles of NATO in general which want to break the balance of power, want to gain military superiority against the Soviet Union, and the Warsaw Pact as a whole, who accelerate the arms race and increase distrust in international life.

So what way is there to resolve the contradiction? Hungary and its allies maintain that in difficult times especially there is a need for dialog; weakening contacts can only make more difficult the mutual realization of interests. But the dialog should be to the point, should be directed at a real reduction of military confrontation, at limiting armaments, at creating mutual security and trust. Sometime at the turning of the 1940's and 1950's the cold war swept a most inexperienced Europe; since then the continent has matured and obviously does not want to slide back to such a deep point. The proposals of the Soviet Union and of the socialist countries in general offer a rich array of tools for the creation of a new period of detente, and the gestures of many leaders of the other side also show that they want to stop at that limit beyond which waits the chasm of armed conflicts.

Europe has lived through the tortures of tension; in the 1970's it stated detente; it has experience and can compare the two--what trust and cooperation give, what harm distrust causes. Even today the east-west debate is conducted concerning very important details; it will be thus for a long time yet; probably the old form of detente characterizing the 1970's will not return--but there can hardly be a European government which would not have learned to respect the basic achievements of detente, the profit of economic exchange, the mutual intellectual enrichment deriving from a better acquaintance with each other's cultural life, the deepening of human contacts. Hungary says openly--it was a

beneficiary of detente, but in a way (and this is no trifle in politics) that deprived others of no advantage; on the contrary, in measure with its strength it contributed to improving the general state of health of others.

The Hungarian Government speaks frankly with the people; it has prepared and is preparing them for years which will demand new efforts. The unfavorable development of the world economy has caused difficulties already; an increase in the arms race may put even heavier burdens on the shoulders of the countries. Circumstances have developed in such a way that we must solve, at the same time, two new and difficult tasks--the renewal of the economy here at home, while struggling with serious international developments. One sees again how interdependent domestic and foreign policy are; we need a peaceful atmosphere, expanding contacts, an increasing division of labor and open and growing commercial trade for our reforms. Surely the situation will improve, the standard of living turn upward again, but we must constantly perfect the economic structure and social institutions of the country; the changing circumstances will never permit standing still, completion. And for this there will always be need for peace and for the cooperation of the countries.

We have especially much to do today. We are not living in a period of self-satisfaction; we must say still that for centuries Hungary has not had in a lasting way such credit, such international respect as now. And we achieved this not by chasing dreams but rather by weighing the realities, in this alliance system, with this foreign policy of the present. The fate of Hungary today is expressed by a different sort of statue.

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## CONTENTS, PURPOSE OF 'WHITE BOOK' DESCRIBED

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish No 16, 20 Apr 84 p 7

[Article by Wlodzimierz Sochacki: "The Reagan Administration's Anti-Polish Policy"]

[Text] A book entitled "Polityka Stanow Zjednoczonych Ameryki wobec Polski w swietle faktow i dokumentow (1980-1983)" [The Policy of the United States of America Regarding Poland in Light of the Facts and Documents (1980-1983)] has been published by Interpress Agency. This book is the result of the efforts of several dozen scholars from the Polish Institute of International Affairs and the Institute for Research on Modern Problems of Capitalism. The book includes material documenting the positions of the U.S. Government on the events in our country that occurred over the last several years, the actions taken by Washington against Poland's political and economic interests, and the reactions of the government of the Polish People's Republic to these moves. Fragments are published for the first time in this "White Book" of letters that were exchanged between Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski and President Ronald Reagan, and of such documents as Stanislaw Gucwa's (the marshal of the Sejm) letter to Thomas O'Neill (the speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives) and the dispatch of the Polish Group of the Interparliamentary Union to the U.S. Group of the Interparliamentary Union.

Undoubtedly, a careful reading of this book will be a school for political thought for the Polish reader. It shows quite vividly that Polish-American relations, despite the ongoing myth here and there in our society, were never of an "automatic" or "privileged" nature; instead they were always a manifestation of the overall strategy that was dominant at a given time in American foreign policy. These relations turned out well when Washington departed from the formula of confrontation in order to seek planes of coexistence with the socialist countries. But they were bad when the doctrines of "containing" and "dislodging" communism, "liberating" the people's democracies or "softening" their societies were announced on the Potomac. Among this group of doctrines is the "anti-communist crusade" advocated by President Reagan.

The book cites a report of the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee that was written in 1980 which states, among other things, that "unrest, instability and tension in Eastern Europe serve the security interests

of the United States." Thus, is it any wonder that the government in Washington observed with satisfaction the strike movement in Poland in August 1980 and then supported Solidarity's destructive activity, perceiving it as an opportunity to weaken an important link of the socialist community and even the assumption of government by pro-Western forces? These hopes were dashed on 13 December 1981. Washington's reaction to the imposition of martial law in Poland was a reflection of the extent of the Reagan gang's disappointment with the unfavorable turn of events for them.

In a very short time, the Washington Administration shattered the infrastructure of Polish-American relations that were created with great effort over a period of more than 20 years. Economic restrictions against Poland were announced, the bilateral talks concerning cultural, scientific and technical cooperation were discontinued. The United States made these decisions without regard to the fact that they were a violation of the U.N. Charter and the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The authors of the "White Book" perform scrupulous calculations which show that the imposed American restrictions cost our country's economy \$10.5 billion.

The White House was not content to use only economic methods of warfare. It also intensified its propaganda aggression against Poland. Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America now function as "contact boxes" for the antisocialist opposition. The broadcasts of these stations, calling for strikes and street demonstrations, were simply of a training nature. All "appeals" and "declarations" of the underground group were and continue to be publicized on the airwaves of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America. No activity that could hamper the process of stabilization in our country was overlooked.

The "White Book" published by Interpress is the second such publication in the history of the Polish People's Republic. The first one appeared in 1953 and was edited by the then minister of foreign affairs. It contained a collection of documents that showed the forms and extent of U.S. support for the political underground while a people's government was being established in Poland, and the inner machinations of Washington's actions which led to the freezing of bilateral relations during the "cold war." The presentation of these publications fully informs the reader of the depth of the crisis in which relations between Poland and the United States now find themselves.

The fault for this state of affairs lies wholly with the American side. The United States has departed from the basic principle of the regulation of international coexistence: the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of another state. Ample proof attesting to this can be found by the reader in the Interpress publication.

11899

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## RESULTS OF KIELCE PROVINCE REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE REPORTED

## Account of Proceedings

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 23 Jan 84 pp 1, 2

[Article: "PZPR Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference"]

[Text] On Saturday the PZPR Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference was held at the KMB Construction Schools Group building in Kielce. The deliberations were attended by delegates representing basic and department party organizations elected at party reports-elections conferences and meetings in 1983. Delegates to the Ninth Party Congress came, along with members of the central party leadership representing the voivodship organization, first secretaries of local and plant echelons, heads of voivodship committee departments and regional party-work centers, and also PZPR members who are Sejm delegates representing the Kielce area.

Also taking part in the conference were representatives of the central leadership: alternate Politburo member Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Tadeusz Nowicki, deputy chairman of the Central Party Control Commission; Marian Stoklosa, member of the board of the Central Review Commission; Wieslaw Osuchowski, deputy chairman of the ZSMP Main Administration; Jerzy Wojcik, deputy director of the Central Committee's Personnel Department, and Julian Rejduch, director of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission's Regional Planning Group.

Attending as well were representatives of the voivodship leadership of allied parties: Czeslaw Kozak, member of the board of the supreme committee and ZSL voivodship committee chairman, and Krzysztof Zareba, SD voivodship committee chairman and undersecretary of state at the Office for the Protection of the Environment and Water Management. Also in attendance were Ryszard Zbrog, chairman of the Voivodship People's Council; Henryk Jurkiewicz, chairman of the PRON voivodship council; and chairmen of voivodship administrations of the ZSMP and ZMW, the commandant of the Kielce branch of the Polish Scouting Union, representatives of LWP, MO and SB, social and veterans' organizations, activists of the workers' movement, and representatives of ZBoWiD, TPPR, and ZSP.

Also participating in the conference were members of the leadership of the voivodship office, including Kielce voivodship governor Wlodzimierz Pasternak and the following heads: Col dypl Stanislaw Iwanski, of the Voivodship Army Staff; Col Jozef Dolak, of the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs; and heads of voivodship level institutions and units.

The conference was opened by Maciej Lubczynski, first secretary of the Voivodship Committee and member of the PZPR Central Committee. He stated that in ending the reports-elections campaign today we want to make a full assessment of the party voivodship organization's activity. The past term has been a period during which there has been intense implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress and of consistent bolstering of the line of struggle and understanding. The course of the reports-elections campaign have confirmed that the party organizations have been strengthened and that their moral authority has increased in society. He also pointed out the possibility of improving all party members' and candidates' activity.

Then a moment of silence was observed in memory of those who had died during the term, members of the voivodship PZPR leadership, activists and veterans of the workers' movement, and one of the conference delegates, Henryk Kasprzak, from Jedrzejow.

During the first part of the debate the conference chairmen and board were elected, and the agenda and regulations for the meeting were approved. There was also the appointment of the mandates and elections committees and the commission on suggestions and resolutions.

Eugeniusz Niebudek, Szymon Lada, Stanislaw Kowalski, Teresa Kaminska, and Jozef Winiarski chaired the conference one after the other.

The next point on the agenda was a program address delivered by Maciej Lubczynski, first secretary of the Voivodship Committee. (We are publishing an abridged version of his address elsewhere in this issue.)

Then Maciej Lubczynski turned to all those who helped bolster the voivodship party organization. He thanked the voivodship committees of both the ZSL and SD parties for their cooperation and fruitful collaboration with the leadership of the Voivodship People's Council, the voivodship office, the Voivodship Army Staff, the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs, and the PRON activists. He then addressed the officials leaving office, and thanking them for their solid work during the past term he also turned to the secretaries, members of the executive board of the Voivodship Committee, and all members of the PZPR activist group and leadership.

Before beginning the discussion, the mandates committee confirmed the validity of the conference. There were 340 delegates in attendance out of the 350 who had been elected at the meetings and conferences.

A total of 26 comrades took the floor in the discussion altogether. We are publishing the individual addresses elsewhere in this issue.

During the first part of the conference, elections were held for first secretary of the Voivodship Committee. In keeping with the election committee's proposal, the delegates decided to limit placement on the candidates' list to the former voivodship party echelon's first secretary. On behalf of the Politburo, Włodzimierz Mokrzyński recommended Maciej Lubczyński as a candidate for first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Kielce. Among other things, he mentioned that during the difficult period of the term of office, the voivodship echelon and its leadership had proved themselves. The results of the Kielce region party organization's work are part of the lasting contribution of the whole party following the Ninth Party Congress.

In the secret vote 338 delegates cast valid ballots, and Maciej Lubczyński was elected first secretary with 334 votes.

After the list of candidates was established and approved, elections for voivodship party officials were held. By secret ballot, the PZPR Voivodship Committee, the Voivodship Review Commission, and the Voivodship Party Control Commission were elected. We will publish the list of the newly elected leadership tomorrow.

Włodzimierz Mokrzyński took the floor at the conference. We are publishing the address of the Central Committee secretary elsewhere in this issue.

The conference passed a resolution defining the most important tasks and directions of action for the new term of the voivodship party organization. A resolution was also passed on the manner of carrying out the requests which the delegates had raised during the course of the deliberations.

The people in attendance at the conference also passed on an appeal concerning the maintaining of peace. We are publishing this document on the front page.

The conference board received salutations and best wishes. On behalf of the communists and working people of Vinnitsa district, Ukraine, Leontii Leontievich Krivoruchko, first secretary of the Communist Party's district committee, sent a telegram with best wishes to the Kielce party delegates and organization. Best wishes were also received from the FSC sociopolitical activist group in Starachowice, from delegates meeting at a voivodship conference in Lomze, from the workers at the M. Nowotki electric steel mill, and from the party activist group of the town committee of Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski.

Also at the conference was a delegation of young people from the KBM joint construction schools, which wished the delegates well on behalf of the party organization, the teachers, administration, and fellow students.

At the close of the conference, Maciej Lubczyński, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, took the floor. He said that at the first *plenary sessions of the WKKP and WKR* the chairmen of these party bodies had been elected. Eugeniusz Niebudek, an employee at the Steel Foundry

in Staporkow, was elected chairman of the WKKP. Stanislaw Grabski, director of the school of the Gorka Children's Hospital in Busko, was elected chairman of the WKR. The first plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, at which the secretariat and executive board will be elected, will be held on Tuesday 24 January at three in the afternoon.

M. Lubczynski thanked the delegates and invited guests for attending and for their work on behalf of the conference. He stated: "Our deliberations have made it possible to assess the voivodship party organization's past work. The resolution adopted contains the goals and tasks which, when implemented, can and should bring satisfaction to all party members and candidates and social approval for the whole party."

The deliberations closed with the singing of the Internationale.

#### Summary, First Secretary's Report

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 23 Jan 84 p 3

[Article: "Effectively Resolve the Problems Life Places Before Us--Summary of Speech by First Secretary Maciej Lubczynski Delivered at PZPR Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference in Kielce"]

[Text] Each of the previous reports-elections campaigns was an important event in the life of the party and the country, but this one is particularly important, owing both to its scope and to the complexity of the problems which we faced on its threshold. Suffice it to mention the process of the disintegration of the state and the anarchy that froze the national economy. Today we can say that as the result of the decisive attitude and determination of the party, this process has been permanently halted. The way of getting out of the crisis has not only been opened up, but the first positive results, which resulted from patient determined word, are being noted.

All this means that today's reports and elections conference is taking place in an atmosphere different from that surrounding the previous one. There has been a decided decline in the society's receptiveness to the slogans of trouble-makers and the instigation of circles of opposition. There has been greater consideration and sense of responsibility. The awareness that we can and must settle our internal affairs using our own powers in an atmosphere of peace and order has set in. There is no other way. Residents of the Kielce region have long understood this fact, and they express this in more than mere declarations.

During the past term, particularly during the latter half, party initiatives have received increasing eloquence and support in the expanding social front, in PRON groups, trade union organizations, self-government bodies in the places of employment and rural areas, technical associations, and youth, women's and veterans' organizations. The progress achieved in sociopolitical life is the true contribution of Kielce society, which has undertaken and carried out our initiatives. Today is a fine opportunity for us to congratulate one another for this contribution. I heartily thank the work-

ing class, all working people of the Kielce Region, for an attitude full of deliberate reason, which was a factor that predetermined the normalization of our life. In the process of this normalization, a great contribution was made by the officers and soldiers of the people's Polish Army, the members of the Citizens' Militia, and the Security Service. I recognize and thank them for their dedication in carrying out their mission in the defense of internal peace and order.

The building of lasting attitudes of national understanding on a socialist basis in Poland today is not just a political aspiration or postulate but a real process which encompasses all areas of our life. Its course is determined by such important facts as the cementing of the practice of internal political alliances and cooperation between the PZPR and the ZSL and SD, as well as with the progressive forces of PRON, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth; and the inculcation of the economic reform, or the implementation of profound changes in the functioning of the state's socialist democracy and institutions.

The party organization of the Kielce region is taking an active part in this process and is having an ever more effective impact to help accelerate it. The PZPR plant organizations are getting more and more into the economic, self-government, and trade-union problematics, and the rural organizations are showing serious interest in fully carrying out the party's agricultural policy.

The reports-elections campaign also made us aware of the need growing up in the party for political and ideological reflection and for seeking an answer to the question of how we can act more wisely and effectively on behalf of meeting daily needs and how not to make successive errors in the process. This need was emphasized especially in the workers' groups. The atmosphere of the meetings and conferences and the meritorical content of the discussions and the resolutions passed permit me to state that during the past term the party has become stronger ideologically and politically, the basic party organizations and institutions are operating more efficiently, gaining initiative in the sociopolitical life of the various groups. This has come about mainly because during the reporting period we have listened attentively to the public's feelings and opinions, because we have given special attention to the needs and statements of working people, and because we have consistently adhered to the principles of social justice.

Working people are fully entitled to call for a decided struggle to be waged against all sorts of evil, enrichment through theft, speculation, or illegal dealings.

It is obvious that the rising aspirations and desires for ever fuller, richer life, in both material and spiritual terms, are a natural thing and represent a component of progress, but there must also be alongside a redoubled production effort and better thought-out, more efficient work.

