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10 June 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2151

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SLOVENIANS REPORT POLISH RESPONSE TO SOVIET PRESS ATTACK

Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 14 May 83 p 3

[Article by Ilija Marinkovic: "POLITYKA Responds to the Criticism of the Soviet Newspaper NOVOYE VREMYA"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 13 May 1983 - From our collaborator--The editorial staff of the Warsaw weekly POLITYKA, in an extensive, unsigned article, has responded to the criticism expressed in the latest issue of the Soviet newspaper NOVOYE VREMYA.

The Polish edition of this newspaper (which appears here under the name NOWE CZASY) has not yet been published but POLITYKA decided to present to its readers extensive excerpts from the article which, as it emphasized, the Soviet agency TASS was disseminating abroad.

The Polish article quoted excerpts attacking Solidarity and ideas of pluralism as well as authors such as Werblan, Wiatr, Toeplitz, and indirectly (not by name), the chief editor of POLITYKA at that time, Deputy Premier Rakowski (the Oriana Fallaci interview).

Instead of engaging in polemics, POLITYKA confines itself to presenting the whole text of each quote presented by [the author of the NOVOYE VREMYA article] Ryzhov, thus showing that the Soviet author "adapted" the quote in accordance with his own interests, for the purpose of showing the ideological deviation of the Warsaw weekly.

For example, Ryzhov criticizes one of the Polish authors for advocating a "pluralistic" Poland, omitting the other part of the sentence which says that he supports pluralism "on the basis of the realistic conditions of a united socialist system."

Then it is shown that J. Gawlik does not assert that "it is necessary to have the Yalta decisions revised." On the contrary, he severely condemns all who repudiate the "Yalta civilization."

There are other examples of inaccurate interpretations, with the comment that "Polish journalists sometimes use quotation marks clumsily but this also happened to A. Ryzhov."

It is expected that some of the Polish authors "named"--among them, esteemed Marxist theoreticians--will also reply to the criticism from the Soviet review NOVOYE VREMYA.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### HISTORICAL STUDIES OF HUNGARIANS IN TRANSYLVANIA EXAMINED

Debrecen ALFOLD in Hungarian Mar 83 pp 37-57

[Article by Lajos Fur: "The Cultivation of Minority Studies in Transylvania"]

[Text] The institutional level of Transylvanian Hungarian scholarship is rather low; in surveying the past decades, an objective examination would be more likely to yield an account of decline than of growth. In contrast, in the area of accomplishments, their scholarship is at an incomparably higher level than that of any other Hungarian minority. The accomplishments in certain specialties are in direct competition with those of the mother country. However, the inconsistency is only illusory; its resolution may be sought in the peculiar circumstances of the Hungarian Rumanians.

Even if no direct connection may be shown between nationality research and the size of the minority, some sort of loose correlation nevertheless does exist. Therefore, when the results are evaluated, we must consider that half of the Hungarian minority of the Danubian Basin lives in Rumania, and their numbers, even as compared to the majority establishing the state, are the greatest here. However, "strength in numbers" per se would not have been sufficient if other fortunate historical circumstances had not been linked to it. It is commonly known that even after the decline of the Transylvanian principality, the region's administrative autonomy continued to remain in effect; thus, in the wake of the heterogeneous characteristics of the social structure, a unique "Transylvanian personality", an individual culture and scholarship with independent traditions came into being. We might even say that Transylvanian historical studies could be considered a parallel branch of Hungarian historical studies. We could list a long line of outstanding accomplishments from Bocskai's historian, Istvan Szamoskozy, and Janos Csere Apaczai, until we reach Zsigmond Jako and Attila T. Szabo. Just as a unified Hungarian intellectual life would be inconceivable without them, in the same way the intellectual life and the scholarship of present-day Hungarian Rumanians would be much weaker and less forceful without the energizing continuity of tradition. Thus, after the detachment of the expanded Transylvania, the Hungarians who had fallen into the minority had something to build on; after the compromise, it was almost as though they had only to continue their traditions which, although somewhat weakened with respect to their independence, remained uninterrupted.

From this it may be inferred that the scholarship of the Transylvanian minority was nurtured by very strong institutional (and intellectual) foundations. In 1922, the

University of Kolozsvar already had more than 300 Hungarian students, and a decade later their number increased to over 1000 (although by the end of the decade, in 1939, the number of students again declined to 500). Understandably, their number increased almost five-fold after the return of Northern Transylvania: between 1914 and 1944, 2500 to 2700 students attended the University of Kolozsvar yearly. After a temporary decline in 1945, their number again rose above 2200 in 1946.<sup>1</sup> Considering all Rumanian universities, there has been a manifold increase of this number since then: the number of nationality students could be placed at 10,000 and of these, 7000 are students whose mother tongue is Hungarian and who are studying at higher-level institutions. (Although the national growth is more than seven-fold, the number of Hungarians has increased by not quite 75%.)<sup>2</sup>

Of course, this intellectual class was also affected by disasters and losses--first, immediately at the beginning of its minority status. In the chaotic months preceding and following the setting of boundaries at Trianon, tens and hundreds of thousands fled to parts of the country which appeared to be more secure and permanent. Gyula Illyes writes with the accuracy of an eye-witness: "Around December 1919, the trains rushed with the speed of water down the mountainside: the gigantic riverbed was filled to overflowing in a matter of days. Immediately after the conclusion of a cease-fire, countless Hungarians already escaped from the territories occupied by Rumanian and Czechoslovakian troops." Later the number of refugees increased to an unprecedented extent. Illyes writes further, "According to a computation by no means prejudiced, the number of wanderers who were forced from their homes over the newly drawn borders must have been 600 thousand...more than half a million wanderers in the middle of Europe, more shamefully outcast than the Blacks of Harlem. Only once before has Christian civilization experienced a 'transplantation of peoples' of these proportions in recent history: that of the Armenians."<sup>3</sup> It is also important to know that a good portion of the homeless came from the ranks of the intelligentsia.

Likewise, chiefly those of intellectual pursuits drifted back or escaped in large masses at the time of the later change in rule--in 1944-45. The turning point of 1947-48 and the transgressions of the following dogmatic years bypassed significant strengths or definitively eliminated them. A separate list could be made of all the outstanding scholars who entered only Hungary (/Rezső Soó, Gyula Laszlo, Bela Gunda, Geza Entz, Zoltan Takats Felvinczi/ [italics], etc.). Despite the losses, the Transylvanian Hungarians were greatly affected by the fact that exactly during the years in question, a significant number of national intellectuals emerged from the ranks of the workers and peasants. The new blows now struck the very best of this new intelligentsia. In the years following the Hungarian tragedy of 1956, many young talents were deprived of the opportunity to work on the basis of trumped-up charges and many ended up in prison. Of course, the various shocks did not pass without a trace. But that they were unable to permanently obstruct the intellectual life of the Transylvanian Hungarians is also attributable to the fact that they never succeeded in totally destroying the intelligentsia--unlike in Slovakia. As a result, it was always able to renew and propagate itself.

In conformity with the other parts of the country, the beginnings of scholarship in Transylvania could be placed in the 16th-17th centuries. With the unfolding of the Reformation and the emergence of the independent principality, scholarship took its first steps in and around the vicinity of the court--the castles of a few noblemen, the schools, foreign sojourns, the printing presses and the parishes. The elimination

of the prince's court only caused a temporary setback. As a result of the strengthening of the schools in the 18th century, the development of libraries and the participation of a few noble houses, research in Transylvanian cultural history which had been thriving during the course of the past years, could show significant progress (primarily the works of /Samu Benko/). Nineteenth-century progress and the national awakening gave a new impetus to scholarship; the Transylvanian Museum became an important stimulant and patron of sociological research. Alongside the schools with great pasts (Kolozsvár, [Maros]vasarhely, Nagyenyed, etc.), newer schools were established and associations which cultivated and promoted scholarship were organized within their spheres and around the developing museums. It was not by chance that the second university of historical Hungary was established in 1872 precisely in Kolozsvár. Very modern foundations were established for Transylvanian scholarship through the faculties of the legal, philosophical, medical and natural science departments.

Just as the institutions and organizations of the age of dualism participated in the policy of Magyarization, so too were they utilized after the Peace of Trianon in pursuit of Rumanianization. As did the Rumanians during the decades around the turn of the century, so the Hungarians had to face discriminatory measures after 1920 - not in the least different from the previous ones. It is not surprising that Transylvanian Hungarian scholarship sank to the lowest point of its history after 1920.