One of the issues most frequently brought up at meetings and conferences was the question of a just distribution of the burdens of the crisis in

keeping with the wealth of the various vocational groups, and the overcoming of the crisis itself. Workers and peasants were very critical of the administrative overgrowth that is still apparent in certain plants and institutions. The sensitivity in plant groups to all decisions concerning the distribution of bonuses and prices and the principles and criteria for vocational advancement is well known. In addition, working people are disturbed and outraged by the parasitic way of life of some of our fellow citizens, especially young people who avoid getting a job. Public opinion was satisfied with the decisive action of the state administration on following through on the obligation to work.

#### Inspiring Supervisory Role of the Party in Close Conjunction With Workers

The Kielce Voivodship party organization comes to its conference with a visible contribution. This is expressed mainly in the fact that human relations have largely returned to normal and favorable changes have been made in the sociopolitical situation. Despite the fact that the conflicts, sometimes antagonistic ones, have still not been eliminated from our life, nonetheless citizens are once again aware of the working class's hegemony and the importance of the worker-peasant alliance.

It should be emphasized that in political work we have always expressed our opposition to aspirations which did not fit the principles of the socialist system or the ideology of our party. The voivodship party organization has consistently held the position that general social interests should prevail over group or private interests. In this way we expressed our support for the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR and the successive stands taken to expand upon them at the plenary meetings of the Central Committee. We have bolstered our moral authority and gained social trust not only when we supported the justified, real initiatives of the various groups and when we cut through artificial problems that grew up, but also when we openly revealed the actions of political enemies and their fellows.

Our party will play a key role in resolving the problems of the present day and of tomorrow. There is no other force which could replace us in this work. The reports-elections campaign confirmed this. Today we have the party itself, but not the same party. This means that in its actions and operations profound qualitative changes have taken place. We have returned to our Marxist-Leninist roots, to the traditions of our forebears. We have prepared the party to resolve the tasks which our present day and the future place before us. I think that each of us party members today is different from 30 months ago, and not just in the biological sense.

We have brought order to our ranks in inner party action. The period of numerous defections from the party, which we saw during the initial months of our term, have come to an end. The people who left us were the weak ones, the ones who were foreign to us. We think that our party ranks have room only for active, committed, critically creative people. And those are the people who have recently been swelling our ranks.

The party must be reliable. We have tried to make our actions fit our words. At meetings with working people we have spoken the truth about our political and economic situation, although sometimes this was a bitter truth.

We should remember, however, that the level of political-organizational activity, the style and methods of action, and the condition and way of carrying out the statutory tasks of the party organizations and their members differ. It is an urgent task to bolster discipline, elevate the level of party meeting content, and define individual tasks for all members. The bolstering of the authentic bond between the party machinery and echelons, and all party members is still timely. We should continue and expand direct meetings with groups of employees in places of employment, farmers, youth, and all groups.

At the present stage, we are setting higher tasks for the party organizations and echelons in the realm of ideological training, propaganda, and formation. We are slowly but surely making up for lost time in this area. Today the decided majority of party groups have training, there is an Evening University of Marxism Leninism, and interest has grown in information services. Nonetheless, we must not forget that political adversaries have not put down their weapons. We need to make people generally aware of this fact in our ranks. There must also be concrete action on the part of the party organizations and the whole ideological front.

We are aware that it will take time and the effort of all the party activist group to make up for the lost time in this area. The educational system, which should more intensively carry out the curriculum existing in this area, plays a special role in indoctrination, especially that of the younger generation. We are counting on our comrade educators to commit themselves fully to this endeavor.

#### We Can Overcome the Difficulties of Social and Economic Life Through Party Unity and Cooperation With All the Nation's Patriotic Forces

The need for unity and cohesiveness of the party is related to the necessity of broadening ideas of understanding in all groups. Today this is a strategic direction of action for the whole party. The period which has passed since 13 December 1981 confirms the fact that we never tried for revenge. The whole time we sought understanding with everyone who had at heart the good of the socialist state and the desire to get our country out of the deep political and economic crisis. The whole time covered by the report we extended our hand to anyone who wanted to act constructively, to anyone who did not call us his enemy. This matter was well served by the ever closer cooperation with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, at both the voivodship and local levels. We are going to continue to support actively all bodies of PRON. As the workers' party we should be careful to see that this movement does not become formalized or exploited to expand concepts contrary to the interests and nature of a socialist state, but there is no understanding without struggle. We are continuing the ideological struggle, a struggle against what is inimical and foreign to socialism, a struggle to bolster social law, order, and security, a struggle for a better standard of living for each family and better conditions for workers in plants.

During the past 2 years we have noted in all groups favorable changes in public opinion and a quieting of the political atmosphere. It is the task of each party member and each party organization to maintain this good climate and atmosphere by insuring that each resident of our region has a secure way to work, that public transportation and trade operate better, and that the streets of our cities are free of any sort of trouble-makers who stir up agitation and disruptions. The protection of public property in our voivodship's places of employment still leaves much to be desired.

This is a disturbing thing. We are expecting the party plant organizations and all party members in plants where such things occur to take energetic decisive action to eliminate them.

We appeal from the deliberations of our conference to all working people and to the whole society of the Kielce region. Let us create a climate of public condemnation of any pathological phenomena. Let us wage a decided fight against these things in every place of employment, on the street and in the shop, everywhere that the law does not yet reach, where there is the ordinary human concern for the other person, whom we frequently need to help in spite of himself.

All our party institutions and organizations must be more decisive in the struggle against all sorts of evil and impropriety. Criticism and inspiration to combat the phenomena contrary to socialism should come out of our ranks.

The trade unions have a special role to play in the defense of working people and in expanding social action. More than 46 percent of the people employed in the socialized economy in our voivodship belong to them. This is proof that among working people there is the growing conviction of the need for the new trade unions to operate. We are for their further development. We do not want the trade unions to be something built onto the party. We do not want to direct them, but we think that the new trade unions must be an organization based on the socialist system. They must not serve the role of political opposition or operate against the party and the government officials. It is important for us that the trade unions have a strong position and a great deal of authority, so that they can actively concern themselves with a just distribution of goods, a decent standard of living, and good working conditions for the working forces, and so that they can take a stand against bureaucracy, illegal privilege, and the administration's alienation from the problems which disturb working people. We also think that the trade unions, together with units of our party, can work effectively to combat cliques, corruption, speculation, and other adverse factors in daily life.

The trade unions' shared role in activating the production processes must also go hand in hand with defending the working-class interests, because only as much as is produced is available to distribute. The rate and method of the implementation of the economic reform cannot be a matter of indifference to the trade union movement. The movement should come out against spiraling prices and the creation of producer monopolies. In these undertakings the trade union movement can count on partnership on the part of the administrative-

economic leadership and the organizations and self-government bodies operating in the plants. We must not be satisfied with the fact that there are only 29,000 PZPR members among the 130,508 new trade union members.

Nor can we agree to the fact that some POPs are indifferent to the trade unions springing up. The party plant organizations should bolster their political work among the foremen and work teams, to win them over to the trade unions, because these people are of great influence in the shaping of attitudes in employee groups. We think that conditions have come to maturity for initiating new forms of cooperation in the trade union leadership at the voivodship level. The dispersion of the trade union movement undercuts the effectiveness of action and hampers ongoing contact with voivodship officials. Under our conditions, for example, there could be a voivodship inter-union consultation commission charged with coordinating the activity of all trade union groups and with representing working people's interests to the officials, while maintaining full autonomy for the various trade unions at the same time.

The self-governments are an important link of social participation in resolving problems in their own areas. Our consistent stand has led to renewed operation of employee councils in nearly all state enterprises. Party members are also at work here, but it is a question of basing the principle of their independent operation in each plant on democratic foundations. By virtue of their position and their moral authority, party organizations should effectively eliminate whatever today still stands in the way of the workers' self-government in carrying out its statutory functions.

The Self-Government and Social Commitment, an Important Link in Socialist Democracy

The people's councils are a key link in socialist democracy. In the idea of the new law which will go into effect as of 1 July 1984, the people's councils will determine the direction and rate of socioeconomic development in their own regions. It is therefore not a matter of indifference how, in terms of quality and numbers, party members will be represented in the people's councils and regional self-government bodies. This will be determined by the elections which will be held this year. All of our party units must carefully prepare for them. A tremendous burden of duties faces us in the next few weeks. We must step up our ideological and moral training with party members and socioeconomic and party activist group. We must expand and deepen our partnership of cooperation with the units of political parties and the youth and women's movement, and we must propose candidates from the ranks of our party for council positions, people who enjoy general respect and a high level of moral authority in their own group.

We attach a great deal of attention to the further activation of social organizations and associations. These organizations have undertaken much valuable, concrete action in combatting the economic crisis. We respectfully recognize efforts to step up activity in organizations such as PTE and NOT to inculcate the economic reform, but they have still greater possibilities. For example, from the ranks of NOT there is the accusation that the crisis is being made

worse in many parts of the economy by the so-called technology gap. We agree with this statement, but we have the right to ask the leadership of these organizations and the party members operating in them what they have done today to reduce this gap. We assure them that we shall assist any good and proper initiatives.

The country's socioeconomic situation has a decisive influence on young people's consciousness. Some groups talk about a lost generation and a lack of long-range perspective. Ideological confusion and vacuum in young people's awareness have grown out of overemotional events lived through since 1980. Our party duty commands us to help all disoriented young people to reorder their values and attitudes, to break down the apathy and lack of trust in the possibilities for translating our aspirations and desires into reality. The deliberations of the Voivodship People's Council meeting held in December 1983 were devoted to increasing youth participation in the life of the region and to solving young people's problems. The voivodship governor of Kielce has a youth committee. At its instigation, for example, young people have representatives taking part in the distribution of farm equipment and machinery, and building materials. Rural youth are reactivating the health schools and are building and renovating clubs and sporting facilities.

The economic reform and the whole socialist renewal program are a great opportunity for young people. We expect that out of these groups there will be concrete proposals, for example, concerning the savings of materials, fuels, and energy, better management of building materials, and so on, and that they will come to the forefront in fighting evil, injustice, and privateering. Rural youth should become the motivating force of all sorts of transformations in the life of rural residents and should make better use of their overall and vocational qualifications, because it is on young people to a great extent that the rise in the material and cultural standard of living will depend. We expect that young members of the rural intelligentsia will oversee the development of the amateur artistic movement, for which the Kielce region has recently been famous.

Young people's opportunities are unlimited in the work of groups of young council members, in the trade unions, in worker self-government organizations, and in social groups and associations. We expect more initiative to come from young people bearing party membership cards. The youth organizations: ZSMP, ZMW, ZHP, and ZSP, have a special role to play in the sociovocational activation of the younger generation.

#### Consistently Link Ideological and Economic Goals in the Party's Daily Activity

Today the main front of political struggle is the struggle for the economy. We are conducting the economic reform under difficult internal and external conditions. The voivodship party organization listed insuring the most favorable conditions for its speedy, efficient implementation as the top goal in the economic sphere. Simultaneously with the reform we undertook action to slow the decline in production and to rebuild the plants' production capacity. This was very important to maintain working people's living

standards. Since August 1982 we have been noting a consistent rise in overall production, one that is about 2 percent higher than the national average. We also have measurable results in carrying out the thrift and anti-inflation programs.

In many areas we have been noting that our efforts have not been effective enough. We have not succeeded in expanding market production. We have not fully availed ourselves of the possibilities for increasing export production. Many products are of low quality. The rise in the population's cash income continues to outpace the growth rate of labor productivity and the ability to supply the market. We think that wherever the results achieved are unsatisfactory or more apparent than real, the party plant organizations should make an in-depth analysis of the situation. We are critical of the activity of the plant groups and their efforts to cut waste, shoddy workmanship, drunkenness, and other pathological phenomena. In this respect we note relatively weak action on the part of the internal control bodies. The trade unions and worker self-government organizations do not react with sufficient force. The effective elimination of these negative phenomena will create ever better conditions for achieving more favorable results and will help increase the standard of living of working people.

Here we should mention Wojciech Jaruzelski's statement that prosperity is neither given nor taken away. Prosperity is created by work, not only year by year but also hour by hour.

Rural political work has produced results in the form of increasing the interest of private farmers as well as that of PGR and RSP workers and employees of the agricultural-food product plants in making better use of labor resources, machinery and equipment, and financial resources. There has been some improvement in land management. The amount of land not being worked has declined. Spring work, haymaking, harvests, plowing, and fall sowing have gone well. The procurement of milk, sugar beets, and grain is good.

Nonetheless, we have also noted adverse phenomena too. Among them is the decline in the number of head of livestock, a 9.2-percent drop in cattle and a whole 28.3-percent decline in hogs. Along with the United Peasant Party we drew up a program of joint action to resolve agricultural problems. The most urgent task is to expand crop and livestock production and, especially, to rebuild the holdings of hogs for slaughter. We have to talk with farmers about these matters not only at agricultural training sessions but also at party meetings, villagewide gatherings, and meetings of the KGW and youth organizations. The industrial plants of our regions have given agriculture assistance in the realm of supplying them with minor equipment and machinery, building materials, and lime fertilizers.

We are holding our conference in a particularly important period. Last December we celebrated the 35th anniversary of the unification of the Polish worker movement a few days before, the 39th anniversary of the liberation of Kielce and the Kielce region, and the fact that the KRN, the first people's parliament, had been held 40 years before at the inspiration of the PPR. In July we will celebrate our country's 40th anniversary as a people's state. History

does not repeat itself, but the similarities in the situation and the experience related thereto are instructive. We are noting many analogies with that time period. As then, we must not permit the tedious, difficult, and at times painful problems of the moment to divert us from the key issue of thinking about Poland's future, its position in the world, and its possibilities for internal strengthening.

The history of the workers' movement shows that it is strongest when things are most difficult. This fact is obvious even in the contribution of our party's Ninth Congress and in the experience of the past term. From it we gain the strong conviction that our work for Poland, for socialism, and for peace will produce the anticipated results.

#### Mokrzyszczak's Speech

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 23 Jan 84 p 4

[Excerpts from address by Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, Politburo alternate, secretary of the Central Committee: "Party Membership Means Continual Readiness To Serve Class and Nation"]

[Text] The previous PZPR Reports-Elections Conference adopted a program aimed at improving the economic and sociopolitical situation in the voivodship, at furthering the political-organizational unity among party ranks, and of restoring the party's strength, content, and ability for offensive action. This was a rational program and fit the party's strength and needs.

To what extent has this program been executed today? In what areas has progress been noted, and which still call for effort and everyday work? What have we managed to change for the better? What are the implications for the future?

I am fully convinced that the Kielce party organization has properly carried out the Ninth Party Congress' resolution, trying to focus on the most important sectors. Of course there are weaknesses and shortcomings, work that has not been finished. There was talk about these things in the discussion. Nonetheless we are counting on an awareness of purpose and possibilities for their being accomplished.

Well we remember the course of the events going back to 1980. Before our very eyes there was an evolution from correct workers' protests against distortions and abuses to organized political opposition under the auspices of Solidarity. From agreement, things developed into open confrontations, and, although this was not said openly, there was an effort to bring about a change in our country's regime. We also recall the phenomena and processes which occurred within the party. The period leading up to the Ninth Congress featured a great political awakening within the ranks of the PZPR. In many instances, though, this manifested itself in lengthy unfinished discussions which were entirely critical of the party leadership and the party echelons, discussions which called into question the resolutions of the Central Committee.

The party was under attack from outside and inside. The political adversary attempted to undermine its leadership role. At the same time, under the influence of massive antiparty propaganda charging the party and socialism as a whole rather than concrete actions and concrete people, attempts were made in the party ranks to establish a sense of collective responsibility and guilt. It is not surprising that party ranks shrank and that the party's moral authority diminished.

The Ninth Party Congress proved that in a complicated economic situation we were seeking a way out, procedures for getting through the impasse, and methods to combat the process of destruction of state power. Together we created political and organizational guarantees to insure the durability of the achievements of socialism and to put an end to the dangerous development of the methods of exercising authority and of the working style of the party. We worked out a comprehensive, transparent, concrete program for getting out of the crisis and restoring stability to the economy and democracy to the state.

The realization of this program was set back in time by the situation which the opposition created during the latter half of 1981. We were viciously attacked, although our program was not opposed with any constructive solutions from the other side. It was not until martial law was established that conditions were created for eliminating anarchy, for bringing about order, and for introducing discipline into the economy and various forms of social life.

This excerpt from most recent history shows the scale of the changes through which the party has passed. The party's lasting, irrevocable rebirth depends, though, not only on its central officials but above all on the quality of work of all basic groups and on the activity of PZPR members. In order for the party to be strong and take the offensive, for it to continue to work and fight, for it to have moral authority and be credible in society, there must be consistency in action, the full rebuilding of Marxist-Leninist ideological identity, and organizational and political strengthening. We are purging ourselves of the ideologically foreign influences which weaken our party. Although we are smaller in numbers, the party is for all that more vital and experienced, and continues to be a party of the masses. What we need are the sort of people who come into the party not for an easy life or a career but who want to struggle alongside us, people who recognize the principle that one is a party member everywhere, especially wherever the going gets tough.

More and more party organizations in everyday practice are implementing the principle that it is the incessant duty of the working class party to act on behalf of the good and the interests of the working class. We must not allow it to come to pass that the party is concerned only with itself, at the cost of being absent among working people. We need action to insure that there is a permanent real bond with the masses making it possible to resolve working people's problems ahead of time, before they become a source of possible conflicts. The basic party units should be close to the people, should operate among their affairs, and should defend the weak and those who have suffered injustice, because the strength of the party comes out of a close bond with the working class.

We must be more careful to convince the younger generation about our program. After all it is the young people who will be assuming the leadership in socio-political and economic life. They must be prepared to do this. For years we have been talking about a united education-indoctrination front. It is high time we stopped talking, because after all, the way we bring up young people today will determine the sort of Poland we are going to have tomorrow. We must convince young people that under socialism what determines a person's dignity and value consists only of the quality of work, the contribution of work, skills, and the proper ideological, patriotic, and moral attitude. The only thing is that mere words are not going to convince anyone. What we need is a concrete example.

The PZPR is the party of social justice, of struggle, and understanding. If we are talking about understanding -- this is what we are striving for, if there is struggle -- we are going to be more and more effective in carrying on the discussion. The urgent task is to wage the struggle against bureaucracy and heartlessness, to fight to improve the operation of offices, institutions and employee services. Social justice, on the other hand, should be exhibited both at the stage where tasks are set and at the stage where work is assessed and rewarded.

Particular attention should be given to the process of developing the trade union movement. We keep saying that the working class must have strong trade unions that are active and bold in criticism and in facing problems, but they must also join into the process of resolving problems and be unions which feel responsible for the socialist place of employment. Nonetheless, we must remember that stating postulates is the easiest part. It is more difficult to manage their execution. Here it is the duty of party organizations to inspire the administrative or social structures to take action to compare the actions to see how well they fit the targets of the party program rather than merely rubber-stamping them.

Today more than ever before we need mature, party-inspired adherence to high principle, an approach which keeps us moving straight ahead, and courage in the defense of the truth. This is what the party member should be like, because belonging to the party means being ever ready to serve one's class and nation. It means that one has enduring convictions and consistency in action and that one is resistant to the difficulties and will not give up in the face of enemies of socialism. The party member should also take a clear party-inspired stance in every difficult situation and all views and actions which do not fit the party's program or socialist principles of life together in society. The party member should take a decisive position against any attempt to stir up tensions in the workplace, and independently take the offensive to spread the party's position and make it known in his area, seeing the best ways to carry out party decisions.

This year we face people's council elections. This will be an exceptionally important political campaign. Election democracy means above all the democratic presentation of candidates, experienced people with moral authority, people who understand human problems and do not accept a compromise of their principles. We should be particularly sensitive to this and take an active

part in the pre-election campaign, and join in the activities sponsored under the auspices of PRON.

I am convinced that you, Comrades, have full opportunities for the new party organization and the whole society of the Kielce region during the new term to take the next step on the road to bolstering the party, to making further progress in the economy, to integrating society further, and to resolving human affairs more effectively.

#### Plenary Meeting Elections

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 25 Jan 84 p 1

[Article: "Plenary Session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Kielce -- Voivodship Committee Elections of the Secretaries and Executive Board"]

[Text] Yesterday the voivodship echelon of the PZPR held its first plenary meeting in Kielce following the reports and elections conference. The session was also attended by members of the central party leadership, representing the Kielce area plants and institutions and the heads of departments of the Voivodship Committee. The deliberations were chaired by Maciej Lubczynski, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee.

In keeping with previous election rules approved by the Central Committee, the party Voivodship Committee members accepted the proposal to appoint 18 people to serve on the executive committee alongside the first secretary. It was decided that the four ministry secretaries would be elected.

In keeping with the Central Committee regulation, First Secretary Maciej Lubczynski presented the proposals for candidature. The Voivodship Committee unanimously approved these proposals. The voting was secret in balloting to elect the executive committee and the secretaries of the Voivodship Committee.

These are the people elected to serve as secretaries of the Voivodship Committee in Kielce: Jaroslaw Motyka was reelected as secretary for social and farm affairs. Jozef Winiarski, the past chairman of the Voivodship Board of ZSMP, was elected secretary for propaganda and ideology. Tadeusz Swierczynski, past first secretary of the City-Gmina Committee in Jedrzejow was elected secretary for organization. Henryk Ozieblowski, past director-in-chief of the Lubna sugar plants in Kazimierz Wielki, was elected secretary for socio-economic affairs.

Alongside the Voivodship Committee secretaries, the following were elected to serve on the committee's executive board: Stefan Copiak, a farmer from the gmina of Wloszczowa; Zdzislaw Czechowski, first secretary of the town committee in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski; Edward Dobosz, pensioner from Zagnansko; Stanislaw Iwanski, head of the Voivodship Military Staff; Piotr Janus, PKS bus driver from Kielce; Teodora Janus, senior foreman in the FSC foundry department in Starachowice; Teresa Kaminska, head nurse at the Gorka Children's

Hospital in Busko Zdroju; Stanislaw Kowal, mechanic at the Rural Transport Cooperative in Miechow; Stanislaw Kowalski, tool mechanic at the Polmo-SHL FSS in Kielce; Tadeusz Maciejczak, first secretary of the town committee in Starachowice; Wlodzimierz Pasternak, Kielce voivodship governor; Karol Radomski, quality controller in the Predom-Mesko mechanical plants in Skarzysko-Kamienna; January Skarba, senior foreman of the motor department at the M. Nowotki Mill in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski; and Andrzej Watek, first secretary of the city committee in Skarzysko-Kamienna.

In the course of the deliberations, the members of the Voivodship Committee listened to reports on the socioeconomic and political situation in the country and Kielce region. The Voivodship Committee first secretary also talked about the sociovocational composition of the membership to the PZPR voivodship leadership elected at the conference.

The Voivodship Committee appointed Piotr Bienka head of the committee's Socioeconomic Department.

#### New PZPR Secretaries

Henryk Ozieblowski was born 25 October 1943 in Ostrowiec into a working-class family. He graduated from the AGH in Krakow. During his college studies he was active in ZMS and ZSP. After graduation he returned to his native Ostrowiec and took a job at the M. Nowotki Mill as a senior technologist and oversight inspector. At this time he joined the PZPR. In 1971 he was transferred to a job at Kielce Sugar Refinery, an enterprise in which he held various positions. Up to his election as voivodship committee secretary, he was director of the Lubna Sugar Refinery in Kazimierz Wielki.

Tadeusz Swierczynski was born 2 January 1943 in Grodno (USSR), to a teacher's family. He graduated from college with a major in history. He worked in an elementary and secondary school in Jedrzejow and was socially active in the ZMW. Since 1970 he has been a member of the party. In 1981 he was elected first secretary of the town-gmina committee in Jedrzejow and was reelected to that position in 1983.

Jozef Winiarski was born 9 May 1952 in the village of Ciechostowice (Radom Voivodship), into a peasant family. He graduated from the Higher School of Engineering in Radom, from the Department of Economics and Organization of Industry. He began his professional life in 1971, at the Fosko Skarzysko Shoe Factory. He has been a member of the party since 1973. He has been a regular employee at the ZSMP Town Administration in Skarzysko since 1977. In 1981 he was elected chairman of the ZSMP Voivodship Administration in Kielce, and has served in this position up to the present time.

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CSO: 2600/731

GEN HONKISZ EVALUATES ARMED FORCES REPORTS-ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN

Warsaw WOJSKO POLSKIE in Polish No 3, Mar 84 pp 6 - 9

[Interview with Gen Brig Dr Wladyslaw Honkisz, deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army, head of Directorate I, by Col Ignacy Olszewski; date and place not specified]

[Text] The PZPR reports-elections campaign in the armed forces ended last January. Party organizations reviewed their achievements, included in their reports matters requiring solutions, elected new authorities. We asked Gen Grig Dr Wladyslaw Honkisz, deputy chief of the GZP WP [Main Political Directorate, Polish Army], head of Directorate I, to evaluate this campaign and its suggestions for further activities.

[Question] Comrade General, would you outline this campaign for us, and tell us how it was?

[Answer] How was it? Good, in my opinion. Very much to the point, calm and critical, in the first place. The reports, speeches and discussions resounded with a concern about the destiny of our socialist state, about its defense capabilities. But they also stressed that it is necessary for the party to be actively present in the process of educating and training our soldiers as well as solving painful problems and overcoming hardships of the soldier's everyday life and service. They spoke with an equal passion about large-scale problems of our state and people, about the way party echelons of all levels operate, and about the effectiveness of party members activities in the military.

One has to note the party members were very active during this campaign. Suffice it to say that one in two to three POP [basic party organization] members and almost one in six delegates to the conference at the division level spoke during the debate. On the average, 20-25 people rose to speak during the district conferences.

The active attitude of commanding officers and their cooperation in preparing and conducting the campaign are noteworthy, as is the active participation of representatives of higher headquarters and central military offices in the meetings and conferences.

I mentioned before the businesslike character of the campaign. This refers especially to the course of discussion. Many judgments and opinions were submitted as well as quite a number of specific suggestions which, and this is crucial, addressed most often one's own environment, so one could often take care of them on the spot, unaided, without employing additional means.

[Question] It is probably too early to evaluate fully the submitted suggestions, but what could you say about them now, straight away, as it were?

[Answer] During the reports-elections campaign preceding the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, the central military offices received almost 2,000 suggestions, of which about 200 were sent to the GZP WP. During the campaign we are talking about there were many fewer of them. Merely comparing numbers, however, does not prove anything. Those were different days, a different situation in the party and in the military. Quite a number of suggestions, including those from our region, were sent to the Congress and some of them were accounted for in the PZPR Statute. Many suggestions concerning party activities in the military proved very useful during the preparation of the PZPR Central Committee instructions "On the Mission, Authority and Structure of the Political and Party Organs and Party Organizations in the PRL Armed Forces."

Accurate remarks covered basically all fields of ideological and educational activity. This collective wisdom of the party became the base for updating other documents, such as the instructions on the development of competition and leadership, operating principles of the chain of social activities, "Ethical Principles," "GZP WP Chief's Guidelines on Indoctrination, Propaganda and Agitation Activities in the PRL Armed Forces," especially in the part dealing with party indoctrination.

Generally speaking, during the campaign preceding the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, there were more demands addressed to the central offices. Not all of them, even if prompted by valid intentions, could have been complied with. During our last reports-elections campaign, we looked instead for reserves at our own places, and that is extremely valuable. We cannot be completely satisfied, however, with the way the demands were handled (especially because they were treated too formally by certain people) or with the way they were replied to. An unkind attitude towards those who voice such suggestions, even if they are not totally rationally justified, does not favor party activity, does not stimulate initiative, does not encourage things to be put into perspective.

[Question] They say, and there is not a trace of exaggeration in this, that the party has come a difficult way. It hardened in its battle with the political enemy, in its determination to realize the resolutions of the Ninth Congress. This is true also of the party in the military. What are, in this respect, the achievements of the last term?

[Answer] Our ranks also strengthened and hardened during the political fight, as the martial law mission was being carried out. Many comrades, not always

counted among our group of activists until now, stood the test. They showed political maturity, the ability to act efficiently in the most difficult situations. This can be said not only about the large number of commissioners and members of operational groups. The truth is that, in direct touch with reality, we learned to fight better, to talk more effectively to the people, to agitate, to use the contents of party decisions and resolutions better. These are durable values.

The time is marked in the military by a constant progress on various levels. This was particularly noticeable during the last term because the term itself was extraordinary. It is possible to say, especially about the professional cadre, that these people are more mature, have a richer experience and are able to operate more efficiently.

The fact that more than ever before there were cadre representatives in civilian party echelons, from gmina and city PZPR committees through the central echelons, is not insignificant for a higher quality of action. Their being in direct touch with their own milieu and sharing reflections brought from the civilian field served the POP activity well. On the other hand, suggestions and demands of our military comrades could be used in the work of local party echelons.

We are justified in being fully satisfied with our achievements. Party members and especially activists deserve the highest appreciation. Time does not stand still, however, and the desires increase.

Conditions have already been created for the broadening of internal party democracy on the one hand, and for the strengthening of the system of one-man leadership on the other, for letting basic party organizations speak for themselves. We aim at the same time at restoring due importance to criticism. We admit that if it is a tool used every day, something completely natural, we will make fewer mistakes, and possible slips will be less costly. Besides, only those who stand aloof do not make errors. It is the easiest thing to point to shortcomings from such a position. Unfortunately, party members standing "aloof" can also be met in our ranks. "It turns out," as was said at the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, "that certain comrades are generally eager to blame negative phenomena, directing their eyes up to the 'top' or in another direction. Instead, they are indulgent toward themselves and lenient to those who do not deserve leniency."

But let us go back to the main thread of our problem. The path of changes which took place in recent years is also marked by -- let us not be embarrassed to use this term -- a battle for increasing the authority of the secretaries, for independence and initiative of lower party echelons, for reducing directives to a minimum for the benefit of friendly, inspiring advice.

We have already changed the way our party operates. It is not exaggerated to speak of a new chapter in this respect, after the Ninth Congress. Let us just take the "translation" of the PZPR Central Committee's resolutions into the language of specific tasks. The novelty was that we did not consider our

plans and guidelines as a mandatory directive for party echelons. This would be contrary to the spirit of the renewal. Our guidelines were intended to be a source of inspiration, not only for the first secretaries of the PZPR committees in the military districts and branches of service. Practice confirmed the correctness of the way of operating that we adopted.

It is also worthwhile to recall the initiatives taken up by individual central institutions, schools of higher education, scientific centers and institutes. Their endeavors to improve the process of instruction and education were viewed in terms of party honor. They were always coupled with an intensive search for methods and ways to use yet more efficiently the resources of ideology, knowledge and human skills, as well as the funds allocated for training and service.

It is because of the party inspiration that specific projects were undertaken, for example, in the quartermaster services. I am talking about, among other things, efforts to enlarge the area of wasteland brought into cultivation, and to expand hog raising. Thanks to them, we saved the soldiers' diet from impoverishment, and we supplied mess halls with meat mostly from our own pig farms.

Our comrades among the technical service personnel organized many useful meetings and exhibits at the suggestion of party echelons and organizations. Exchange of experiences, presentation of achievements of innovators and inventors, modernization of combat, and especially training, equipment served the training of our soldiers well.

This was a practical contribution to the rational management of military resources and to the maintenance of a high level of preparedness with no extra expenditures.

The Polish Army Main Political Directorate, Military Political Academy and Military Institute of History made great efforts to shape historical consciousness, concern for the beauty and correctness of our mother tongue, attachment to and love of the native culture and Polish soil. Symposiums and meetings at the central level, in which many widely recognized scholarly authorities took part, were coupled with similar events at the local level.

The meetings and conferences confirmed the great and disinterested support of our ideology among the military, and the better quality of our ranks. But we are still far from the ideal. Besides, in accordance with the dialectic of development everything changes, and the point is for this process to follow the right course, towards a better future, because tomorrow must be better than today. This was expressed during the campaign, with some weaknesses pointed out.

A lot is written, for example, about the independence of POP's or about internal party democracy, and rightly so. After all, the party will be like its basic cells. Democracy, however, means not only greater independence but also greater responsibility. Yet, it was said, it is not infrequent to

see cases of tolerance towards those who break discipline or, as far as ideology is concerned, cases of deviation from the principles of Marxist outlook on life. To be honest with the facts, it is necessary to say that during many meetings and conferences this problem was addressed openly, with names named. It is important not to stop at that.

[Question] We entered the reports-elections campaign enriched with the conclusions of the 13th Plenum. How should we judge it from this point of view?