A partial recovery began only at the end of the 1920's influenced by the initial revival of literature and the intellectual activity surrounding it. Of course, at this time, the majority of the energy was concentrated primarily on outlining the tasks. In a peculiar way, the first proposal to arouse attention was heard from the direction of historical scholarship. In his writings published in 1929, /Miklos Asztalos/, the president of the Miklos Bartha Society of Hungary, outlined the tasks of minority historical scholarship and was the first to raise the idea of establishing the Institute of Transylvanian Minorities, and spoke about his conceptions concerning the organization and structure of the institute. According to Asztalos' concept, the institute had to cultivate two extremely important disciplines: history and sociology.<sup>4</sup>

The initiation of the now mentioned periodical, Magyar Kisebbség [Hungarian Minority], is very important from the viewpoint of our topic. Its editor, /Elemér Jakobffy/, was active in the progressive wing of the contemporary Hungarian movement, and for 21 years, his journal was one of East Central Europe's very prestigious, open-minded and objective minority organs.

The Transylvanian Youth movement and the initiation of the journal entitled Hítel [Credit] could be termed significant developments. The village seminar of the Transylvanian Youth was established in Kolozsvár in 1930 November. Its members considered their task to be the sociological-sociographical exploration of the Transylvanian Hungarians and specifically, that of village populations. In addition to the tensions exacerbated by the economic world crisis, a significant role in the establishment of this group was played by the far-reaching activities of Professor /Dimitrie Gusti/ of Bucharest, the Czechoslovakian Šarlo [Sickle] and primarily the endeavors of a similar nature of the Hungarian Miklos Bartha Society. The consequence of the increased interest in sociology was, they wrote almost simultaneously, "that our young ideologists, almost without exception, have turned away from literature

and with feverish ardor have embarked upon the scientific investigation of Hungarian society."<sup>5</sup>

However, the scientific results from the research begun in 1930-31 were quite meager. For the most part, the Village notebooks yielded accounts of the tasks and not the results of the research. The scientific analysis and summarization of the research conducted primarily in Kolozsborsa was done by /Imre Miko/.<sup>6</sup> The enduring value of the work is attributable to its modern social observations and thoroughness.<sup>7</sup>

However, within a year or two, the youth contingent split into factions, dissolved and, it could be said, disintegrated. Erno Gall writes that one of the causes of their lack of success was that they were unable to "establish a solid organizational-institutional framework". Further: the enthusiasm of the students participating in the village seminars "proved to be ephemeral...there were hardly any qualified experts...The appropriate scientific preparation, supervision and methodology were missing...Of course we must not forget for a moment that while the staff of the school in Bucharest (that of Gusti--L.F.) had significant finances at their disposal and also enjoyed the backing of the authorities, the minority village researchers did not receive any of these."<sup>8</sup> It is not without reason that the cream of the Transylvanian Hungarian intelligentsia and its every leaning assembled at the meeting in [Maros]-vasarhely were told that "the establishment of foundations for and the institutionalization of ethnography and sociology" are important tasks.<sup>9</sup>

But the institutional framework, the lack of financial prerequisites and the considerable suspicion of the authorities could not stop the gradual development of the disciplines of self-knowledge. The journals (Korunk, Hitel, Erdelyi Helikon, Magyar Kisebbség, Pasztortuz) also provided smaller or larger forums, and somewhat earlier, the Transylvanian literary review and later the Transylvanian scholarly notebook series were begun with expressly the same purpose. Outstanding contributions were made in primarily the scientific<sup>10</sup> and literary<sup>11</sup> areas of sociography.

Understandably, the return of Northern Transylvania brought about a decisive turning point in Hungarian scholarly activities. The subjective and objective prerequisites of scholarship were significantly increased at the University of Kolozsvár and, at the same time, the Transylvanian Scientific Institute was established in the fall of 1940. Primarily linguistic, historical, ethnographic and sociological research was organized within its framework. We have already mentioned them in another connection.

The mentioned losses occurring in the wake of the wartime crisis were quickly replaced by the replenishment occurring over 4-5 years and the simultaneous massive influx of national elements into the schools and universities--primarily denominational until 1945 and state-national thereafter. We know that after the conclusion of the war, the remaining Hungarian minorities had to survive "the weeks of paralysis" and "the years of exile". In the face of this, after the horrible atrocities were stopped at the outset, real socio-intellectual activity was initiated very quickly in Transylvania. /Istvan Imreh/ writes that a section of the Transylvanian Scientific Institute which continued to function in Kolozsvár "placed historical, sociological and ethnographical research into the forefront...Lajos Jordaky worked on uniting the staffs of the social science departments and József Venczel taught monographic

research and statistical survey methods." At the universities and colleges, work began with a new momentum.<sup>12</sup>

However, the structure and institutional system of scholarly activities were also radically transformed in Rumania at the end of the 1940's. Alongside the traditional places of learning, the universities and public collections, a system of academic institutions (departments, groups, branches) spanning all areas of learning was developed at this time. The basic structure which came about in this way has not been changed since; the several reorganizations were purely modifications of the internal mechanism. From this point on the true base of scholarship became the decidedly research-oriented institutional network. However, to this day, not one institution for the cultivation of nationality studies has been created within this many-tiered and comprehensive system. To the best of our knowledge only within the framework of the historical and pedagogical institute of Bucharest was a nationality group established where a few native Hungarian and German investigators are permitted to conduct research on minority history and pedagogy.

All this does not mean that Hungarian researchers may only be found here, nor that they may only examine public education and the history of Hungarian Rumanians with scientific methods. Although we do not have statistical reports at our disposal, we do know that Hungarians are employed in almost every research institute operating in Transylvania and the capital city (and elsewhere, sporadically). It is likely that the numerical ratio of the researchers is not proportionate to their ethnic ratio--it is less than it should be. However, it is more crucial that the researchers' work assignments are not (or not only) to examine the particular circumstances of the Hungarian minority; they must examine the general circumstances within a country or region--in the area of a given specialty. We know that among the natural sciences, at most the medical, geographical and agricultural sciences could deal with one or another aspect of the minority situation; however, there is not a single specialty or subspecialty within the so-called social sciences which could make the past and present conditions of the ethnic group the center of its research. In contrast, the truth is that, besides the two branches of learning mentioned, Transylvanian Hungarian scholarship may show results in the areas of literature, linguistics, philosophy-esthetics and ethnography. On the other hand, today the actual conditions of the minority--its vital problems, so to speak--could be truly discovered only by the inclusion of the collective analytic methods of sociology, demography, statistics, political science, economics and jurisprudence.

At the national plenum of the nationalities, historian /Lajos Demeny/ wished to urge --legitimately, of course--merely the Hungarian-language publication of the scholarly results already attained and not the change in direction (a more "nationality-oriented" element) of the research work of the native Hungarian scientific workers. He said, "There are highly respected historians, writers, linguists, economists, philosophers, mathematicians and physicists of Hungarian national origin who work in the academic and ministerial institutions and who do valuable work; the publication of this work in their native tongue is not at the level of present-day requirements". He continued, "Let us propose and examine the possibility of establishing a minority editorship within the framework of the Akademiai Kiado [Hungarian-language academic publishing house] as it exists at the other central publishers so that we may better give exposure to and utilize the creative scholarly work of the researchers originating

from the ranks of the minorities."<sup>13</sup> However, to this day the motion has remained a proposal.

What is the reason for the fact that in Rumania we succeeded in attaining results only in the area of the cultivation of the mentioned primary disciplines of nationality studies? One of the main sources of the trouble--here as elsewhere--is of a general nature: the radical regrouping of the intelligentsia. Parallel with the progress of civilization, an ever increasing number of them is made up of technologists. For understandable reasons, the new stratum of the intelligentsia "has become estranged from classical-humanist culture, and for this reason it is with great difficulty or not at all able to formulate its own identity". Perhaps precisely for this reason, their ethnic community hardly knows anything about them while they are otherwise internationally recognized; "they are simply not a part of the Hungarian national culture. The work they do", continues /Jozsef Aradi/, "is not directly integrated into the culture which expresses identity." It is not possible for their accomplishments to become symbolic; they are unable to fulfill a cohesive function.<sup>14</sup>

Their detachment and estrangement is only heightened by the particular "minority" situation. The alienation begins with the intelligentsia not even receiving its training in the mother tongue, and continues when they are able to utilize the knowledge only in the language of its acquisition; they may be successful in the scientific area almost exclusively in the language of the majority. /Peter Cseke/, writing about the generation born after 1945 and trained in the natural sciences, said that by watching his colleagues, he was forced to realize that his own career beginnings--in philosophy--were not typical; "instead, those of my biologist friends, for example, are. And of course, all of those who during the university years were not in the /exceptional/ (my italics) position of being able to study their disciplines in their mother tongue." This disadvantageous situation, "i.e., the fact that we are not laborers in an organically developed culture, does not per se exempt each of us from doing...modern work in our own place, even if the struggle for the chosen purpose reminds us daily that although sooner or later, anything may be accomplished (...) it is an ungodly task."<sup>15</sup>

Their alienation from the culture of the mother tongue is also making its unfavorable effects felt in the area of book publishing. The director of Kriterion Publishing stated that: The publisher is unable to fulfill the public's demand for scientific and educational literature because "we have few specialists who are able to write the urgently needed works well and in a modern style, at the present-day level of Hungarian technical terminology. And what is even more thought-provoking is that there is hardly a specialist among them who is young, i.e., thirty or forty years old", said /Geza Domokos/.<sup>16</sup> Recently, /Miklos Nagy/ joyfully lauded a new agronomic book of joint authorship (/Samuel Brassay-Elek Frankel/). Ceres Publishing promised its readers eleven Hungarian-language agricultural titles (three of which were reserves) for 1980; however, four were translations, and of the remaining seven, "even with good will, at most only three could be classified as technical works"; all told, only two were written by agricultural specialists. "The situation will become clearer if we say: no one is besieging the publishers with manuscripts."<sup>17</sup>

The other reason for the limited extent of scholarship may be sought in the general institutional system of learning. The primary nationality studies (literature,

history, ethnography, etc.) may be cultivated in non-research-oriented institutions outside the research institutions well endowed by the state. The second-level, but still organized scholarly research into organic culture is carried out by departments in the higher educational institutions. However, one of the burdens on intellectual life of the minorities is concerned with precisely this: the nearly two million Hungarians do not have a single, independent institution of higher education. Those universities and colleges which developed at the end of the 1940's and still exist today have been integrated without exception into one or another Rumanian institution. Afterwards, in tandem with the repression of Hungarian-language instruction in the departments, the Hungarian-language departments were reduced or simply terminated and the number of the Hungarian-language faculty was decreased or frozen. It is characteristic that while at the beginning of the 1950's an approximately equal number of Hungarian and Rumanian faculty were employed at the separate Bolyai and Babes universities of Kolozsvar, in the 1976-77 school year only a quarter of the instructors at the merged universities were Hungarian: 210 out of 900. However, most of them work in departments with a Rumanian majority in, as it were, "splinter groups"; the larger part of their lectures are also held in Rumanian. From this it must follow that the declining number of Hungarian instructors are, by and large, already not teaching those subjects which fall outside the expressly Hungarological specialties (literature, linguistics, history and, in part, ethnography) in their mother tongue, and not those topics which affect communities of their mother tongue. But it could have also come about this way that the research in the so-called "softcore" social sciences is forced back into the framework of the lowest, "third-rate" institutions, according to the present-day hierarchy of scholarship. It has fallen into the sphere of the enthusiastic and better trained teachers of the lower and middle level schools, the workers in museums, libraries and cultural centers, the editors at publishing houses (Kriterion, Dacia) and of journals and weekly newspapers to cultivate minority disciplines in their spare time according to their possibilities and capabilities. The activity as well as the range of activity are, understandably, random and more or less unorganized, and are only directed and shaped by personal, often whimsical, amateurish interests. It is indisputable that in the long run, this limited scholarship which is constricted to a third-rate level in its marginal position is becoming provincial, and is further sinking and declining. What was aptly said about the situation of sociology is equally valid for the whole of nationality studies: Both of them are relegated to "the backwaters of scholarship"<sup>18</sup>--thereby, simultaneously indicating the general circumstances of the minority along with its future, which are legitimately anxiety-provoking.

The signs of restriction are also evident in other ways. While the villages and the number of their inhabitants are declining, stated /Gustav Heredi/, "the situation of the culture of our mother tongue is that cultural activities in the villages and towns ...are more lively than in the large cities of Szatmar, [Nagy]varad or Marosvasarhely. I am not disclosing this as a reassurance--he quickly added--but in order to prove that today the majority of our minority intelligentsia is working in the towns." This situation which diverges from the proportionalities of the present day and which, in any case, is abnormal is again only the inevitable result of nationality status. After all, "we are often unable to retain the best, for whom there is an inevitable need here at the universities and at the institutions of learning, orchestras and museums of Kolozsvar, [Maros]vasarhely and Temesvar. Consequently, an aging process may also be noticed at our nationality institutions in certain branches of learning (history, ethnography, linguistics), and further in the field of journalism."<sup>19</sup> This

is what /Geza Domokos/ spoke about at the mid-morning debate sponsored by Korunk. He said that one of the fundamental causes of generational conflicts is "that our nationality institutions--with one or two exceptions--have frozen over. The fresh air of youth does not circulate through them." The freedom of movement and the possibilities for advancement existing in more organic cultures are missing. There is no room for the processes of replacement and renewal which occur naturally in the institutions of the majority nationality. That is, the number of nationality institutions are not increasing nor may the number of those in existence be increased. "All this affects the disposition and work incentive of our men of letters and young researchers who are just starting out. The creation of new institutional places to work is the decisive problem of our intellectual life", observed the director of the Kriterion.<sup>20</sup>

/Jozsef Aradi/ summarizes the same point from an historical and generational perspective. In the Transylvanian Hungarian cultural centers, that new generation of intellectuals grew up precisely in the 1970's whose intellectual fathers similarly did not become intellectuals through some sort of "genetic reproduction in the 40's and 50's, but rather, in a strict sense, 'came from the people'. Actually, the new generation of intellectuals of Kolozsvár or Marosvásárhely peaked along with them, since the capacity of traditional cultural centers also peaked with regard to certain intellectual strata. If this trend continues", he writes, in the long run we must deal with the consequence that "the presently declining intellectual strata living in the traditional cultural centers will not produce the type and number of children who would devote themselves to any sort of intellectual 'ranting'. Because what we now have are the /exceptional/ qualities of a demographic peak. That is, the future --genetic and non-genetic--reproduction of the intelligentsia could only occur in the provinces. But the children of the provincial "intellectual proletariat" will then be able to attend those provincial specialized secondary schools whose level is far below the so-called "elite" schools mentioned as existing in the cultural centers.<sup>21</sup>

Amidst the attenuating personal and organizational prerequisites, it comes as no surprise if the appropriate scholarly capabilities are lacking for the cultivation of those disciplines (sociology, etc.) which serve the modern familiarization of the minority. For example, in the field of historical and contemporary demography, only occasionally are there a few studies written--by researchers in other specialties. Heredi writes, "However, we do not have a single specialist who would devote his life and work to this question, who would regularly publish in scientific journals and books, on radio and TV and who would be assiduously driven to stimulate and to establish proper thinking and conduct. Simply said, we do not have a demography."<sup>22</sup> Nor do we have other things as might be evident from the deficiencies, and to which one of the speakers at the Korunk debate also alluded, although indirectly. The young poet /Zsolt Balla/ said, "The fact that poetry clings to the reform of forms of expression is in any case the fundamental condition for its existence. After all, if it generally assumes functions which, in reality, belong to the provinces of ideology-criticism, sociology, economics and jurisprudence, it indirectly recognizes their ineffectuality."<sup>23</sup> Simply said, it is forced to replace an entire system of non-existent social consciousness.

The accomplishments of Transylvanian Hungarian literary scholarship and literary criticism are indeed worthy of respect and are also well known beyond the tight circle of professionals; they are almost commonly known (even in Hungary). For

understandable reasons, since they have the greatest number of scholars, it is also possible for them to recognize the best writers among themselves. Their presence in the intellectual life of Transylvania is constant and universal, in parallel with the living literature. Continuity is insured by the press (the daily, weekly and monthly papers) and by the two publishing houses. In addition to the history of literature by /Lajos Kantor/ and /Gusztav Lang/ which is considered a reference work even here, numerous other essays and critiques could have fallen into the hands of readers, even during the past decade alone. The smaller studies and critiques are nearly countless. The exceptional situation of literature and linguistics is evidenced by the fact that its scholars also have their independent periodical: The Linguistic and Literary Communications of Kolozsvar.