[Answer] Ideological problems and tasks resulting from the resolution of the 13th Plenum constituted the keynote of the meetings and conferences, and were reflected in the resolutions, i.e., programs of action. Many critical comments were made in this matter. Although our system of ideological and political education, coherent in terms of its organization and merits, stood the test, which, let us reiterate, was proved by the soldiers' attitudes and their commitment to defend the socialist existence of our state and to carry out the mission of martial law, it has still many weaknesses.

The objective weaknesses, as mentioned during the 13th Plenum, are consequences of the great negligence in the historical, political and economic education of our society, especially of the young generation which is more sensitive and susceptible to our political enemy's incitement.

The weaknesses in this field have also subjective causes. They stem from the shortcomings of our action, education and preparation of the young cadre, especially in the fields of instruction and propaganda.

The main mission resulting from the contents of the plenum's resolution is to arm the party ideologically. Many times during the past campaign the following question was asked: Are we sufficiently prepared in this respect? The need was voiced to improve the system of additional courses for the employees of the ideological front, from permanent full-time activists and instructors to propagandists in subunits. Attention was drawn to the improvement of the process of the socialist education of the military cadre and their families as well as of the military employees. The need for the system of information circulation to work even better was emphasized. The point is, after all, to reach not only the activists but, first of all, the soldier masses with the party ideology and its program.

Quite a number of critical remarks regarded the system of party indoctrination. Although one can be satisfied with the development of the curriculum at WUML's [evening universities of Marxism-Leninism], both in terms of the number of departments, branches and students, yet the level of studies, especially in places far away from large academic centers, leaves much to be desired. The problem is not only the knowledge but its practical use.

I mentioned in the beginning that the campaign was to the point. This is true also of the way of viewing ideological problems.

It is time now for a little bit more general reflection. "While pondering on ideology," said the PZPR Central Committee first secretary, Comrade Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, during the 13th Plenum, "we mean not an abstract but a factor which motivates people's actions and penetrates them deeply. Every man has only one life. But everybody, whether he admits it or not, has an ideology which guides him in his everyday actions. The ideology is an expression of class interests, and by the same token it marks a lot of things: attitudes towards major and minor social issues, towards one's work, the problems of one's personal life..."

It would be a truism to repeat that people judge the party by taking into consideration not only the justness of its program and ideas it propagates, but, first of all, by looking at its practical actions. People must feel that they need the party, that the party is always close to them, ready to help and defend if necessary.

We should therefore look upon ideology by relating it also to reality and asking ourselves how its values work in life, how they prove correct in people's attitudes, in relations between them. I am thinking here of friendliness, concern about others, fairness in relations with everyone, and at the same time adherence to principles in dealing with all sorts of evil: everything we call party consciousness.

To be a communist means, first of all, to be a courageous and open person. It means to be among people, to teach others and to learn from others.

[Question] There was another reshuffle during the campaign. As a matter of fact, every other secretary is newly elected. How shall we judge this phenomenon? What are the conclusions?

[Answer] It is a positive phenomenon, resulting, by the way, from the spirit of the Ninth Congress resolutions. It is an expression of full internal party democracy. Those who have been elected enjoy the confidence of party collectives. During this reports-elections campaign more political officers joined the authorities at all levels. Among the newly elected there are also those who did not pass in the previous elections. One should be happy, then, that this 2-year term, as it were, did not have a negative impact on their party activity, [it] becomes a natural thing in the system of internal party work.

We need "fresh blood." The recent years confirmed that the newly elected secretaries, even though less experienced, brought a fresher outlook on many problems. Considering their appointments a special honor and personal success, they got involved in their work and stood the test of practical action. Not all of the secretaries lived up to their duties, and they had to leave. We consider this process a normal turnover. The results of the election guarantee continuity of action.

Obviously, the reshuffle puts us face to face with new tasks. The newly elected secretaries and members of executive boards have the right to count

on our help. Not everything can be tackled by means of instruction, on which I will elaborate in a moment. The point is to make it easier for them to "fit" the new situation, so they can be equal to their responsibilities. This duty rests mainly with the party and political apparatus. I believe they will get support, as they have until now, from party echelons, headquarters and commands, and those who for various reasons have not been elected for the next term will also help them with their advice and experience.

One success of the past campaign was to have maintained the members of party echelons in good ideological and organizational shape. This happened because the attention of the party and political organs and commands was always focused on concern about secretaries. This was favored by the clarified system of education of secretaries, from POP's through the highest level. Training courses conducted several times during the last campaign, meetings with representatives of the leadership of the armed forces and participation in ideological conferences favored the adaptation to the new conditions and helped to avoid mistakes.

This purpose was served also by an exchange of experiences among the party activists, and by training courses and conferences held jointly, for example, with the participation of secretaries from the Pomeranian Military District and the Navy, from the Air Force and the Silesian Military District, from the IC MON [Ministry of National Defense Central Institutions] and the WOW [Warsaw Military District]. We want to continue this tradition in the future and to enrich it with new contents and forms.

[Question] After August 1980 many workers and farmers quit the ranks of the party. The number of new members decreased. One consequence of this is a smaller number of party members who are active duty soldiers. Hence, particular difficulties in, among others, maintaining a direct contact between the POP's and military community.

[Answer] The problem of developing and strengthening party ranks was addressed with great care. Critical comments dominated in this matter. It was correctly emphasized that the party is a place for the best of the best. Such people can be found in the military ranks. If we took greater care of every other young activist and indoctrination leader, if we brought them closer to our program, the results would certainly be better. It is necessary, then, to act with more bravery and aggressiveness, to have the courage to ask people to join the party and not to wait for them to come. More attention should be given to the work with prospective candidates.

The problems of the quality of party ranks and the proper distribution of party members and candidates in the military structures were brought up during the campaign. Insufficient ideological party leadership in the ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Union] activities was also mentioned. One can think that not all comrades understand properly the essence of this leadership. In the ZSMP, we witness the passiveness of young servicemen who are party members. Theirs is sometimes only a formal membership, for the record. We do not know how to talk to young people either, how to have a dialog, there is too much "empty talk," platitudes.

The relatively large number of so-called automatically canceled party memberships and candidacies was also criticized during the party debate. It is a sad result of unsatisfactory work with the candidates. Many times, this work ends when people are accepted as party candidates, while precisely from this moment it should be more intensive. Individual party assignments, among others, should help.

It is still a matter of primary importance to work out a system of "relaying" party members, soldiers released to the reserve. One has to keep in mind that after leaving military service they get into various environments and meet people who are not always well disposed toward us. If we add to it weaknesses of some POP's in the field, it is not difficult to understand why we lose these people.

Of course, this problem concerns not only servicemen but also military employees. There are still many blanks in this map. We care very much about winning over union activists for the party.

[Question] What are the general conclusions of the campaign for the internal party work?

[Answer] The reports-elections campaign in the armed forces yielded many interesting observations and suggestions, not only of local importance. Generalization and thorough analysis of them should favor improvement of the party work in the military and solution of many problems.

The party maturity and wisdom contained in the resolutions on programs of action are this campaign's achievements. It is all party members' business to transform them into specific actions. A first, I would say crucial, step should be, I think, to reflect on how and, when and what to do, and only then to carry it into effect.

We enter the next term with substantial changes in the party leadership. Talented secretaries, enjoying fully deserved authority, have been elected. They can count on all the help from commanders and officers of the party and political apparatus, whose vocation is to serve party echelons.

It is true, the last campaign was particularly difficult, sometimes, one can say, virtually dramatic. The present one will not be easier, however. In the complex international situation we are witnessing now, the ideological and political coherence of the military, high discipline of the soldiers, class and military alertness assume special importance.

All training and educational projects must be based on a more integrated effort by party, office and social cells. The party in the military came out of the reports-elections campaign stronger in terms of its ideology and organization. We will cultivate these values. Party members must do their best so that the party echelons and organizations do not lack persistence and

fervor in their actions, so that the resolutions and programs of action are implemented, carried into effect. The activities of party echelons and organizations will be inspired by the events of strategic dimensions in party life: the 40th anniversary of the People's Republic of Poland and 40th anniversary of our victory over fascism.

12471

CSO: 2600/927

## WARSAW PZPR BODY MEETS ON ECONOMY, HOLDS BY-ELECTIONS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 31 Mar-1 Apr 84 pp 1, 2

[Text] (Staff report) On 30 March of this year, under the leadership of Marian Wozniak, member of the Politburo's Central Committee and first secretary of the Warsaw Committee of the PZPR, a plenum took place which was devoted to the duties undertaken by party echelons and organizations in industry in their implementation of the economic tasks of 1984. A participant in the discussions was Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR. The foundation for discussion and for drawing conclusions included the economic results of the industry of Warsaw Province for the past year, as well as for 2 months of the current year, and also a report which the secretary of the Warsaw Committee of the PZPR, Janusz Patorski, presented on behalf of the executive board.

The value of last year's production in all industries in Warsaw and its province amounted to 686 billion zlotys and was approximately 10.6 percent higher than the output achieved in 1982, although it did not surpass the 1979 and 1980 levels. A distressing phenomenon was the steady decline of production dynamics, a tendency which still persists. This is accounted for by the depletion of so-called ordinary reserves found in the economy, and by limited supply possibilities, a shortage of employment and the degeneration and depreciation of production assets.

In the past year the deliveries of goods to market have increased, a change which could be considered a success if it had not come about as a result of decreased exportation. At the same time, exports to capitalist countries were curtailed significantly.

The divergence between the rate of increase in efficiency of work and the rate of increase in the average wage in industry continues to be a negative phenomenon--as was emphasized in the materials presented at the plenum.

How we are to work, what we are to change in our methods used up until now in order to mobilize the entire party for a battle over good administration, better organization of work and of its productivity now and in the near future--these were the basic subjects of the program report.

Several basic currents ran through the discussion, in which members of the Warsaw Committee of the PZPR and invited guests participated. There was talk about the indispensable branch priorities in the framework of reform, about the necessary tax exemptions in individual cases, about the role of learning and of an investigative basis in the emergence from the crisis and in the revival of the economy. Representatives of the ministries defended the principles established in the framework of reform.

The director of the Passenger Car Factory [FSO], Edward Pietrzak, pointed out the technical progress which the development of motorization is creating. The representative of "Cemi" discussed the role which electronics and the electronization of industry should play and the idea that without investment in this branch, in several years other industries will not have anything to export. The representative of the Telecommunications Equipment Plant [ZWUT], Bogdan Prujarczyk, suggested that well-functioning factories should benefit from tax exemptions, that they should have easier access to credit for investment. In a great number of factories, frequent changes in the principles of reform are received negatively; the director of the Warsaw Steelworks, Tadeusz Konrad, spoke of this circumstance. The problem of efficiency of work and wages was raised many times. The secretary of the City District Committee [KD], Zoliborz Andrzej Matulewicz, said outright that wages very often depend to a greater degree on the efforts of the economists than on the efforts of the staff.

The undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry, Ryszard Bryk, stated that the general realization of economic goals is impeded by a misunderstanding of the independence of businesses. The possibility of creating larger industrial organizations--on the principle of voluntary action and an understanding of general welfare--is under consideration.

And the deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, Franciszek Kubiczek, called attention to the overly great divergence between the assumptions of the central annual plan and the plans of enterprises.

The traits of a summary of discussion marked the speech of Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, who emphasized both the role of party organizations in the process of economic change and the meaning of economic reform, noting, among other things, that the crisis from which we are trying to extricate ourselves is an opportunity to move on to other, effective forms of management and that the existing problems cannot be solved by means of uncontrolled capital expenditure, since this would necessarily entail a deterioration in the living conditions of society.

In the adopted resolution, the Warsaw Committee of the PZPR declared, among other things, that all elements of the party ought to concentrate on a consistent inculcation of reform into life, to pave the way for every economic initiative possible, to analyze the costs of production.

In the second part of the discussions, devoted to organizational matters, by-elections for the executive board of the Warsaw Committee were carried out in a secret vote. Its new members are Wladyslaw Fidzinski, a doctor in the Praga Polnoc Health Care Team [ZOZ]; Wacław Maciolek, a carpenter from the City Building Committee [MKB] in Legionowa; Edward Klosowski, chief of the Warsaw Office of Internal Affairs [SUSW]; and Feliks Jancewicz, a dispatcher from the Warsaw Steelworks. Moreover, the members of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR adopted a schedule of tasks resulting from the 19th reports-elections conference, approved the statutes of work for the PZPR Provincial Committee as well as a plan of plenary sessions for the current year. The problem commissions for the committee was appointed and changes in the posts of the directors of certain departments were confirmed.

12460

CSO: 2600/902

REGIONAL VOTING REGULATIONS OUTLINED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Apr 84 p 6

[Article by Jan Morski: "The Election Handbook"]

[Text] Elections are held at the regional offices of the Election Commission between the hours of 9 am and 8 pm without interruption. At 8 pm the presiding official of the regional Election Commission orders the closing of the polling premises. From this moment, only voters who have arrived before the 8 pm closing period are allowed to cast their ballot.

The commission can declare the voting closed if all those who are listed in the voting register have already voted. The voting process can be interrupted only if "extraordinary circumstances" have made the elections temporarily impossible, in which case the regional Election Commission can extend the voting period or postpone it to the following day. In a situation of this sort, the responsibility rests with the commission to follow the appropriate procedures which are stipulated in detail in article 58 of the electoral ordinance.

From the opening of elections right up to the tabulation of the results, at least three members of the regional Election Commission should be present at all times, with the proviso that one of them should be the supervisor of the commission or his deputy. In addition to the members of the commission, monitors designated by the proper election councils are permitted to be present.

The chairman of the regional commission oversees the procedures and secrecy of the ballot. He also has the authority to issue regulatory dispositions as needed. At the request of the chairman, territorial administrative units of the basic level are obligated to provide security personnel for his disposition. On the day of the elections, political campaigning or agitation at the polling place is prohibited.

Prior to the elections, the regional Election Commission checks to see if the necessary materials (ballots and envelopes) as well as equipment (ballot box and curtained voting booths) are in adequate supply and available at the commission's facilities, after which the ballot box is closed and sealed. From that time up to the completion of the voting process, the ballot box cannot be opened.

In reality, the new election procedures are not much different than the ones we know from former elections. The voter before casting his ballot, presents his personal identification papers or another document of identification to the regional Election Commission. If a voter whose name appears on the list of eligible participants does not have identification that is acceptable to the commission, he can call upon two trustworthy persons known to the commission for verification. The decision of the commission in the matter of establishing identity is final.

The commission has to ascertain if the person is listed in the voter register or if he has a certificate of registration which has not yet been entered. If the latter is the case, the commission will enter his name on the list and retain the certificate of registration. After completing the required formalities, the voter is handed his ballot and envelope by the clerk. To prevent multiple voting (and in this way making a fair election impossible), the election clerk upon handing the voter the ballot and envelope places an appropriate check mark next to his name in the voter register.

The voter is given ballots with names of candidates for a given voting district to the people's council of the basic level and the provincial council (these ballots are separate), and he also receives an additional ballot with the names of candidates selected from the provincial list. He therefore receives three ballots. On each of these the number of candidates listed is double that of the offices to be filled.

The names of the candidates are placed on the ballot in the order in which they appear on the registration list. The joint list (with the exception of the provincial roster) is divided according to specific mandates. To fill the office of each individual mandate the names of two candidates are entered on the ballot (in the sequence determined by the list submitted by the electoral college). On the provincial list candidates are also placed in a sequence dictated by their respective electoral colleges, but their names are identified numerically, beginning with the number "one."

In essence, the electoral colleges are obligated specifically to identify each of the several mandates assigned to the respective districts and to select two candidates for each of these. In deciding the sequential placement of the candidates and their political "par," the electoral colleges are guided by interparty evaluations.

In compliance with these principles of maintaining a joint list of candidates, a voting list for councilmen at the basic level and for provincial councilmen (this involves 85 percent of the councilmen selected), the ballot is divided according to mandates. The number of exceptional mandates falls in direct proportion to the number of mandates allotted to a given election district. Two candidates are placed into each mandate region. The provincial ballot does not list each mandate district separately, since candidates are listed in accordance with their numerical designation, beginning with the number "one."

After receiving his ballot the voter is entitled to vote in seclusion at the polling place.