Of course, one of the deficiencies which is of a general nature, also causes anxiety in the field of literary scholarship. /Janos Ritook/ writes--in connection with the publication of a very successful book entitled Letters of the Helikon and Transylvanian Fine Arts Guilds, "The lack of an institutional framework for research in literary history has made its adverse effects felt for a long time." Although "individual work (like that of /Attila T. Szabo, Edgar Balogh/ or /Ildiko Maros/, the publisher of the book in question) could produce good, even outstanding results (...), how much farther ahead could we have been, how many similar works (...) could already be lined up on our shelves if the cadre of specialists working in institutions--moreover in high positions!--would conduct their research on the basis of a well coordinated long range plan." The author emphasized that even if not for institutions of academic proportions, there is an imperative need for the establishment of the Transylvanian Literary Museum.<sup>24</sup>

The results attained in the field of linguistic scholarship are far less known--since they are also far more modest. Only the truly remarkable individual accomplishment of /Attila T. Szabo/ precipitated a wider reaction and received unanimous recognition, even in Hungary. (We will later see that /Zsigmond Jako/ constructed a model which followed from the "material" of the example: self-reliance perforce resulting from the disadvantageous nationality existence, the scientific model of reliance on one's own power.) /Attila T. Szabo/ started out as a man of letters and very shortly thereafter became committed to linguistics. In the wake of his research activities, a sizable research cadre was organized in the decades after the war. This is how the so-called Kolozsvar School, as it is already called today, came about.

The role of /Attila T. Szabo/, who established a place of research, could not be diminished if we know that the younger generation studying the specific field of linguistics could also rely on significant tradition in the history of scholarship, just as their mentors had. Earlier such noted linguists as Szinnyi, Horger, Zolnai and Gombocz taught at the University of Kolozsvar. However, from the viewpoint of the creation of the Kolozsvar School, the name of /Balint Csury/ must be primarily emphasized who, first as a teacher at the local Reformed college and then as a professor at the University of Debrecen, was the founder of the modern study of Hungarian dialect (dialectology) and whose student, research colleague and friend became the founder of the School. The activities of /Attila T. Szabo/ who to this day lives in Kolozsvar, extend to two larger areas: modern research in dialectology, and linguistic history and lexicology based on documentary material, which demands

even more time and energy. He began the collection of material concentrating on historical Transylvania with the 16th century, and finished with the end of the 19th century. He collected his material for over five decades and during this time, he amassed approximately 800,000 to one million items. He researched and took notes without an institutional framework or financial support, whereas what elsewhere would be carried out by institutions, groups, departments and "freelancers" must be undertaken and completed by the nationality scholar himself."<sup>25</sup> The lexicological material was planned to span eight to ten volumes; the first volume (A-C) of the Transylvanian Hungarian lexicological collection was published in 1975, the second (Cs-Fsz) in 1978.

The school formed in the 1940's and 1950's carried out and today continues the cultivation of the two branches of Transylvanian Hungarian linguistics mentioned above. From the viewpoint of general Hungarian linguistics, the achievements in dialectological research (/Mozes Galffy, Gyula Marton, Jeno Nagy/) and place-name research (/Jozsef Aravay, Ferenc Gazda, Bela Gergely, Jeno Gyorbíro/) are worthy of attention. Important results emerged from the semantic and socio-linguistic treatment of words used in folk crafts (/Ferenc Bura, Ferenc Kosa, Istvan Voo, Janos Zsemlyei, Janos Pentek/), and in the (synchronous and diachronous) examination of linguistic effects and reciprocal effects, especially in the study of the influence of the Rumanian language (in addition to the above, /Piroska B. Gergely, Zoltan Szabo, Marta Vamszer/). The results attained in historical place-name research and in the area of linguistic interconnections and the scholarly accomplishments of /Attila T. Szabo/ and his circle of followers is truly without parallel in Hungarian minority linguistics.<sup>26</sup>

The members of the School, although with less energy and more modest results, dealt with certain aspects of linguistic history and stylistics (/Eva Cs. Gyimesi, Moric T. Nagy, Erzsebet P. Dombi and others/), and within this, with historical stylistics (/Zoltan Szabo/), and tangentially also with descriptive grammar (/Dezso Balogh, Mozes Galffy, Maria T. Nagy/).

First /Gyula Marton/, professor and department head, who replaced /Attila T. Szabo/ surveyed the situation of and the tasks to be accomplished in Transylvanian Hungarian linguistics, and the analytic summary of /Mozes Galffy/ informed us of the intervening years.

The deficiencies in the scholarly field in question--like those in the other fields examined--may be felt in two major areas. It may be apparent even from a brief survey of the results that of the three main branches of linguistics, two are hardly or not at all cultivated: comparative and descriptive linguistics. Owing to personal circumstances and that of the subject matter, significant results were and are able to be shown only in one or another specialty of historical linguistics. Even more serious are the lack of institutionalized research opportunities and professional journals, the non-resolution of the problem of replacement and the "aging" of the field of scholarship.

Not including the activities of literary scholarship (esthetic-critical and literary-historical) and of linguistics which were active from the start, problems can of course be found concerning the other nationality studies (history, ethnography and sociology). In this case also the fundamental cause of the problem can be traced back to the lack of institutions. /Zsigmond Jako/ said that "the characteristic of the newest chapter in the Rumanian Hungarian history of scholarship is that certain

disciplines exist and continue to develop purely within the person of their cultivators without an institutional framework."<sup>29</sup> He spoke more clearly about this in connection with the work of /Attila T. Szabo/. He writes that the author of the Transylvanian lexicological collection reached outstanding success "following the traditional path of scholarship". "This path which was developed in the Middle Ages is characterized by solitude and the reliance on personal strength." The work of /Attila T. Szabo/ is "so much the result of individual diligence that the author himself financed not only the decades-long research but also the costs of the lengthy editorial work"; nor does his research appear on the schedule of a single institution. He writes, "This is an incident which would be worthy of contemplation by the nationality cultivators of scholarship." Then making a virtue out of necessity, he emphasizes that not only institutionalized and well endowed research could yield revolutionary results, but also that which relies on individual effort. Of course, he knows that today the cultivation of learning already requires institutions, but precisely the example of /Attila T. Szabo/ shows that "an even more important condition than the institutional framework is the researcher himself, his moral strength and total identification with the envisaged goal."

/Zsigmond Jako/ emphasizes the significance of linguistic, historical and ethnographic research from the viewpoint of nationality identity. Even if the number of topics researched in the above-mentioned fields of study "have increased in institutional programs", "the elaboration of fundamental nationality tasks as institutional topics will only occur if it becomes generally acknowledged that, in the final analysis, the research serving nationality identity enriches the country's learning. Until such time, the only choices are to stand in place and wail or to take the path of /Attila T. Szabo/."<sup>30</sup>

Even if a survey of the latest chapter in Transylvanian historiography could not be our task, it is necessary in any case to report that in certain areas of historical scholarship, research in art, economics and social history have also yielded very important, occasionally exceptional, results which were indispensable to Hungarian historiography as a whole and Hungarian historical thought.

Most recently, /Lajos Demeny/ surveyed the status of Transylvanian historiography on the occasion of the International Congress of Historians held in Bucharest.<sup>31</sup> Historiography, like literature and linguistics, could also rely on significant traditions. Minority historiography emerged in the 1930's when a new generation of historians arose (/Lajos Kelemen, Vencel Biro, Arpad Bitay, Elemer Jancso, Lajos Jordaky/ and finally, /Zsigmond Jako/). The activities of a large majority of them also extended into the decades after 1945. A new generation emerged alongside them and followed their work (/Laszlo Banyai, Istvan Imreh, Samu Benko, Elek Csetri, Lajos Demeny, Jozsef Pataki, Akos Egyed, Lajos Vajda, Laszlo Fodor, Andras Bodor, Geza Kovach, Bela Cselenyi/). The first important stage of their appearance was represented by the volume of essays and studies which was published in 1955, the ten-year anniversary of the founding of the Bolyai University; two years later it was followed by the Lajos Kelemen memorial volume. The volume of essays and studies on nationality history which was published a few years later could also be considered another turning point if it will have a sequel. The volume published by the nationality group of the M. Jorga Historical Institute by indicating the justification of an independent nationality history curriculum simultaneously represents this.<sup>32</sup>

Transylvanian Hungarian historiography has indeed attained significant results in a few of the subspecialties of the discipline. The first larger summary of archeological research is already in press (/Istvan Ferenczy, Geza Ferenczy, Zoltan Szekely/). /Lajos Demeny/ writes that the major thesis of the research in conformity with Rumanian historical conceptions aims at presenting a picture of how the settlement of Hungarians into Transylvania alongside the native Rumanians occurred. More objective aspirations must inspire scholars in other areas; their results are significantly greater and more reliable at the same time. Numerous treatments and individual volumes appeared concerning the anti-feudalistic struggles of the Hungarian peasantry (/Lajos Demeny, Jozsef Pataki, Geza Kovacs, Laszlo Fodor/), on the examination of feudal and capitalistic socio-economic relations (/Istvan Imreh, Elek Csetri/, etc.), about one of the prominent turning points in the history of the Danubian Basin, the events in Transylvania during the 1848-49 revolution (/Akos Egyed, Janos Fazekas, Jozsef Kovacs/, etc.), about the progressive forces and the history of the Hungarian workers' movement (/Istvan Csucsuj, Laszlo Fodor/, etc.), and on the subject of Hungarian-Rumanian relations.

The cultural historical research must be separately emphasized: this is the most elaborated area besides the examination of class struggle. In addition to its two prominent figures, /Zsigmond Jako/ who belongs to the first generation and the younger /Samu Benko/, there are also others who cultivate the expansive subject matter of the history of scholarship, culture and civilization (/Andras Bodor, Geza Nagy, Margit Nagy Benko, Sandor Tonk/, etc.). "The most numerous and most significant results" were produced in this field.<sup>33</sup> Most recently, the editors collected the studies of fourteen authors into one volume.<sup>34</sup> Research into the history of education could be mentioned as the newest branch of cultural history,<sup>35</sup> and separately, /Sandor Tonk's/ book about medieval pilgrimages.

Along with the studies, numerous other volumes of source materials appeared in the popular Teka series, from Transylvanian narrative works to contemporary times, in which one or another important or merely evocative motif was selected from the rich Transylvanian Hungarian legacy.<sup>36</sup> Transylvanian and non-Transylvanian buyers snap up these books in a matter of minutes; therefore, the number of editions and the number of copies printed should be increased, and the topics should be expanded. The manuscript of the ninth volume of the Szekler archives which was begun in the past century was also completed; however, its publication has been delayed "for years". /Demeny/ writes that "the insurance of the opportunity for publication in the mother tongue belongs among the urgent tasks."<sup>37</sup>

Nor does the mechanism of book publishing favor scholarship: its lack of differentiation restricts the exclusive realization of scholarly viewpoints. "Only the Kriterion Publisher offers of realistic possibility for disseminating the results of Hungarian nationality history--by virtue of their Hungarian language", writes /Jako/. "Thus the author must simultaneously satisfy the demands of a diverse reading public and the specialist." Although the separation of the two would be very advantageous, especially from the viewpoint of the specialist", that which is desirable--unfortunately--is not always possible"; therefore, we must continue "to travel on the ambiguous road."<sup>38</sup>

Although there is not a year when some sort of volume of studies or perhaps volumes of the latest research results are not published,<sup>39</sup> the unexplored territory is still very large. For example, according to /Akos Egyed/, the social history of Transylvanian

Hungarians should be written as soon as possible, which could be followed by a cultural and then a political history. The writer adds that "this of course could be realized if the personal conditions and the institutional framework for research make this possible, or they expand." <sup>40</sup>

Although the attained results could be termed significant, until now the historiography of the Hungarian minority could only explore a limited area of the Hungarians' Transylvanian past. The maimed character of the scholarship does not only distort the inner mechanism of science, but also its proportions. As we are speaking of the very important discipline of the formation of consciousness, the distortion is also manifested on the social level, and through the reflection of the internal matters of the discipline, it thereby becomes a public affair. It is with good reason that one of the best of the generation of Transylvanian historians recently wrote, "The backwardness of certain branches of history could shortly lead to the distortion of our historical consciousness. Because the writing of economic and social history has fallen short to a certain extent--and a book entitled *The Tradition-Preserving Szekler Village* by /Istvan Imreh/ reminds us of this--the preservation of traditions which manifest the self-sustaining and individually organized activities of our predecessors is not sufficiently conscious (...) It is not satisfactory if only the folk songs and folk dances bequeathed to us by our folk heritage and culture remain a living tradition; we must also unravel the valuable elements of the life style," and we must implant these into our present-day mentality. <sup>41</sup>

The organizational framework is truly limiting and only somewhat better than in Slovakia. /Lajos Demeny/ states that the nationality department of the Institute of History in Bucharest was created in 1971 by the direct order of the party secretary-general. However, a total of only three colleagues work in the "department". Eight years later, /Lajos Demeny/ emphasized that as a consequence, their accomplishments "are modest; initial difficulties must be taken into consideration, moreover along with symptoms of disagreement and sometimes misunderstanding. In a word, we had to struggle and must continue to do so in the future so that the writing of nationality history will not be a neglected orphan, a tolerated brother, but...an equal partner, firmly integrated into domestic Marxist historiography." <sup>42</sup>

The "tolerated brother" is forced to deal with ever harsher circumstances. For example, the Erdelyi Múzeum [Transylvanian Museum], which had a great past, was for all intents and purposes the professional journal of historians while it was published (until 1947). Since then the Transylvanian Hungarian historians "do not have a separate trade organ at their disposal", whereas German nationality historiography which was reinstated in 1969 received its own independent journal (*Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde*). This journal was published once a year and then twice a year beginning in 1964. <sup>43</sup>

There is far greater anxiety surrounding certain specialties of historical disciplines --among others, in the area of research in the history of art, since, as /Zsigmond Jako/ writes, "not only is the institutional framework for arts research missing, but we hardly have any experts." The situation is similar in relation to Hungarian archeology, especially in the archeology of historical monuments where great and very urgent tasks are awaiting them in the preservation of the destroyed nationality monasteries, castles and settlements, and the combined utilization of archeological, artistic and documentary source materials.

Particular research-methodological difficulties arise in connection with the minority situation. Thus, for example, the nationality historian must simultaneously cultivate scholarship, popularize scholarship and publish source materials. But "the disclosure of data also awaits a solution for the whole of our historical scholarship, since the utilization of duplicating technology which is cheaper than printing is possible only within those institutional frameworks which are not at the disposal of nationality historical research."<sup>44</sup>

Nor is it reassuring that the majority of the results of the scholarship extracted amid harsh conditions unfortunately is not incorporated into either Rumanian history or Rumanian historical thought. Although a few Hungarian minority historical works have already been translated into Rumanian, "we are still far from having even the most necessary Rumanian-language bibliography on the historical formation of the demographic situation of Rumanian Hungarians, its character as evidenced by difficult historical situations, or its contribution to the development of the domestic Rumanian civilization, etc. (/Akos Egyed/ adds that it is true that the Transylvanian historians are hardly able to satisfy the demands of even their Hungarian readers.)<sup>45</sup>

The dissemination of knowledge which is correct and conforms to historical reality is especially urgent in order that the distortions and prejudices which have seeped into Rumanian historical thinking be eliminated as soon as possible. /Akos Egyed/ writes elsewhere that Rumanian public thought has "still not formed a realistic picture of the past social structure of the Transylvanian Hungarians (...) It is common knowledge that Rumanian historiography in the past often equated the oppressive nobility with the Hungarians in general, and later the ruling class or the state apparatus with the Hungarians, thus misinforming Rumanian public opinion." Equated? Only in the past? "Even today we are sometimes confronted with the vestiges of this thinking", says the author, dulling the edge of his comment.<sup>46</sup> Thus, the local results of Hungarian-language history by and large also elicit no reaction which, however, as it regards Transylvania, could not very well be charged with prejudice because of the situation of the authors.