The introduction of the new way of arranging mandates on the ballot may have been the reason for the confusion of some of the voters who were accustomed to the method of voting for candidates who were listed on the ballot according to their numerical designation. Therefore, it should be emphasized that the present method of voting (and also the determination of voting results) in reality does not differ noticeably from the previous voting procedure. Classifying the mandates and providing them with candidates in "pairs" results in an increase in the number of candidates but it does not eliminate the institution of preference for the candidates listed in the order of their desirability. The voter chooses as many as there are to be elected in his particular voting district, in accordance with the allocation of mandates as shown on the ballot. In the case of all mandates, if the elector leaves the names of the candidates on the ballot for whom he is to vote, without crossing either one of them out, then he gives his vote to the candidate with the higher numerical priority rating.

12306

CSO: 2600/969

## PROGRESS OF CULTURAL REFORM DESCRIBED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Apr 84 pp 4, 5

[Article by Edward Golebiowski, vice minister of Culture and Art]

[Text] The dissemination of cultural values in society not only depends on the country's political and socioeconomical circumstances; to a large degree it determines whether or not these circumstances improve. We should bear this in mind during a time of rising difficulties, when the gap between needs and the ability to satisfy them has become extremely large.

The crisis has had a bad influence on many areas of cultural life. The ability to partake in culture has diminished. There are fewer institutions and centers. Large numbers of town and factory centers, library clubs, library stations, cinemas and amateur groups have been eliminated. During 1980-1981 publishing dropped to a 30-year low. The trade unions were involved with politics during that time and withdrew their patronage over culture in the working community. In many workplaces money began to run out for cultural activities and the preservation of cultural centers serving their own employees. The political opponent did not hesitate to take advantage of cultural problems to fight the policies of a socialist state.

It is understandable that in the country's present situation we cannot expect an immediate and radical solution to the difficult problems of disseminating culture. But the active preservation of cultural life, as conducted by the state, with the increasing cooperation of society, is gradually bringing about changes for the good. These changes are small, but they relate to important fields and create a starting point for the future.

During 1982-1983 publishing has increased, the elimination of institutions and centers has halted, and many social and cultural organizations have resumed their activities. The forms of state patronage in financing cultural needs have been expanded. The process of cultural reform has been begun, particularly in the area of organization and the creation of new legal and material bases.

Last year the socioeconomic position of professional workers in the cultural field also improved--not much, it is true, but perceptibly. Contrary to statements made by political opponents, the positive trends are fully substantiated by facts. This is shown by such things as the decision to change the system of

financing cultural needs, more repairs of centers and more equipment for these centers, the commitment of large sums to maintain and restore historical buildings, the continuation of construction of a National Library, the restoration of the Royal and Ujazdowski Palaces in Warsaw, and the completion of the Printing Plants in Gdansk. In our policy of active preservation of culture we are gaining some experience. A meaningful example is the first year's implementation of the law on a fund for cultural expansion. In a short time this fund became the basis for preservation of participation in culture in the broadest sense of this word.

Central funds are used to a large degree to finance cultural institutions and centers, regional sociocultural societies, and certain forms of cultural activities conducted by youth and social organizations. During the first year, the fund has been made up almost entirely of money collected centrally. Revenues from budgetary surpluses and other sources available in provinces, towns and gminas make up a very small part of the fund.

We have obtained our first experience in managing the fund and are benefiting by this experience. It has shown us, among other things, that we should give more help to those who themselves show initiative and activeness and are not simply waiting for subsidies. We must expand the structure of the fund in the local areas. Subsidies from the central fund should be a supplement to a center or institution's own funds, and not the reverse as it is now. Measures were begun last year which when fully completed should greatly improve the dissemination of culture.

This year two new laws will go into effect, whose importance cannot be overestimated. The law on people's councils and territorial self-government will bring in a decentralized system of managing cultural matters. The people's councils will supervise planning, maintenance of local institutions and centers, define the courses of their activities and ensure them the indispensable funds for these activities. Thus they will assume a wide range of responsibility for overall social policy. We should bear this in mind now, during the elections campaign for the councils. The new role of the people's councils is sometimes regarded as being on a collision track with the scope of responsibility of the local organs of state administration. This is a mistaken viewpoint. Without efficient, competent execution, the functions of the councils in managing cultural matters will not be properly implemented.

For a long time work has been conducted on the law on the dissemination of culture and the rights and duties of the employees doing the disseminating. Last year a government draft plan was sent to the Sejm. The law will be extremely important. It will define the system of organization for culture dissemination. The plan emphasizes, among other things, the rank and the function of the public cultural movement as the main partner of the state cultural institutions and centers. The law will define the principles for the formation and the bases for the financing of institutions and centers, and also their functions in relation to preservation of folklore, the regional movement and amateur creativity. It will introduce a new range of rights and duties of workers' cadres. It will also make it possible to establish a system of culture dissemination which complies with the principles of economic reform.

Of course, although the law is a great step forward it cannot satisfy everyone. It cannot and will not be a "privileges charter" for dissemination employees. Its approval and application will represent a difficult compromise between needs and aspirations and the limited capabilities of the state which is overcoming an economic crisis.

At present work is being done also on draft laws on artistic institutions and on cinematography. Drafts of amended laws on libraries and preservation of cultural assets are being prepared. Every one of them, although to a different degree, relates to the dissemination of culture. Being guided by the resolutions of the PZPR Ninth Congress and the congresses of the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, the Ministry of Culture and Art is making attempts to offer more culture in relation to the needs and aspirations of the working people. Increased publishing production is of basic importance here. The increase has been large. In the last 2 years it was 40 percent, including over 60 percent in books for children and youth. But the distinct progress in this field meets only about half the needs. However, contrary to the opinions of the malcontents, it indicates that present capabilities are being utilized to the utmost.

Total number of copies published of certain book titles will be greatly increased this year. Print runs on the order of 100,000 and 200,000 copies are no longer exceptional. If publishing production is to be increased further, more investment in the printing industry will be required. We must also produce more films and records, expand television and radio programming, and produce more attractive programs on institutional activities. These programs should particularly appeal to the interests of the workers, rural and youth circles.

The share of workers in culture has dropped greatly in recent years. When the trade unions ceased their patronage the interests of the workplaces in cultural activities dropped. Economic reform unilaterally directed the attention of many factories to narrowly conceived production problems, an especially to profits. These tendencies will be opposed by the law on the dissemination of culture by proposing new financial bases for conducting factory centers, and by defining the workplaces' obligations to its employees and the state's amount of assistance from the cultural development fund. Legal solutions alone will not cause these tendencies to disappear. It will take the commitment of people from political, youth and union organizations and their initiative and desire to work in disseminating culture.

The countryside areas continue to have a limited access to culture and an impoverished infrastructure. This is one of the reasons that so many young people have left the countryside and farming. The food program cannot be implemented successfully if education and culture in the countryside is not developed at the same time. This must be borne in mind by the institutions and centers, and the organizations and the social culture movement, whose initiatives should to a larger degree determine the condition of cultural life in the countryside. The participation of children and youth in culture deserves special concern. Measures facilitating the integration of school, youth organizations and state institutions and centers of culture are extremely important in this field. The task of increasing youth's participation in culture, making it possible for it to develop intellectually and spiritually, belongs to all of the cultural organizations in the country.

The 40th anniversary, this year, of the Polish People's Republic gives us special cause to sum up the achievements and failures in culture. Our political opponent would like to make people think that the entire period of People's Poland is a constant string of failures. The facts deny this, in the field of culture also. The 40 years was one of great progress in Poland-- beginning with the eradication of illiteracy to raising the level of culture in every community in the cities and in the countryside. Anyone who approaches the facts without hostility or previous bias can perceive this truth. No one is concealing the failures and the neglect. They must also be consistently eliminated. They also call attention to the need for deep changes in the system of disseminating culture. Overcoming the social and economic crisis should not create an occasion for a return to the old mistakes. In the area of culture also, this means that serious reforms must be made. Small changes and corrections cannot ensure a large growth of participation in culture by the basic circles of the working people. These needs should be met by the reform work that has been begun, work that combines expanded state patronage with activity on the part of the social cultural movement.

9295

CSO: 2600/970

ROMANIA

EFFORTS TO PROVIDE HOT MEALS FOR WORKERS DISCUSSED

Bucharest MUNCA in Romanian 13 Apr 84 p 5

[Article by Stela Fomino]

[Text] The cafeteria, one of the factors through which the constant improvement in the living standards of workers is ensured, is asserting itself in the social ambience of the enterprise as a unit that provides services with favorable effects on the health of people and the restoration of their productive tonus. The meaning of the social role of the cafeteria, the motivation in attracting or rejecting the afflux of users, the factors that can upgrade activity in this area were the topics of the conference initiated and organized by the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions and the Ministry of Domestic Trade that discussed the "Activity of Restaurant-Cafeterias and Cafeterias With Respect to Providing Collective Meals for Workers in Enterprises and Institutions." The reports given by Stefan Korodi, secretary of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions [UGSR] and Costica Iurea, deputy minister of domestic trade, the fruitful debates that followed pointed out experiences that illustrated the value of good housekeeping habits, revealed some shortcomings, with effective solutions being sought to eliminate them. We shall briefly review a few major issues that resulted from the debates.

There now is a powerful material base that can provide hot meals for workers close to the work place: 2,072 restaurant-cafeterias and cafeterias, 2,600 minicafeterias, 2,800 buffets on premises. Most cafeterias are new, modernly equipped structures, with top hygienic culinary facilities, with a pleasant ambience in the dining areas. Valer Vizitiu, chairman of the trade union at the Timis County Sandra Production Oilfield, stated: "Out of concern and regard for oilfield workers we set up seven minicafeterias, one for each production brigade. Daily, 1,200 workers, that is 83 percent of our work force, are provided hot lunches." At the same unit, cafeterias, minicafeterias, and buffets provide foods, on order, at lunch time or after the schedule for workers who stayed to perform special operations at the oilfield. In Bucharest, according to Lucretia Nitu, member of the executive committee of the Municipal Council of Trade Unions, as a result of the assistance given by a collective

of the Central Council of UGSR and the Ministry of Domestic Trade, last year saw an increase in the number of those who are provided meals at the cafeteria as a result of expanded system of provision of hot meals for workers at the work place. It involves establishment of added minicafeterias, promotion of mobile trade, sale of bakery and prepackaged snacks. The group of "Siderurgistul" restaurant-cafeterias at the Hunedoara Metallurgical Combine operates in three shifts and this enables it to provide in two shifts almost 7,500 hot meals through the two cafeterias alone. However, the combine's sections also have minicafeterias (26 of them, which also provide snacks and light meals on order) and buffets on the premises. Teodora Afrasinei, chairman of the management committee of the restaurant-cafeteria of the Bucharest "Casa Scintei" Printing Combine, stated: The kitchen of the restaurant-cafeteria on the average provides 5,800 hot meals a day, in the self-service line on the premises of the combine or in the dining halls of the cafeteria.

I dwelt on these genuine antennae of the cafeteria, the minicafeteria, buffets, self-service lines in sections, mobile units, baskets with packaged snacks, because in many restaurant-cafeterias and cafeterias, the areas of kitchens and dining halls are only used in proportion of 50-60 percent. This, while nearby there are enterprises and institutions whose workers have not been provided collective culinary facilities. Such situations occur in Salaj, Dolj, Maramures, Satu Mare, Tulcea, Neamt, Alba, Braila, Caras-Severin and other counties.

A major issue that resulted from the debates involved the need for trade union bodies to identify the insufficiently used culinary production areas, to expand the system of minicafeterias and serving of hot meals in shifts I and II, and to prepare and sell the "Gospodina" ready-to-serve foods, food to go, putting to full use these units which have an important social role.

The experience of 1983 revealed a better understanding of the concept of self-management and self-supply. There now are almost 2,000 subsidiary farms with a head of more than 180,000 hogs, 662,000 fowls, 3,500 cattle, 15,600 sheep, 40,000 rabbits, that supply the cafeterias. Last year, the cafeterias received from subsidiary farms large quantities of pork and poultry; many of these units met from "their own sources" all their needs, and others met from the same sources 30-50 percent of their needs. By cultivating areas existing on the premises, improving lands formerly regarded as unfit for farming, fertilizing and irrigating these lands, many "farmers" demonstrated that they understood that the expansion of the subsidiary farm is a must in the self-supply effort. Andrei Zucherbergher, manager of the Hunedoara "Siderurgistul" cafeteria group, proudly stated that since 1981 they had renounced the pork allocation from the state central fund because they were "producing" it themselves. (Also, last year alone, they had served, on the average, almost 14,000 hot meals a day.) Moreover, the metalworkers' menu is supplemented with products from hothouses, gardens and mushroom farms. Their resources, the resources of Hunedoara workers but also of others, only stem from good housekeeping habits, initiative, eagerness for action. Dumitru Costinar, chairman of the trade union of the Cavnic

Mining Enterprise, told conference participants that they now had an actual farm. It involved a modern hog farm, hothouses, vegetable gardens and a carp pond. Also built there, in the context of good housekeeping, were barns and hay sheds, storages and cellars for vegetables, because, they state, it is important not only to produce but also to conserve. Engineer Sterea Dinu, chairman of the trade union of the Dealul Mare-Urlati State Agricultural Enterprise, said: The enterprise is no longer supplied by any supplier of meat, cheese, milk and vegetables because it receives from its subsidiary farms all the amount needed by the cafeteria and 13 minicafeterias.

Other experiences reported attested that the parties that work to meet their obligations under the territorial self-management and self-supply programs work beneficially, for the people in the enterprise but also with a social impact by relieving the state fund from large requests.

These facts underlay the need for trade unions, councils of working people, management committees of cafeterias to work for the establishment and development of subsidiary farms, for the rise in the number of animals (especially hogs) and fowls, and for the cultivation of every patch of land on premises, with feed crops or, as the case may be, with vegetables.

The quality, diversity and consistency of menus and the accessibility of prices in operation are the factors that attract or repel the afflux of patrons. The number of those who have understood this fact is increasing: the restaurant-cafeterias of the Bucharest "23 August" Enterprise and "Dimbovita" Leather and Footwear Enterprise, Medias "Vitrometan," Iasi and Savinesti Man-Made Fiber Combines and many other units daily provide three to four and even five menus, some dietetic, in several variants. As a result of projects conducted last year by the Central Council of UGSR in conjunction with the Ministry of Domestic Trade a general trend of decline in prices was noted. The great majority of restaurant-cafeterias and cafeterias -- 1,529, operate with prices between 7 and 10 lei, 226 manage to provide substantial menus to patrons for a price under 7 lei. The secret: the advantages of produce from the subsidiary farm -- cheaper and constantly fresh, obtaining of extra incomes from expansion of activities such as buffet service, "Gospodina" ready-to-serve foods, bakery, pastry, sale of their own products at mobile units, baskets with snacks, and the like, and use of these services, as stated in Law No 9/1971 on improvement of and price reduction in menus. But also as a result of concern for sensible management of cafeterias, for continuous reduction of management costs, that impact on prices (at the restaurant-cafeteria of the Cluj-Napoca "Portelanul" Enterprise they are 1.25 lei, at Brasov Truck Enterprise, 1.35 lei, while at Braila "Progresul" the management rate is 4 lei, at Rimnicu Sarat Enterprise for Brake Facing and Jointing and Piatra Neamt "Ceahlaul", 5 lei, and so forth).

In a way, the management rate and the rate for remuneration of cafeteria personnel in the structure of the price of the menu is inversely proportional to the concern of the cafeteria committee, that is required by Law No 9/1971 to

make efforts to cut down these costs and properly manage these social facilities. However, as pointed out in their addresses by Rafila Dragomirescu, member of the trade union committee of the Bucharest "23 August" Enterprise, and Filofteia Manta, member of the executive bureau of Arges County Council of Trade Unions, this requires careful, constant scrutiny of the price structure and effective action on the causes that increase price. Most often, the volume of management costs and expenses for remuneration of cafeteria personnel is high because the number of cafeteria patrons is small. This also is an aspect which cafeteria committees must study. It is their field of action in the interest of those who have placed their trust in them. Understanding their role in this light, the trade union committee and the cafeteria committee at the Constanta Central-General Enterprise for Hydrotechnical Construction have set rules that benefit both the patron and production. Dumitru Ancuta, chairman of the trade union, stated at the conference that 87 percent of the work force at the enterprises and sections of this major unit were last year provided hot meals through the eight cafeterias and 13 minicafeterias; this year the rate will increase to 90 percent. For a current survey of people's view of cafeteria services, the motivation for their opting for hot meals at lunch time, and the patrons' preferences, the heads of cafeterias and their assistants attend the monthly meetings of trade union groups. As a result of these surveys the measure was taken to organize advancement classes, without interruption of work, for cooks and pastrycooks.