However, concern centers on aging and the successive generation. At an official forum, /Lajos Demeny/ was the first to speak of this alarming situation. "More than 90 percent of the historians of Hungarian nationality who are engaged in research are over 50 years old, and we have serious difficulties in training cadres with high qualifications (...)" With the purpose of averting problems he recommended that the responsible ministry take into consideration the possibility of "establishing at one of the departments of history" a separate course and seminars for the teaching "of nationality history" with the purpose of ensuring the replacement of specialists.<sup>47</sup>

This was formulated more precisely and poignantly one year later. He declared that Transylvanian Hungarian historiography "is threatened by the danger of not having professionally trained persons within a fleeting decade (...) if we do not begin to train a new group of historians now" ("We May Only Record...", op. cit., p 125). The already mentioned omnibus volume on the Szekler uprising of 1595 was recently published, exhibiting the cream of Transylvanian Hungarian historiography. In a televised conversation concerning the book, /Samu Benko/ sadly noted that the average age of the authors was 52. Even the youngest is 50 years old! At the same time, /Zsigmond Jako/ emphasized that the fundamental problem of Rumanian nationality historical research was "the proliferation of replacements". /For decades, no one or

hardly anyone new has replaced or worked alongside the old specialists/ (*italics mine*), and indeed, with the passing of time, the old fall out (...) We have fewer and fewer persons in our ranks who possess the knowledge which also extends to the field of nationality history in particular".<sup>48</sup>

However, the situation is deteriorating each year, not only in the case of the so-called professional researchers. The situation is no more favorable in the area of replenishment of second-level specialists. /Demeny/ again states, "We must also clearly see that during past decades, the number of young historians of Hungarian nationality working in the museums, archives and libraries has declined." The chief reason for this is also the same: there is no opportunity to groom a new generation; consequently, it is understandable that "fewer and fewer" graduating high school students "choose history as a profession".<sup>49</sup>

But the anxiety-provoking phenomena do not only touch and afflict the Hungarian minority's past and its scholarship, but also the Rumanian and--we might add--not in the least, the Hungarian as a whole. /Zsigmond Jako/ writes that after all it necessarily follows from the past role of the Hungarian--and also the Saxon--ethnic group that "the wealth of old sources" in Transylvania would impose a special task on the nationality specialists. According to the register of the narrative sources which were published (J. Cracium-A. Ilies: *Repertoriul manuscriselor de cronici interne soc. XV-XVIII*. Bucuresti, 1963), Rumania possesses 467 such sources. Of these, 54 relate to Moldavia, 44 to Wallachia and 369 to Transylvania. The linguistic breakdown of these same sources is as follows: 159 are Hungarian, 107 German, 92 Latin (almost exclusively by Hungarian and Saxon writers), 69 Rumanian, 23 Greek, 11 Slavic and 6 were written in other languages. This proportion of Latin, Hungarian and German language sources also seems to be valid for the old (pre-1800) archival material".<sup>50</sup> Considering their linguistic origins, the source materials from the period between 1800 and 1918 are even more so divided in similar ratios, just as the collections of the more valuable libraries and larger museums show a similar linguistic distribution. The Hungarian-language specialist is indispensable for their processing and classification, and for this reason alone it is necessary to ensure a new generation of specialists.

We know that heterogeneous scholarly achievements can only be compared to each other with difficulty; their results could hardly be graded. Consequently, it would be difficult to decide whether Transylvanian Hungarian ethnographers produced more than the cultivation of literature, linguistics and history. One thing is certain: the valuable folklore and factual materials collected by them number in the hundreds of thousands; the scholarly weight and the general consciousness-forming effect of their publications, studies and activities certainly do not lag behind the rest. Some of their publications (e.g., the ballads of /Zoltan Kallos/ and the stories of /Olga Nagy/) became sensational best-sellers in the area of Hungarian linguistics. Their specialized and general audiences along with Hungarian ethnography were able to gain very much from the majority of their scholarly works.

Fertile branches of scholarship, as those above, were able to rely on respected traditions and on a given structure of scholarship which seemed to be satisfactory. Disregarding the great figures of the early study of folklore (e.g., Gaspar Heltai, Peter Bod, etc.) and those of the 19th century (Janos Kriza, Balazs Orban, etc.), the

minority of the recent past has also passed down modern experiments, and fundamental materials and works. The Transylvanian Youth movement should be mentioned first in the list of traditions. Although their village research was prompted by sociographical considerations, they inevitably extended their attention to the subject of ethnography during the course of their studies. The university students first examined the phenomena of folk life in the nine villages of Ferenc Banffy's estate in Kolozsborsa. Although, as we mentioned, their movement dissolved, newer groups attempted to further develop what they had begun. From the viewpoint of our subject, among these, the village research conducted in Babony in Kalotaszeg (1936) is significant, where the young people camping out there went beyond sociological questions (demography, structures of settlements, social stratification) and undertook the collection of decidedly folk linguistic and ethnographic data. The work, not surprisingly, was directed by /Attila T. Szabo/.

In this respect, the establishment of the Transylvanian Scientific Institute also brought about a significant turning point. Under the direction of /Jozsef Venczel/ and after thorough preparation, they organized the largest undertaking of the Transylvanian village research movement: in the summer of 1941, 33 university students, each from different departments, did research for four weeks in Balványosvaralja near Des. They worked on the basis of modern principles and with modern methods (e.g., they separated informative and objective materials); they amassed an enormous amount of material which they then organized according to sociological and ethnographic considerations. The leader of the campers prepared, as it were, a preliminary summary of the experiences.<sup>51</sup> Recently, /Istvan Imreh/, who introduced the classification of the material, wrote that "in accordance with traditional Hungarian social research, we designated the ethnographic collection as the most important element of social research, since ethnography provides the researcher with the most important reference point". He immediately added that of course, this means the type of ethnography "which examines the interrelationship of the material".<sup>52</sup>

The expressly ethnographic research work (/Laszlo Kovacs/) conducted within the framework of the Transylvanian Scientific Institute and the many products of scholarly activities associated with university-level ethnographic instruction (/Bela Gunda/) both belong on the list of fertile traditions. Thus, for example, the series of publications entitled Transylvanian Ethnographic Studies (edited by /Bela Gunda/), appeared in nine volumes until its termination (1947). Finally the collecting and processing activities within the framework of the Transylvanian Museum Association and further in the city and regional museums which began to develop in the last century also played a large role. In a word, the present-day generation of Transylvanian ethnographers in their prime had something to study and someone to learn it from. In the past, the satisfactory existing structure of scholarship could be attributed to this heritage. The new generation could build on a broad-based and deep collecting and museum network. And we know that even today this may be designated the most important fundamental prerequisite for ethnographic research.

Since then, newer local, county and regional museums have been established. The independent Transylvanian Ethnographic Museum (so to speak, as a continuation of the ethnographic department and materials of the Transylvanian Museum Association) was established in Kolozsvár with collecting and research jurisdiction extending over all of Transylvania. /Károly Kos/ directed one of its departments until his retirement. These attributes could be considered favorable even if the collecting and research

profile of the museum network was disadvantageously modified at the same time from a strictly Hungarian ethnic viewpoint. The examination of Rumanian ethnography was expanded in scope while in comparison, the Hungarians' was contracted. Students or teachers and the so-called amateur collector or perhaps researcher, coming from the ranks of those individuals occupied with intellectual pursuits who reside in the suburbs, have an important role in this uniquely situated ethnography. And today this group is still active and effective.

Institutional research bases and, while ethnography was taught at the university, scholarly research bases under the aegis of departments, were also created in Kolozsvár although they were not separate from Rumanian ethnography. In any event, from among these, we must mention those institutions of folklore research which successfully survived the reorganizations. From one of /József Farago's/ writings we know that a folklore department was already established in 1949 at the Babes and Bolyai Universities--as a branch of the institute in Bucharest. Its task "was to research and collect Rumanian folklore as well as the folklore of its coexisting Hungarian nationality and in addition, to explore the relationship between Rumanian and Hungarian folklore". The institution began its work without any facilities but "within three decades it possessed Rumanian, Hungarian and Saxon archives of folklore which are internationally recognized." Its content is enormous: they obtained 4145 items and recordings only in connection with the Hungarians of Moldavia. However, its sphere of professional activity was rather limited (just as, we might add, that of the Hungarian folk art research division of the Institute of Art History of the Academy during its existence): it extends only to folk poetry, folk music and folk art.<sup>53</sup>

Objectivity, and not our destructive spirit, demands that we point out that the examination of Hungarian folklore was merely accorded a place at the seemingly important museum and research institutions; however, their major task is the study of Rumanian folk art--extending to smaller and larger regions. In a word: Rumanian Hungarian ethnographic research does not have its own independent institution either.