The quality, taste and presentation of foods, the variety of menus, undoubtedly depend on the expertise of the cook. The Ministry of Domestic Trade has issued a guide with more than 400 special culinary recipes for restaurant-cafeterias and cafeterias. But this is not enough. Consequently, it was stated at the conference, it is imperative to upgrade the skills of personnel in kitchens and laboratories. Some experiences exist. At Cluj-Napoca, said Teodor Poputa, manager of the State Trade Enterprise for Public Catering, a kind of on-the-job training has been created, by assigning to restaurant-cafeterias, for 7-10 days, some of the ablest cooks; in Constanta, as pointed out by Stere Miha, vice chairman of the Association of Cooks and Pastrycooks, involved in this program also is this association: the chefs were sent, on a rotation basis, to the kitchens and laboratories of the cafeteria, practically demonstrating how to obtain a variety of menus from existing foods recommended for a rational and balanced nutrition.

However, less attention is being paid to less trained cooks: those for whom, it was indicated at the conference, the trade union bodies, assisted by county trade directorates, must organize weekly courses which would benefit collective catering for working people in terms of quality.

The materials presented to the conference and the many addresses brought out the conclusion that collective catering for working people, its proximity to the work place with diversified services and at accessible prices has great social relevance. It is a matter of health, of restoration of energy used in the working process, of time and money saving to the benefit of the individual.

## Some Proposals From Conference Participants

- a. Chefs must have the professional duty to guide personnel in cafeteria kitchens.
- b. In order that the emulation among cafeterias may have as essential objectives quality, expansion of services that provide hot meals at the work place and easing women's effort at home, a manual should be perfected for the "Cafeteria With Best Results."
- c. Since the subsidiary farm has been developing from year to year and the number of animals and fowls has been increasing, it is necessary to determine in what structure can specialized personnel be integrated and to have the proper ministry issue the obligation of zoo veterinary guidance of subsidiary farms by territorial experts.
- d. Trade organs must comply with the legal provision on priority supply of restaurant cafeterias and cafeterias, in terms of quality, kinds of products and category of prices and cease making delivery contingent upon conditions. The enterprises for marketing vegetable and fruit must organize small wholesale warehouses wherefrom to supply cafeterias with fresh produce and also provide the trade discount specified under the law.

The conference participants discussed and approved the plan of measures formulated by the Central Council of UGSR and the Ministry of Domestic Trade which contains the main guidelines to help improve the activity of restaurant-cafeterias for ensuring collective catering for the work force in enterprises and institutions. Measures have been outlined for better use of facilities and equipment, for rise in patronage, for quality and variety of menus, for accessibility of prices. Implementation of all these measures by all responsible factors in this area must result in the enhanced role of collective catering in the context of social factors with positive impact on production.

11710

CSO: 2700/44

## YUGOSLAVIA

### DJILAS DISCUSSES POLITICAL SITUATION, PROSPECTS

Milan IL GIORNALE in Italian 13 May 84 p 10

[Interview with Milovan Djilas by Egisto Corradi; Belgrade, 12 May 1984]

[Text] Dissension among the various federated republics have already split the Party: nationalism is even begetting ideological dissent. Following Kosovo's example, Serbia is now asking for independence. Worker-management can work only in a pluralistic system. The Soviet Union is moving cautiously, and under cover. If Moscow wants to bring Belgrade back into its empire, it will have to send an army.

"Yugoslavia is awash in a sea of troubles, a sea that is not yet really stormy, but that could grow angry tomorrow. Going ahead as we are now, we are moving toward catastrophe. What catastrophe? What kind of catastrophe -- religious, political, economic, or something altogether different? I couldn't say. But if we do not make changes across the board, it will come. Look at worker management, for instance. Chaos is what it is generating. Nothing but chaos..."

Wearing his 73 years very lightly, blue-grey eyes, a slow and deliberate way of speaking, Milovan Djilas waves me to a chair: we are in his house, in a tastefully furnished morning room. Rain beats against the windows, all but drowning out the sound of passing traffic. This Djilas is the man who, after collaborating fully with Tito on the break with Moscow, and after acting as vice president of the Republic, had the courage to stand up and tell Tito that the road he had chosen was the wrong one. And for doing that, he spent a total of 9 years, in two separate terms, in prison. Since the late Sixties, Djilas has been free, but under close surveillance. He publishes his books, but only abroad and he cannot leave Yugoslavia. The State pays him an adequate pension.

[Question] How do you explain your arrest on 20 April, along with the other 27 of you?

[Answer] We were having a discussion about human rights. Everybody knows where I stand there, and the others were people of every shade of opinion, from Left to Right. It is not true, as the newspapers said, that those who were present were Stalinists. Absolutely not. Look: the men in this group, all of them in their 30s or so, used to meet twice a month -- had done for 5 or 6 years, and the police knew it. As for me, this was the first time I had attended. In any case, I think the whole thing was deliberately staged to frighten people, to step on the brake... Belgrade, beginning about 2 years after Tito's death, had become a city where talk and discussion was fairly free. You can see, they [the police] didn't like that...

[Question] Could the police have thought that your group was an organized resistance outfit?

[Answer] They printed that in the papers, but it's not true. We were talking -- nothing more.

[Question] Do you believe that, aside from -- shall we call it the Group of 27 + 1 -- there are groups or cores of real organized resistance?

[Answer] No, I certainly do not. I think there may be groups of friends and acquaintances that get together to discuss their views, as we were doing. No more than that. Ten years ago, though, there was probably nobody who even considered sharing his own ideas or opinions with others.

[Question] They say that Yugoslavia's main problems nowadays are the worker-management movement, the crisis in the Communist League, and nationalist excesses and disputes...

[Answer] That is quite accurate. Even so, the essence of the crisis lies in the system itself. It does not work, not in politics, not in economics, not even in culture ---nowhere! What is going on -- and this is the point -- is a real process of ideological disintegration. The Party is no longer a monolith. It is in fact doubly divided. It is split between Republic and Republic, with each Republic having its own Party often at odds with all the others. And it is split within itself. This drift apart was already under way in 1978 and 1979; but, with his great authority, Tito made them all shut up, and the cracks didn't show. Now they are showing.

#### Worker Lacks Incentive to Produce

[Question] Couldn't all this be the effect of an opposition movement aborning?

[Answer] No way. There is no opposition. The problem lies not in opposition movements (of which, I repeat, there are none), but in the weakness of the system, in and of itself. The idea of worker management, for example, is not a bad idea per se. But it cannot work except in a pluralistic system. Worker management is in fact run by the Party rather than by the employees of the company themselves. Productivity is extraordinarily low, far below the European mean; the worker has no incentive to produce...

[Question] Aside from the somewhat special case of Kosovo, do you see upsurges in nationalism in other places as well? Would these phenomena, were they to grow more assertive, lead in the long run to dismembering Yugoslavakia?

[Answer] True it is that there is nationalistic ferment here and there, but this is, of itself, a phenomenon that has always existed in Yugoslavia. The situation is not so acute as some claim, however, except in Kosovo. I think, even so, that the majority in Yugoslavia is for Yugoslavia. Nobody can tell the size of that majority, though, because there is no freedom here for expressing one's own opinions, one's own preference. It should be noted, however, that there is something new happening in this area over the past couple of years. You have some Serbs, for instance, who want a sovereign, independent Serbia, separate from Yugoslavia. As you can see, the present system, as it stands, cannot do the job even in relations among our own nations. Therefore it will be changed.

[Question] Are you for a Yugoslavia united as it is today or do you favor splitting up the territory into several sovereign States?

[Answer] I am all for a united Yugoslavia, as we have it now. But I believe that if we are to preserve that unity and improve the situation, we must increase the autonomy of our Republics to the maximum. Greater autonomy will assuredly lead to friendlier and closer relations among the Republics themselves, I am certain. And it is in this context of greater autonomy for the Republics and in closer Yugoslav unity that I see this country of mine looking toward Europe, moving toward Europe.

[Question] In light of the performance the present system has given, how do you see Yugoslavia's political future?

[Answer] The present system has all the features of the real socialist systems in the East. Tito was anti-Stalin, but in his heart he was a communist. You see his handiwork in the Party monopoly, in a strong secret police, in the ban on voicing opinions, in religious intolerance, in the personality cult... Given the conditions in Yugoslavia, I have arrived at the belief that the best thing for us is a democracy, a democracy pure and simple, but buffered by a strong majority of democratic socialism. It may be hard to move from capitalism to democracy; but it is certainly harder to get there starting, as we should have to -- from

a condition of communism. Most particularly, we should have to move slowly, very slowly...

[Question] Of the many conversations you had with Stalin, is there anything in particular you recall right now?

[Answer] In my books, I have recounted a lot of my meetings with Stalin. Now, I wouldn't know. I remember being struck by the fact that he -- this was right after the war -- predicted that Germany would be completely restored to health within 15 years. That prediction was right on the money.

[Question] Listen, Djilas. Let's talk about you, for a while. Your name is known all over the world, no doubt about it. Yet, according to what I keep hearing, your reputation has almost no political clout here. In fact, I hear that you have no following in any sense of the word. You are far better-known internationally than you are here in Yugoslavia. That means you are a man alone, isolated. One could almost say that your ideas have not reached your fellow citizens, or the ears of the people. Is that the way it is, or not?

[Answer] That's the way it is, as you say. I get a lot of sympathy. But it's all passive sympathy. The fact is that in a system like the one in the East a dissident certainly cannot have a political following, owing to government pressure. Yes, I still have my notoriety, I still have my name. But only the name. The same as Sakharov, Solzenitsyn, or Dubcek, if you will. The most this regime can allow me is to write books for the foreign market, to talk to journalists like you who will publish what I say abroad. That is the lot of the dissident. If there are dissidents, they live and speak through the Western press. Were it not for the Western press, nobody would know anything, and they would not exist. Do you think they let me out of prison because they wish me well, because they like me? No. They released me only because of the foreign press....

[Question] Do you think that there is a chance of a return to Stalinist practices in Yugoslavia?

[Answer] Yugoslavia, albeit with all its troubles but with some accomplishments as well, has journeyed in its mind beyond the point of no return. I should say that there can be no turning back now. For example, a rigidly centralist Yugoslavia, like the one that we had before the war under the monarchy, is simply impossible. There may be a slowing, an application of the brakes, but that will not last long. Yugoslavia's future lies in Europe.

[Question] So there will be no going back to Stalinism. But a forced return? Don't you believe that the Soviets now, in anticipation of possible changes, aren't working quietly in Yugoslavia? Don't you believe that Big Brother has been dreaming over a third of a century of vindicating himself and of bringing the Little Brother to the South back to the fold? Don't you perceive

the possibility that you might fall from the frying-pan into the fire, as we say in Italy?

[Answer] The Soviets could come back only if they were to send troops. Otherwise, no: it's impossible. The people are against the Soviets, and the USSR is not at all popular in Yugoslavia. That there may be some few nostalgic for those days -- it's possible. But they are nostalgic for the tough methods, not for Stalin. It may be that the Soviets are already on the move. But insofar as I know, if they are moving, they are moving invisibly.

[Question] How do you perceive your present condition, from the strictly personal point of view?

[Answer] Look: I am content with my life, I really am. I have no personal ambitions of any description. Or better, I have only one: to help my country in any way I can. I read, I study, I write -- I am content with my lot, I tell you. Rest assured that what I tell you is truly what I feel, with all frankness...

[Question] If you were to agree to leave Yugoslavia, never to return, you might be able to obtain an exit visa.

[Answer] I shall never ask for one. I have a son in exile in London, but I would never ask for a visa. Never, never, never. I would rather live in Yugoslavia, even as a prisoner, than as a free man anywhere else. That's the way it is.

[Question] Thank you for this conversation. Down there, right outside the door, are there usually policemen in plain clothes watching you?

[Answer] No. Never.

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CSO: 3528/92

PERFORMANCE OF NAZI ATHEM ON SLOVENE RADIO-STUDENT CONDEMNED

Offense to 'State and System'

Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 16 May 84 p 2

[Article by Mojca Kaucic: "The Provocation on Radio-Student Offends Our State and System"]

[Text] Communists of the Vic-Rudnik Opstina Committee of Ljubljana have condemned the irresponsible action of the editorial board of Radio-Student.

Ljubljana, 15 May--"Our committee does not accept the resignation of the responsible editor of Radio-Student Istok Saksida but demands his dismissal as an expression of lack of confidence in him. Although, this morning, the communists of Radio-Student were rather indifferent in their decision, we agree that the basic organization of the League of Communists will not be dissolved but, in the future, will monitor, with greater responsibility, whatever the radio broadcasts. Of course, at the same time, it is necessary to establish the responsibility of the responsible editor as a member of the League of Communists."

This was the conclusion of today's session of the presidency of the Vic-Rudnik Opstina Committee of the League of Communists in Ljubljana which met because of yesterday's broadcast on Radio-Student, which presented at 1400 hours, among the news reports, the song "Deutschlandlied." The Secretary of the city committee of the League of Communists Istok Winkler attended the session.

The members of the presidency agreed that yesterday's broadcast was a clear political and social provocation and in no way can it be said that it was a mistake or a slip. The members of the presidency also emphasized that some members of editorial boards, especially in the youth and student press, have recently "tried" such provocations and diversions of one sort or another. This also happened in the past but these attempts, under recent aggravated social conditions, deserve even greater condemnation.

The author of yesterday's broadcast has been given repeated warnings because of similar situations and, in 1975, he was even expelled from the League of Communists, but he continued to work.

In the Third Reich, the first part of the aforementioned hymn gave expression to Nazi and Greater Germany aggressiveness ("Deutschland, Deutschland, uber alles...") The third stanza is currently the national anthem of the Federal Republic of Germany. Therefore, the provocation of Radio-Student is an offense to those who died in the National Liberation War, to our state and system, and, at the same time, an offense against a foreign state, whose anthem was corrupted, it was pointed out in the discussions.

'Inappropriate Text'

Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 18 May 84 p 2

[Article by Marko Jensterle: "Editorial Policy Is not at Issue"]

[Excerpt] The presidency of the Republic Conference of the Union of Socialist Youth of Slovenia has discussed an analysis of the youth media and a performance of an old German hymn on Radio-Student.

Ljubljana, 17 May--At today's session of the presidency of the Republic Conference of the Union of Socialist Youth of Slovenia there was a discussion of recent events related to Radio-Student. They said that they did not present, on the radio, the original German hymn "Deutschland uber alles," but a version created years ago by the leftist-oriented singer Nico who emigrated from the Federal Republic of Germany and now lives in the United States. The song is the expression of a satire of German events and it was presented years ago on Radio-Student with appropriate commentary.

The presidency of the Slovenian youth union condemned the performance of the composition, all the same, because it has (in certain places) an inappropriate text. However, they said that they would not fault the entire editorial policy of Radio-Student because of this. The editorial staff of Radio-Student should present a more extensive explanation and, in the future, with an appropriate mechanism of editorial policy, it should declare that such misunderstandings will not occur any more.

CSO: 2800/327

## PRICES, THEORY OF VALUE ANALYZED

Belgrade SOCIJALIZAM in Serbo-Croatian No 2, Feb 84 pp 185-198

[Article by Edvard Kardelj: "Prices and the Law of Value"]

[Text] I will attempt to be as practical as possible, although in this initial phase of our discussions of the price system and price policy in the context of self-management it is impossible to altogether avoid some of Marx's generally known theoretical premises concerning value and prices.\*

The discussion of prices conducted in this joint meeting of the councils has been rich not only from the standpoint of theory, but also with respect to the suggestions made as to practical solution of the problems outstanding in our system and price policy. It is true that certain differences in views have cropped up in the discussion, which should surprise no one. After all, in the final analysis we must seek original ways and forms corresponding to the character of the production relations of socialist self-management even in the field of prices. I think that it is precisely with respect to bringing the price system into conformity with the production relations of self-management and finding appropriate self-management solutions in the price system that we are lagging far behind, just as has been the case in other fields of construction of our economic system on the foundations of socialist self-management, say, in the system of planning, the system of expanded or social reproduction, and so on. In the price field we lack even certain elementary approaches in scientific research. We are still greatly burdened with conventional conceptions of the construction of the price system and those of bourgeois economics and state ownership.