Academic politics, or rather, attitudinal factors, could also account for the upward momentum and the veritable fever of publication that could be experienced from the middle to the end of the 1960's. For a long time (until the end of the 1960's), the misinterpreted past cast its shadow on Transylvanian Hungarian ethnography. Recently, /Károly Kos/, one of the authorities in this field, speaking about ethnography in the 1960's said that "the publishers did not have editors who could have differentiated between the misleading dilettante works and those which were truly scholarly." Thereafter, ethnographic works were generally labelled unscholarly and were hardly permitted to be published. He continued that also instrumental in this was that "between the two wars, Rumanian (i.e., Hungarian) ethnographic research was for many years compromised as a result of the activities of vociferous hacks who evaded the control of the few trained experts and was only freed from the odious propaganda of peasant romanticism, nationalism and mysticism as a result of the daily work of two decades". This is one of the explanations for the relatively large number of publications: the majority of the studies previously destined for desk drawers could only now be published ["In Retirement But Not At a Standstill". Conversation with Dr. Károly Kos. Prepared by Zsolt Szabo. MUVELODES, No 11, 1979].

It is not within our province--nor is it our task--to provide a survey, even if only on a bibliographical level, of the accomplishments of this branch of learning. We

may also indicate the accomplishments of the research as measured by the number of publications only by mentioning one or another area, and we cannot even do as much with the writings and studies which appeared in the press (daily, weekly and monthly papers). Regarding the latter, we must content ourselves with a single--and not even the most significant--example: during the course of the 1970's, 15-20 research notes and studies on folklore were published yearly in only KORUNK.<sup>54</sup>

Universally known and highly rated publications were prepared on the subject of folk poetry and within this subject, on the literary masterpieces of the Transylvanian and Csango folk ballads (/Zoltan Kallos, Janos Jagames, Jozsef Farago, Janos Raduly/); their Rumanian counterparts in 10 volumes (/Jozsef Farago/); the folk stories of Mezőség, the Maros basin, Kalotaszeg and Szék (/Olga Nagy, Gabriella Voo/); the folk art of Kaszon, Szilágyság and the Kis-Küküllő basin (/Károly Kos, Judit Szentirmai, Jeno Nagy/); the folk dress of Kalotaszeg (/Geza Vamszer, Jeno Nagy, Jozsef Farago/); the characteristic embroidery and needlework (/Gizella Cs. Gergely, Sandor Haaz, Andras Seres/); the painted furniture and wooden ceilings of Vargyas (/Károly Kos, Károly Vilhelm/); the wood carvings of Kalotaszeg (/Kalman Sebestyen/); folk crafts and craftsmen (/Andras Seres/); folk ceramics and pottery of Kalotaszeg (/Oliver Vegh/); and there was also enough time and energy to prepare a publication on ethnologic botany (/Janos Pentek, Attila Szabo/). At the same time, one or another of the more famous scholars was able to already enrich Transylvanian and non-Transylvanian ethnology with a volume or perhaps even volumes of studies which represent his own independent work (/Károly Kos, Jozsef Farago/).

Two things immediately become apparent from even mere thematic listing: 1. The ethnographic research centers on two geographic and truly characteristic ethnic groups which are, so to speak, handled as ethnographic preserves: the people of Székelyföld and Kalotaszeg; and 2. on a thematically broadly interpreted intellectual ethnography. Thus in either case, the unexplorable and unstudied areas are vast.

In other words: it may very well be that the number of Hungarian-language ethnologic studies and publications has truly increased, but despite this, the spectrum of scholarly examination has been rather limited. For example, after his retirement /Károly Kos/ also plans to write--in conjunction with others--a summary of Rumanian Hungarian folk art, but he is also engrossed by a future plan for the synthesis of the ethnography of the Transylvanian and Moldavian Hungarians.<sup>55</sup>

We could also express this by saying that the bulk of the research and studies encompasses the less revealing folklore which does not directly reveal the real circumstances of the ethnic group. The cultivation of so-called objective ethnography is far more restrained and aside from the experiments of /Vilma Kosa-Szanto/ and /Olga Nagy/, the most modern branch of ethnography, socioethnography, is virtually untouched. Because of the limited and disproportionate nature of scholarly examination, /Zoltan Rostas/ rightfully asked at one of the discussions, "Why is the ethnologic yearbook of Korunk as it is? I can learn a great many things from the ethnographic studies contained in the yearbook except why I am the way I am. Because in the final analysis, this is what interests me. I am a member of a people, of an ethnic group; thus, I not only want to know what I am but also what I will be. What is it that determines whether someone in Bucharest keeps their mother tongue or not?

What is worth preserving and what is not? I would like to receive an answer to the question of my future identity from sociography, sociology or from ethnology, or whatever they wish to call it."<sup>56</sup>

Perhaps the most alarming thing regarding the future is that the situation of specialist replenishment is even worse than what we see in the case of historical scholarship. Since the assimilation of the Bolyai University, there is simply no training of Hungarian ethnographers. /Zoltan Kallos/ stated, "I maintain that it would be very important for the specialists to begin a field trip together with the youth. Namely, the training of folklorists is missing from the school system; the only possible way to ensure replenishment is if we individually hand down our knowledge and experience to the next generation."<sup>57</sup>

The first collected volume which appeared on the subject of sociography provoked a discussion analyzing the situation.<sup>58</sup> The participants in the Korunk discussion weighed the prospects for the contemporary exploration of national existence, and the possibilities of the "genre" or "new branch of learning". It was determined more than once that the fundamental task of sociology or sociography would be to find and answer the decisive questions of Rumanian Hungarian existence. After all, the rapid socioeconomic transformation could shatter not only the traditional social condition of the minority but also its ethnic existence. /Istvan Varhegyi/ emphasized that "the 'metamorphosis' of the village inhabitants--the disappearance of the peasantry and its influx into the cities--who embody the characteristics of the people and who constitute the backbone of our nationality is a question of vital importance for us today as determined by the standard of the great sociographies. The question is not what powers set this mass of hundreds of thousands into motion, but rather what will replace the linkage to the land and soil. What is the power that will maintain the community and still united the ethnic group living in a diaspora in the cities? This question is of vital importance for us today. What binds us together: the archaic forms that we preserve, the traditional ties of affinity? The traditional village moving into the vicinity of the large faceless housing projects? (...) Or is it something even beyond this, what we here call /unique characteristic features/? We are talking about the preservation and further development of the values which maintain our individual and collective egos. /We are undergoing a decisive turning point in our traditions, culture, mother tongue and entire collective intellectuality. How will they develop within this historical necessity which comes crashing down on us like a command? Will our identity be traceable in the great foundry of industrialization and urbanization? This is where we must look for the 'unique problems, from a nationality standpoint, posed by integration into the workplace and the city" / (italics mine).<sup>59</sup>

/Jozsef Lorincz/ emphasized that two large tasks would fall to the social sciences. "One is urbanization--the dissolution of the traditional village order, the commuting, the integration of those coming from the village to the city and their assimilation into the mainstream of the city." The societal "metamorphosis" and its relationship to ethnic survival should also be examined by ethnography, psychology and economic anthropology in addition to sociology. "Its other great task would be to explore interethnic relations." Self-knowledge would be unimaginable without this, since for centuries the culture of Transylvanian Hungarians has developed in interethnic surroundings and this milieu formed its unique features.<sup>60</sup>

/Laszlo Vetesi/ wrote that the researching of interethnic questions would also be important because as of yet "we do not even know the fundamental laws governing

traditional village ethnic interactions (...) Although the desire for orientation on questions of vital importance and the search for a collective identity" did cause the development of sociology and sociography into an independent discipline "between the two world wars", the researchers did not deal with these questions. (The examination of interethnic relations in mixed villages appeared solely in the curriculum of Professor /Gusti/). And the research should have already answered such questions as: What is a splinter group; how does it live and preserve itself (...) within the whole; how did and how do the ethnic groups cohabiting in the cities affect each other; what pschosocial factors are present in interethnic couples; how do mixed families live; how does bi- or trilingualism affect the development of the child's personality?"<sup>61</sup>

However, in certain ethnic groups, not only borrowed characteristics exist which conform to those of the others, but also some which diverge from them. One of the newer offshoots of sociological ethnography is the so-called ethnicity theory which deals with the study of personal characteristics. What, in fact, is ethnicity? "Simply formulated", writes /Erno Fabian/, "ethnicity is a system of entities which are characteristic of a nationality and which determine the conduct of the individual and the community. This is why we say that a nationality is a community possessing its own separate system of values and attitudes. If we want to attain results in nationality research, we must study the essence of ethnicity. It is sufficient for me to cite that in a modern industrialized society the lifestyle, working conditions and learning of workers of different nationalities is approximately identical. The Hungarian, Rumanian, German and Serbian workers living in the same housing project do not differ from each other in the circumstances of their existence but rather in their ethnic traits." Progress could only be imagined through the sociological study of ethnicity. "All this requires some sort of institutionalization without institutions."<sup>62</sup>