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\* On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of Comrade Edvard Kardelj's death SOCIJALIZAM is publishing his address delivered in a joint session of the federal councils for affairs of the social system, economic development and economic policy on 20 and 21 March 1975 on Brioni. This text, previously unpublished, is actually a transcript from the meeting edited by someone other than Kardelj. It will appear in the middle of the year under the title "Certain Points of Departure in Building the Price System in the Context of Socialist Self-Management" as a part of the book "Edvard Kardelj o cenama (Brionske diskusije)" [Edvard Kardelj on Prices (Brioni Discussions)], to be published by "Radnicka Stampa" of Belgrade and "Drzavna Zalozba" of Ljubljana.

I personally think that the differences in views which now exist among us with respect to prices are not so great as to prevent us from moving faster than up to now in finding practical solutions for our price system. It is obvious that we will not be able to remove those differences in views so quickly in these discussions of ours, especially those of a theoretical nature. Finally, for purposes of our practical work on the price system there is actually no need for that, especially if agreement is reached on the essential questions of a concept for further development of our price system, that is, adopt the directions and goals toward which we should strive. Especially since we cannot create the new price system overnight and replace the old one.

It has been properly emphasized in the discussion that in building our price system we must start with what we have and gradually, step by step, reform the old system as we create the elements of the new price system. That is why we need to furnish the basic directions and goals of future advances in the price field and also the mechanisms indispensable to achievement of those advances in the preliminary theses concerning prices which will be prepared after this meeting as well as in the law on prices which possibly will be enacted. I think that in this respect the discussion has shown that there does exist complete unity in principle; that is, all the participants in the discussion have emphasized that our price system must be built in line with the production relations of socialist self-management.

Nevertheless, it seems to me that we ought to establish more definitely certain points of departure for that effort in the price system as well as for applying the theses concerning prices which we will be examining in the coming meetings, since otherwise our discussion of prices will "go round and round." And I have a particular fear of ambiguities and vagueness in the treatment of prices and the price system which could lead us into the dangerous waters of subjectivism and voluntarism, which in one way or another society will have to pay for. Here and there I have had the impression that in the search for new and better solutions we have sometimes failed to keep our feet on realistic ground: that is, the Marxist theory of value and of value relations in exchange, which in essence and principle remains unchanged, regardless of how many things may change with respect to class relations in the price system.

After all, whatever price system is created, neither our society nor any other can avoid the elementary requirement of the law of value: that is, that the real value of means of consumption must stand opposite the real value of the product appearing in whatever form on the market. If that relation is disrupted, inflation occurs and the related uncontrolled redistributions of income, or a shortage of goods, which also results in redistribution, since there is a greater outflow of money into an area of consumption in which it can be spent. I would not enter into the question of what redistribution is more optimal from the standpoint of regulating the flows of social reproduction, since that is not essential to the topic of our present discussion of prices. I would like only to point to the indispensability of our demystifying certain terms and tasks, that is, of our establishing their real content.

What we have actually done in this discussion of the price system is to "wade" once again into the most complicated issue of the economic system of socialist self-management and, I would say, not of socialist self-management alone, but indeed of contemporary socialism in general. After all, it is no secret to anyone that the problem of prices is complicated and has not been solved in any socialist country. There is even an anecdote about that. An American delegation which went to the Soviet Union to study the economic system and the system of planning under socialism declared at the end of the visit that they liked socialism and their system of planning very much, that they were absolutely in favor of the world becoming socialist as soon as possible, but that at least two countries would still have to remain capitalist so that the socialist world would have something to pattern its price policy and price system after.

This anecdote contains as a matter of fact a rather profound truth. After all, in exchange among the socialist countries which are members of CEMA it is world prices which prevail, not any sort of other prices. And even the internal prices in the East European socialist countries, to whatever extent they have been dictated by the development policy, social welfare policy and production policy of those countries, by internal relations within them, and so on, are nevertheless set in a definite comparison to the level of world prices. Value relations in the socialist countries, to whatever extent they have been decanted into other forms of the exchange of labor, are directly related to the system of value relations of the world economy, which is today under the dominant influence of capitalism. That is, to whatever extent the internal prices in those socialist countries are deliberately managed, set by government regulations, they are still postulated upon criteria which are of a market nature, that is, which take into account not only value relations, but also supply and demand, the size of the profit which the socialist state concentrates, that is, centralizes, in its own hands as the monopolistic owner of the means of production. And when the subjectivist criteria or the political situation in the masses frustrate the consistent application of those criteria, then there is usually a shortage of goods, which in essence is only another form of inflation.

I emphasize all this because I feel that in all our discussions of prices we must be forthright about the fact that we cannot avoid the law of value, that is, the objectively given value relations in the exchange of labor, so long as people live predominantly from the quantity and quality of their personal labor in the present. In other words, so long as man's personal labor and the quantity and quality of the product of that labor are the main factor and standard of measurement in creating the conditions of his work and life, our society cannot choose whether it shall have commodity production or not, just as it cannot choose whether it shall recognize the law of value or not. What it can choose and what it can decide about is this: the kind of system and mechanism of commodity production, of the market and prices--based on value relations which in principle are the same as in the past--that suits the production relations of socialist self-management, that is, the position and social role of the worker in them.

In all contemporary systems of the exchange of labor, socialist and capital, value relations are in principle the basis and arbiter for the exchange of labor. I am not referring here, of course, to the quantitative aspects, to the consequences of value relations. That is the main reason why even a socialist society--just like a capitalist society--is not willing, say, to give a kilogram of coal in exchange for a kilogram of gold. With that in mind Marx said that in the exchange of labor in a socialist society people would live for a long time yet under the "bourgeois law," that is, in commodity production, and not according to some special law of their own. However, the concept of commodity production still is not the same, nor can it be, for a bourgeois society, for a state-ownership socialist society, and for a self-managed socialist society like ours. What is qualitatively the same here, though there is a quantitative change, are the objectively given value relations which are established by human labor--both live labor and past labor. Yet essential differences arise in class relations and relations of ownership, which determines who has the actual value at his disposition.

It is obvious that bourgeois commodity production, the bourgeois market which is based on the seizure of profit, that is, the surplus value, through capitalist competition and conflicts between labor and capital, does not suit our self-managing socialist society. Likewise, it is not suited by the socialist state-ownership market, which is based on centralized government seizure of the surplus value and determination of its size by the will of the state as the monopoly owner which centralizes that surplus value. Our socialist self-managing society, as has indeed been emphasized in the discussion, is suited only by a price system which would be based on the production relations of self-management, income-sharing relations representing the material content of the totality of self-management relations, in which the workers would have income at their disposition, but not on an individual or group basis, but in relations of mutual dependence, responsibility and direct exchange of labor. The category of surplus value in principle drops out at this point, but value and value relations do not vanish.

It seems to me that it is this that should be the point of departure for further construction of our price system. All the discussion to date has, of course, been aimed at finding appropriate practical solutions for precisely that form of our commodity production, market and price system. Although considerable differences have been expressed with respect to the actual determination of prices--which is no wonder, since here again we must break new ground--there were still no differences with respect to the self-management line of development in principle. Yet so far at least we have not yet moved very far from that general observation in reaching agreement on the practical solutions that would best suit our system. I therefore think that there are some more things we need to clear up further in this area. Probably we will not even succeed in entirely clearing them up in our present discussions.

The working group or commission which will work on preparing [original reads "applying"] the first theses on prices will have to point specifically to those points of disagreement or vagueness which might be an impediment to practical work in adoption of specific stands. After all, at present we must find practical solutions, that is the urgent need of our society. We should

not charge the theoretical discussions conducted in our country about prices that they have been to blame for our not having arrived at the right solutions in this area. Actually it is the fault of the leaders in position of responsibility in our society who expected practical solutions to come out of the theoretical discussions, instead of tackling that job themselves. Now the need for us to do this is urgent, since we no longer have the time nor reasons for postponement. I am far from asserting that we will offer a complete, perfect and ideal price system; I even think that in a certain sense even our discussions are too pretentious, often too optimistic, but I still think that we must take a step further in this regard.

I would merely point to certain questions on which it seems to me that we are too vague or too subjectivist, as well as to certain vacillations which we need to eliminate in some way at the very outset.

There are those, especially in everyday political action, who treat income-sharing relations as a kind of frontal negation of the market, that is, who believe that the market and commodity production are an impediment to the development of income-sharing relations as they develop in our self-managing society. I think that this relationship should be set up the other way about--after all, that is objectively required by the state of affairs, that is, commodity production and the market ought to be a function of income-sharing relations and the primary form through which they are realized. Of course, not subjectivistically defined and "embellished" relations, but the income-sharing relations which follow from the value relations in exchange of labor on the basis of the production relations of socialist self-management.

If we look at our everyday practice, indeed even at the problems we confront in it, we take note of the fact that income-sharing relations are "in revolt" against a price system which is actually still based on the role of the state, on government negation of the market. Which is why the theoretical premise in building our price system ought to be the requirement that the market conform to income-sharing relations, not the other way about. That is, it is indispensable to make it possible for income-sharing relations, as they develop in our society, to exert a decisive influence on relations on the market, including here a decisive influence on the price system. In saying this I am not referring to the argument, which is also frequently made in our country, that the price is exclusively a matter of every producer or of every production organization or trade organization, and so on. Since income is neither personal property nor group property--and indeed even the right to work and the right to manage are not merely personal rights, but at the same time a social function and an obligation to society--the setting of prices in a self-managing socialist society must be a matter of mutual obligation and mutual responsibility of self-managers, of workers in basic and all other organizations of associated labor. We must look at our market not through the prism of classic liberalism, but through the structure of our own labor, which becomes associated labor through self-management, and the structure of the income-sharing system within that labor. I think that that is the most important premise which we have to adopt if we are to be able to meet in practice the requirement--which has been stressed in the discussion and with which I entirely agree--that the main role in the price system be borne by

self-managing associated labor through self-management accords and social compacts and that the role of the state as regulator would be built up afterward on that basis, though not based on the same criteria.

At the same time this means that we cannot have a different price for the same products and services for each work organization. Often our current criticism of commodity production does in fact take that line, or at least it is possible to draw such a conclusion from it, as though our society should actually guarantee the existence of every organization of associated labor at any cost or should set highly productive organizations on a par with organizations whose productivity is low, all of this out of a desire to ensure adequate income to the organizations with low productivity, an adequate personal income to the workers of such organizations, equality of the workers with respect to living conditions and the like.

However, when it comes to prices, the destiny of income dare not be bound up with the destiny of personal income. The problem of personal incomes is above all a problem of associated labor. We can accordingly fight for maximum reduction of differences in personal income for the same labor, but not exclusively by attempting to solve this entire problem within each individual organization of associated labor. We also have to resolve it at the level of associated labor as a whole, that is, through a certain participation of the workers in the results of total social labor on the basis of solidarity. But income, which should be an expression of value relations and of the manner of economic employment of the socially owned means of production, of past and live labor, must be formed precisely on the basis of those value relations so that the workers will have a greater material motivation to fight as intensively as possible for higher labor productivity. Our present practice is unfortunately such that through our orientation toward a certain leveling, not only in the formation of personal incomes, but also through various drains on the income of organizations of associated labor, and so on, we have rather taken a step backward than forward with respect to stimulating the rise of labor productivity. And it is precisely those value relations which we must be mindful of, since otherwise I am afraid of our sailing into the dangerous waters of some kind of voluntarism, which society will have to pay for in some other way. Especially in the sense of a slackening of the struggle for higher labor productivity, with certain elements created thereby which will in their turn lead to a corruption of social relations.

Proceeding on the basis of everything that has been said, I would turn to two questions which have been referred to in the discussion: first, the relation between development policy and the price system, and second, the role of world prices in our price system.

In the Platform and other documents of the 10th LCY Congress we were entirely warranted in indicating the important role of development policy in the price system. But I have the impression that that criterion, which does not stand alone in the documents of the 10th LCY Congress and which needs to be interpreted in the context of the entire orientation of the congress, is taking on too great independence in our present discussions and is thereby assuming excessively great significance. That could likewise lead us into a kind of

subjectivism in subsequent construction of the price system. I have to say that here linkage of prices to development policy is nothing essentially new or specific to socialist self-management, especially not with respect to the price structure itself and the price system. Even under capitalism prices rise spontaneously wherever demand is highest, where there is a shortage of goods, where a need arises spontaneously for development of certain branches, and in that way capital automatically rushes into those activities and branches in which a social need for development manifests itself. In the capitalist system prices are therefore subordinated to a certain degree to the interests of development policy. In my opinion almost the only difference is that we want to control this process with a plan and guide it consciously, not leaving it to spontaneity.

When situations similar to those in capitalism occur in our country--certainly we can regulate them consciously with a plan, but also with prices on the basis of the plan. But if development policy were the main criterion in the setting of prices, we would soon face the danger of subjectivism, indeed to a greater degree than under capitalism, where the capital market mercilessly destroys capital which has made a mistake with respect to the goals of development. However, by contrast with capitalism, in our case the entire society pays for the poorly defined development prices, not those who originated those goals of development, who were even motivated to create structural disproportions. Difficult and complicated tasks await us here: that is, how in practice to guarantee the greatest possible pressure of the objectively given value relations on development policy, not the other way about.

I personally think that we should apply "development policy" as a criterion in the price system in the context of those social compacts and self-management accords which our workers, our organizations of associated labor, will draw up in the system of social discussion and agreement on planning, that is, in the entire process of the pooling of labor and income based on income-sharing relations. Those income-sharing relations also determine the lines of development that will be expressed in the plan. And only then, within those relations, can prices become an active factor and have the role of an instrument that will guarantee achievement of certain planned lines of development. Unless matters are stated clearly and cleared up with respect to the content of that relation, indeed even with respect to methods and procedures, I fear that someone might interpret the role of development policy this way: "Since we do not have power plants, we should raise the price of electric power as a way of building them."

I think that the question will always be raised of whether it is justified to finance development of the electric power industry solely by raising the electric power rates or whether that development might be achieved in some other way. For the economy itself, say, to pool capital for development of the electric power industry in the framework of electric power communities of interest. That method of developing the electric power industry is probably more optimal from the standpoint of associated labor as a whole and the entire economy than reducing its development to the problem of raising electric power rates. The big question is whether it is worthwhile for us to develop

the municipal service and utility industry through rates or in some other way. I say all this not in order to deny the economic linkage between the price system and development policy, but because we have to be precise about the relations between prices and development policy. In this context we have to state precisely what we want and what we can achieve by plugging development policy into the price system, that is, to what extent prices can be managed on that basis.

There is one other question I would mention in this connection. It has been said in the discussion that our prices operate autonomously, with detachment, independently of the other components of the system and development. That argument is correct if the reference is to the gap between price movements and our desire to hold them within the limits that guarantee greater stability of our economy and achievement of the established goals of development. But this is at the same time a criticism of our will, that is, only an apparent form of manifestation of another state of affairs, that is, of the detachment and spontaneous resolution of the conflicts between production and labor productivity on the one hand and consumption on the other. As a matter of fact, the law of value is rebelling in this form against its not being recognized and its being disrupted voluntaristically, that is, against our inability to bring the system of planning into conformity with the system of socialist self-management--regardless of the extent to which that inability results from subjective or objective factors.

Accordingly, we have to ask ourselves whether the will of society has been properly postulated and correctly oriented in the price field. After all, the value relations have not undergone essential change in spite of the spontaneous movement of prices. The relation between the value of production and the equivalent contained in the value of the means of consumption is objectively given if we eliminate the trade deficit. Value relations, then, have not been changing, but in an inappropriate price system they have been expressed in an inappropriate way which to us appears like something which is taking a road altogether its own. Yet it seems to me that a phenomenon like that can be overcome precisely when the interest of society is brought into adjustment with objective economic laws. It is an untenable view that prices could be relatively stable if we did not establish harmony between production and consumption, between Departments I and II of social reproduction, and so on. It therefore also seems to me that we are exposing ourselves to a certain subjectivism if we do not ask ourselves why it seems that those value movements have diverged from the overall will of society?

There is a similar problem related to the role of the world price in our price system, with the difference that in this respect there is a certain tendency to underestimate the role and importance of world prices. I personally think that we will make a mistake if we do not give the world price that role which it objectively has an expression of the value relations that exist in the present world economic system, to whatever extent those value relations have been deformed in their manifestations by imperialism, by multinational companies, by nationalistic particularism and by various other interests.

It seems to me that the role of the world price is also not something about which it is possible to make a choice in the sense of whether we will take it into account in our price system or not. That perhaps could appear to be valid only for a completely autarkic economy. However, not even such large countries as the Soviet Union and the United States of America could, even if they wished, "avoid" world prices. That especially applies to a small country like ours, which even now already had relatively large visible trade with the world, and which could not even develop successfully in the future unless it were to augment that trade more and more, that is, unless a relatively larger portion of its national production is sold on the world market. If we do not achieve that goal, we will remain an economically and technologically backward country at a very low level of labor productivity.

I likewise think that we have to bear in mind that the law of value in its ultimate consequences has less of a national dimension and more of an international and world dimension than ever before. Consequently, if we do not adopt a conscious orientation toward achieving the most favorable possible position in world trade and the world price system through an unremitting struggle for higher productivity of our self-managed labor, then we will condemn ourselves not only to perpetual backwardness, but also to having a completely subjectivistic, that is, permanently defective, price system on the domestic market.

Some sort of nominal overall price of the total product that links us to the world exchange of labor is objectively given. The other socialist countries also depend upon it, regardless of the extent to which the prices of particular products, raw materials, industrial products, farm products, and so on, are influenced by class, imperialist, particularist and various other factors of technology and of the struggle of peoples for economic independence. But in international visible trade we must even knuckle under to those individual world prices. We cannot avoid them, even if we wished to do so.

So in my opinion the problem is not whether we will recognize or not recognize world prices, but rather how in our price system we will adapt to world prices on the basis of the principles of our system of self-management income as a system of overall associated labor, and the kind of goals, means and allies with which we should fight on the international scene for new economic relations in world trade, that is, for relations which will be freed of the domination of the interests of imperialism, of the economic blocs, of the multinational companies, of nationalistic particularism, and so on.

I know that all of this is easy to say, but very difficult to realize in practice. Yet it seems to me that we will have still greater difficulty finding a solution for inclusion of our economy in the world economy if we take a position against any sort of role of the world price in our price system. Accordingly, as far as the use of world prices in our price system is concerned, there are two tasks which confront us: first, to see "here at home" what we should do in that adaptation of the world price system to our system; and second, to fight on the world scene for a change of world economic relations as they have arisen under the influence of imperialism, capitalism, and so on. This is one of the essential battles taking place in the world today.

Accordingly, the point of departure which must be borne in mind by the Commission for Preparation of the Theses on Prices and by all of us is to provide an answer to the question of how and in what manner value relations are to become the foundation of our price system, that is, how those relations are to be manifested in this system, and how at the same time market spontaneity and voluntarism are to be avoided to the greatest possible degree.

The question is accordingly posed whether prices on the domestic market should be set somewhere near the average of the productivity of social labor in particular branches or according to some other criteria. That is, that criterion figured significantly when our price system was mainly based on government price ceilings. I think that under those conditions that principle was justified and even unavoidable, since otherwise prices could have destroyed irrecoverably a sizable portion of production at low productivity which otherwise does have prospects for emerging from difficulties through reliance on social labor as a whole and for achieving a higher level of labor productivity. It is also likely that that criterion did not operate sufficiently as an incentive for higher productivity of labor.

Now it seems to me that the direct application of the criterion of average productivity of social labor will either drop out or will at least lose considerable importance, that is, will be reduced only to certain cases, if the price system should rely more directly on income-sharing relations, that is, if our price system is to be some kind of expression and at the same time regulator of income-sharing relations, also presupposing here the right of the workers to dispose of income and set the prices of their products within their own basic and other organizations of associated labor, but combined with a definite system of responsibility to other workers and to associated labor in general.

In this connection I would also point to another point of departure in solving the price problem. Since value relations undergo change, the question is who is the one who is to change them, that is, in what sort of socioeconomic relations should the value relations I have spoken about be expressed? The discussion has in that respect furnished a clear answer: self-managed associated labor through self-management accords and social compacts. I am also in agreement with that. But there is a need to state more clearly what those accords and compacts should specifically contain and what should be their points of departure. I think that the system of concluding accords and compacts on prices must be based on joint self-management adjustment and regulation of income-sharing relations among branches and among organizations of associated labor within branches. This follows from the mutual dependence and responsibility of the workers and of organizations of associated labor in the disposition of income as well as from their class solidarity in realizing personal income according to labor. Other criteria--development policy, the average productivity of labor, and so on--might then also be linked to that basic criterion, that is, to income, to income-sharing relations, in the system of self-management accords and compacts. Only income-sharing relations can be the foundation of concluding self-management accords and social compacts on prices, and they shall be made according to the same organizational scheme that governs our planning system in its development. But we must also have certain criteria for that kind of agreement.

For precisely those reasons I advocate the concept of gross income per worker, with a certain economic structure of that income that would make it possible to draw a conclusion about the overall structure of the economic activity carried on by each individual organization of associated labor and each individual worker. That concept of gross income per worker would at the same time make it possible to draw a conclusion about the overall structure of the economic activity of each individual organization of associated labor and every individual worker. That concept of gross income per worker would at the same time also make it possible to arrive at a realistic and universal rate of income on the basis of which it would be possible to evaluate from its income what the individual organization of associated labor actually represents in the income of associated labor as a whole. Only on the basis of gross income as an indicator, on the basis of the individual rate of income, that is, the average rate of income in particular branches is it possible to arrive at any realistic calculations of prices in the various branches on the basis of which it would then be possible to conduct a price policy: both through self-management accords and through the activity of government bodies and agencies. That is, only on the basis of these and similar indicators would the workers in the production of raw materials, in the manufacturing industry, in agriculture, in the industry for processing farm products, workers of individual groupings linked by a pooling of labor and capital, be able to jointly set prices that are to be in effect in their mutual relations. Those prices will not be set subjectivistically, because they are directly tied to market relations, to the earning of income on the domestic and world markets. In the further development of income-sharing relations in associated labor a modified price system based on the conclusion of compacts and self-management accords could be a very effective and increasingly dominant factor in building up our entire price system.

My idea here is that our price system must reflect the situation on our own market and on the world market, and must at the same time contain within itself the elements and factors which will "carry" that system further. The system of concluding self-management accords and social compacts on the basis of income-sharing relations actually helps us to be on the realistic ground of commodity production, but at the same time it also makes it possible for the workers themselves in the system of associated labor to exert an ever stronger influence on market movements, that is, to subordinate the market to their own income-sharing relations to an ever greater degree. This is undoubtedly a long-range and historic process. I therefore am afraid of all the subjectivist formulas which would compel us, so to speak overnight, to turn from one price system to some other price system, and that a system which has not been verified. But I feel that our science could find appropriate instruments in that direction such as we need in the present situation and that those systems would become the tools of the empirical domain, that is, of the workers who will themselves change the price system, rather than only society "from above." Although the price system must also continue to be changed by influences "from above" as well.

But if income-sharing relations become the basis of our price system, then I believe that it will not be difficult, though not easy either--to also define the role of the state in the price system. And the role of the state will

obviously continue to be quite important in this area in the future as well. It is an illusion to suppose that we can rely exclusively on conclusion of self-management accords in the price field. However, the role of the government in the price system must be based on the same indicators that are the basis of conclusion of agreements on prices. Yet if our self-management system of prices is to be based on value criteria for regulation of mutual relations and if the regulatory role of the government is to rely on those same relations and criteria, then we will still have to abandon the system of government control, price ceilings and setting of prices we have had up to now. That price system has in our experience to date displayed a number of shortcomings and has been very unstable, precisely because it was subject to all sorts of subjectivist pressures on prices, instead of our adopting a more resolute line to the effect that prices should truly be the most optimum expression of the real value relations which exist in our society.

If we have all this in mind, then it seems to me that now we must in practical terms decide among three possibilities.

First, we must furnish an answer to the question of whether liberalization of prices is the answer to our requirement that the price system be an implement of self-managing associated labor and income-sharing relations. I personally think that it is not. After all, liberalization of prices signifies in practical terms a return to the mentality of the owner of capital. We have not been successful with the liberation of prices. However, I have to say that the course adopted toward a liberalistic price policy in the beginning of the fifties has played a constructive role in breaking up the old government system of fixed prices. At that time we were not able, nor did we have the kind of organized self-managing associated labor that could take upon itself the more important functions in the price system. That system, as is well known, did not stand up. However, we still hear the argument frequently repeated: "Not government price controls, but liberalization of prices." I think that it has been demonstrated by practice, not only by theory, that we will not find a way out of the problems in the price field by taking such an approach.

Second, our present price system, which has come about spontaneously because we were not successful in building the system of liberalization of prices, is a combination of liberalization of prices with the system of government prices. It seems to me that the material prepared for this meeting by the Secretariat for Market and Prices expresses precisely that state of affairs. Since it, and indeed certain other documents as well, says what amounts to this: undertake to liberalize prices wherever that is possible, and where that is not possible, adopt government price regulations, that is, the setting of price ceilings, guaranteed prices, and so on, with the implication that in future we would be undertaking the liberalization of prices more broadly, and less and less would prices be established by government decision.

It seems to me that that system, although at one time it did bring a certain benefit, now stands under the general criticism of experience and even today is actually becoming a brake upon the development of the productive forces

and especially labor productivity. But our goal cannot be simply to abolish such a system as a question of formality and to establish something new on the basis of certain subjectivistic conceptions and solutions, but rather to see how we shall proceed in building the price system. The income criterion must be the basic point of reference for our price system, but not for fixing prices on the basis of some income rate formula, but rather that income-sharing relations should be the point of departure for price policy both as to the conclusion of self-management accords on prices and also with respect to the role of the government in that area. In that sense it is both the right and obligation of all organizations of associated labor to work out their mutual relations as to prices. This is no longer conventional price liberalism, but a system of pricing based on self-management income.

And third, it seems to me that we must adopt the concept of complete self-management social price control in general, since it suits our system, but not as a combination of liberalism and government regulation, but of self-management and the regulatory role of the government and liberalization of prices insofar as that concept fits into that kind of self-management social price control. When I say self-management, I am thinking both of the mutual responsibility of organizations of associated labor with respect to the rules of behavior on the market and also of the system for concluding self-management accords and social compacts as an integral part of the process of reaching agreement concerning the plan.

Associated labor should maintain control over those prices on which the entire system depends, but it is not essential whether it maintains control over the prices of each individual product or service. The price arrived at on the basis of mutual agreement is a free self-management price, but it still is not in its type the free price of the bourgeois class market. It seems to me that for that reason we should adopt the concept of social price control, based on self-management, income-sharing relations, and so on, as the fundamental orientation, as the long-term principle of our commodity production, and not as some sort of temporary measure. That is, we would have to orient the entire organization of self-managing associated labor in that direction. That is not a separate task at all, since all of this falls precisely into the same set of tasks related to the pooling of labor and capital, to planning, and so on.

But we must also plug the consumers into this entire system, not merely consumers in the field of production, but also the final consumers. We have utterly neglected their role in the formation of prices. Whenever there is discussion of price changes, it is rightly said that the consumer has no influence in this regard, and up to now very little has been done to overcome this. It was mentioned in the discussion, and I agree with the specific proposals presented for involving consumers more in the price system.

I think that the commission which will prepare the theses for the law on prices should clearly set forth these three points of departure in building the price system and ultimately also define the role of the government in that system.

Finally, I would like to support a warning expressed in the discussion to the effect that in the future construction of our price system we must also be mindful of interethnic and interrepublic relations. This is not mentioned anywhere. However, it is quite obvious that every new step in the price system must also be measured by its consequences for the economy and income of the individual republics and provinces; that is, each republic and province will have to make a proper analysis and calculation from its own viewpoint as to what a particular price shift actually means for it. And if we are not mindful of this in advance and do not reconcile the views of the republics and provinces in this regard, we will be unable to arrive at a new price system. This problem will not be difficult to solve if we above all do a good job of weaving income-sharing relations and the system of income into the market.

After all, if the working people are equal with respect to the disposition of income within their own self-managed organizations of associated labor, then automatically the ethnic community also has that income at its disposition. The experience of CEMA best demonstrates how important these problems are to relations among nationalities. Every East European socialist country has its own economic system of prices and markets, and although they do not recognize the market, they base those mutual relations on the mechanism of world prices.

Moreover, all those countries are very sensitive about the possibility of losing something because of the imposition of certain internal prices which for them would be less economically favorable than world prices. I do not say that our situation is the same, since we have a unified market on which many relations are regulated automatically, but certain problems here have remained unresolved and are today causing additional difficulties on our unified market.

The real solution, then, is the equal position of all labor, combined with full recognition and stimulation of more productive labor, rather than a mechanical siphoning of income. We must link together the transitional forms of commodity production and the future within that concept. That is actually the explanation for the emergence of so-called "internal prices" within organizations of associated labor, prices which are globally tied to market prices.

Likewise, the prices arrived at through the free exchange of labor are not outside the influence of the market either. But it is the quantitative piling up of these new forms of value relations in the exchange of labor and in the pooling of labor and capital that at the same time makes social labor associated labor and creates the conditions for qualitative changes in the direction of superseding the market historically. It seems to me that any other approach would lead us into subjectivism and into a conflict with the objective operation of the law of value.

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## HUNGARIAN WEEKLY REPORTS ON NEW PRIVATE PUBLISHING LAW

Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 14 Apr 84 pp 18-19

[Article originally published in Novi Sad MAGYAR SZO: "Private Newspaper"]

[Text] In recent weeks there have been articles throughout the whole country about the fact that in Voivodina a new mass-communications law will make it possible for a private individual to start a newspaper. The mistake has been only that not a private individual but citizens in fact can establish a paper (that is, a single person cannot, only more than one), but this provision has been included in each of our post-war constitutions and press laws, and this regulation is also included in the press laws of every republic.

But the news is that the law about to be passed in Voivodina is different from the previous ones in that it precisely regulates the conditions under which citizens may publish a paper. Those who would like to start a paper must first propose its establishment to the appropriate organ of the Socialist Federation. The proposal document must outline precisely the concept, goal, and tasks of the paper, its language of publication, frequency of appearance and title. The permanent and reliable financial resources of the future paper as well as the necessary operating funds and personnel must be demonstrated with real facts. If everything is in place, the process of registration can begin, which, however, can only happen (as in the case of every other paper) when the Socialist Federation has appointed the editorial council and the editor in chief and the managing editor. Knowing all of this, we can hardly speak of a private newspaper.

The possibility of a "private newspaper" has raised interest in the law if only because Nikolic Sinisa, correspondent in Novi Sad for the Belgrade POLITIKA, has submitted--half seriously, half unofficially, just to try his luck--a proposal to start a paper with the title SOMOUPRAVA. But nothing is likely to come of the paper, even if its concept (the readers would write on their own responsibility!) is disregarded. This is for the simple reason that publishing a paper does not at all belong to the sphere of profitable enterprises. Instead of proving this, it is obviously sufficient to mention the fact that the state contributes large sums to insure the uninterrupted operation of mass-communication media, and most of the papers are only able to just barely avoid large losses even so.

The part of the proposed law which deals with achieving a special social value through mass communications has been somewhat pushed into the background. There is not much new in this part; there is at most the fact that it differs from earlier ones by dealing much more concretely with the rights and duties of the Socialist Federation as founder and in general with the tasks of mass communications in the area of socialization. The forms of social influence have not changed in essence; there will still be a council, which will continue to be an important vehicle for determining editorial policy: representatives of the social community and representatives of the publishers will together make the most important decisions in independently controlled organs, and the editor-in-chief and managing editor as well as the publisher will continue to be named by the Socialist Federation.

There has been much debate about what a "private newspaper" would look like, to what extent it would have or even could have private characteristics, and about how a paper can have private ownership and still achieve social value, for in our society there can be no mass-communication organ without that. These matters have become the focus of interest, but it is obvious that there is unfortunately no need to establish a "private paper" in order to publicize narrow individual and exclusive interests. A much more frequent phenomenon--we have had occasion to be convinced of this more than once in the recent past--is that individuals or a group will gain control of a paper and publish it according to their whims, always keeping an eye out for their own narrow interests. Naturally the law does not and cannot offer a remedy against this and similar phenomena. The law devotes a few sections to the subject of information sources, and it obligates workers, organizations, and institutions to inform the public about their activities. The effect of these provisions will be that public opinion can be informed at any time about the situation, problems, successes and mistakes in any given environment, so that not only management personnel can have meaningful input but also the worker can be sufficiently informed that he can express himself in public with full knowledge of his responsibility. All this depends not only on whether the law is a good one or not but first and foremost on how the workers and the social politicians relate in a given situation to the building of self-governing relationships.

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