Professionals and "amateurs" alike clearly see what has to be done and increasingly feel the weight of responsibility. But that until now only a few minor points of the great tasks have been somewhat approached with a single volume of studies could be explained by the fact that the personal and objective prerequisites necessary to conduct the research have been greatly lacking. The sociographical volume in question well reflects the adverse conditions. The authors of the individual studies are, with one exception, all non-professional sociologists. Teachers and civil servants volunteered for the work, but a minister and even a farmer were also among them. Only through strict diligence and ever more tormenting self-education were they able to reveal a sliver or two of social reality. As the editor /Istvan Imreh/ writes, "Self-education is associated with work that is done individually and perhaps sometimes in isolation." They have an awareness of responsibility and an enthusiasm to carry on the Transylvanian tradition of social exploration in common. The editor who is also trained in sociology knows that his writers "have not reached the point where they could analyze the entirety of the Hungarian nationality, since they could have undertaken this type of examination only within a coordinated centrally directed institutional framework."<sup>63</sup>

/Vilma Kosa-Szanto/, the cultivator of socioethnography spoke about this same matter, also as a writer: the studies in the volume "only examine smaller social formations; their methods are not uniform and they have not reached the great synthesis." The

work of the sociologist could become truly effective if there would be an "institutional framework", if at least one domestic specialized institution would have a nationalities department.<sup>64</sup> But it has neither department nor group. And what is more: all told, there is only one researcher whose mother tongue is Hungarian who is a professional sociologist. /Istvan Varhegyi/ said, "I am in the peculiar situation of being the only scientific researcher working as a sociologist in an institutional framework."<sup>65</sup>

Obstacles which, in truth, are stupefying loom before the realization of the vitally important research programs. After all, said /Jozsef Lorincz/, "we have no specialists. Why? Because we have no institutions to train specialists. The types of institutions which would assure the institutional prerequisites for research work are also missing." It is not surprising that under these conditions, it is impossible to carry on work which is resoundingly successful when at times, dilettantism forces professionalism into the background. "Is it possible to rectify this situation with self-education? An interesting experiment", the results of which will only be known in the uncertain future.<sup>66</sup> /Agnes T. Nemenyi/ likewise considers the institutionalization of research to be important.<sup>67</sup> "Many things are instrumental" in extending the publishing editor's work beyond the technical functions associated with publishing. "Nevertheless", wrote /Gyula David/, "the most important are still the present conditions of our search for truth and the missing personal and institutional prerequisites for the self-knowledge of Rumanian Hungarians."<sup>68</sup>

A professor of sociology at Kolozsvár also emphasized that in the scientific exploration of the nationality situation, "we should now insist on the organized activity of a regular army emerging on a broad front instead of guerilla warfare." Sociology too needs collective research and teamwork. The inspired activity of Korunk and the Kriterion Publishing House could only "marginally replace the institutional prerequisites of larger scale teamwork--which are otherwise indispensable."<sup>69</sup>

Others also emphasized that sociology could be cultivated at "voluntary cooperatives" recruited by enthusiasm or more often in a guerilla fashion, only out of necessity and the lack of institutions. Speaking about the latter, /Jozsef Gazda/ wrote that "every one of us is affected". After all, "sociological research is carried out by guerillas who have occupied us, for lack of an organized framework. Society is not a voluntary cooperative: no one reciprocates the work which is invested; even the costs of the fieldwork are not covered by the honoraria from publications. Let us not nurture illusions!" For precisely this reason "while /we must exist on the outskirts of the scientific community/ (emphasis added) and while we do not have organized assault troops", we must try by all possible means to prepare those available as guerillas for more modern research.<sup>70</sup>

However, the present situation of scholarship is not very encouraging. /Zoltan Rostas/ said that "the requisite awareness of hard and merciless reality" is also valid for sociology. "Let us admit that the sociology carried out in 'voluntary cooperatives' is the hotbed of dilettantism and incompetence concealed by well-meaning. Therefore, it is self-deceiving to call this guerilla warfare. That is to say, it is a conceited avantgardist term. This messianic-heroic sound is characteristically an East European phenomenon."<sup>71</sup>

Rumanian Hungarian intellectual life is struggling with serious problems and immense disadvantages, as is also perceptible from the discussions arising on sociology.

And there would be plenty of things to do or "reap", "but unfortunately," /Istvan Varhegyi/ wrote, "there are not enough reapers: there are too few scientific workers. The past three decades of Rumanian Hungarian intellectuality--and we must face up to this--represent end products particular to literature and the fine arts. Whether intentionally or not, our interested and scientifically trained intellectuals have adopted something of the sociological order, but in the revelation of the Rumanian Hungarian social reality, they remain the victims of various fiscal logistics and 'public affairs'. It is more popular, profitable and headache-free to peer out at changing reality from the ivory tower of a philosophical essay." It is painful "that in 30 years (from the founding of the Bolyai University of Kolozsvár), a generation of sociologists or even just a small research group imbued with communal spirit was not produced or formed. That is why today, the most we might volunteer for is to assemble an inventory of deficiencies."

Their opportunities could not be compared either to those in the mother country or to the Rumanian situation in general: as a result of the combined effects of their minority position, the animosity and the manipulations, they have sunk far below comparability. Considering only sociology, exactly one generation had to pass before a volume of studies of a modest quality could be published. At the same time, "the resumption or redevelopment of institutionalized Rumanian sociological research" took place exactly one and a half decades before, and two years later, "Rumanian sociological training" was also resumed. All this means, writes Varhegyi, is "that we must catch up on nearly two decades of backwardness in comparison to sociological development in general."<sup>72</sup> More exactly, we would, if amidst continually unfavorable conditions, the gulf had not widened and become virtually unbridgeable.

/Istvan Imreh/ said in his closing speech at the debate, "It is a binding law of relay racing that the one approaching from behind must greatly accelerate in the final meters if he does not wish to slow down (...) his relay partner by his momentum." But his nationality colleague, to whom fate dealt the curve just before the homestretch, lost much time; limping, he was swept to the sidelines and to inactivity where he stayed for a long time." For this reason we would now like to intensify the pace and thereby increase the prospects of those who receive the relay baton.<sup>73</sup>

However, as apt as the relay comparison is, it is just as misleading. Since the baton would have to be passed on in a very dangerous curve, making up the lag seems impossible for this reason alone.<sup>74</sup> Finally, this charming metaphor is totally unrealistic because, as we have seen, those desiring to compete do not have competitive, hardy and trained runners, nor are they even provided with a suitable race-course...

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## BRIEFS

ROMANIAN TRIBUTE TO HUNGARIAN WRITER--Gyula Illyes has died, at the age of 80. A complex, multilateral literary personality, the eminent Hungarian writer won fame in a number of genres: in poetry as well as in prose, dramaturgy and essay-writing. The beginnings of his poetic career--associated with the years during which, as a result of internal political persecution (he participated in the revolution of 1919 which led to the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic), Gyula Illyes took refuge in Paris, where he lived from 1921 to 1926--were influenced by literary avant-gardism, dadaism and surrealism. After he returned to the country, volumes such as "Nehez fold" (Difficult Land, 1928), epic poems such as "Ifjusag" (Youth, 1932), "Hosokrol beszelek" (I Speak About Heroes, 1933) mark a real turning point; abandoning formal experiments, the poet treats the life of simple people, the peasants. The publication, in 1936, of the prose work "Pusztak nepe" (People of the Puszta) constituted a real literary event. From the extensive works of Gyula Illyes, let us also mention the novels of a biographic or autobiographic nature and the plays on historic subjects. Another talent, in addition to his talents as a poet, prose writer, essayist and dramatist, should be mentioned: his talent as a translator of world literature. His translations of Romanian poetry are memorable in this respect. They include translations of "Miorita" (The Ewe-Lamb), translations of the poetry of Anton Pann, George Cosbuc, and Tudor Arghezi. The literary merits of Gyula Illyes were recognized by numerous national and international awards. He received the Kossuth Prize a number of times and he was the recipient of the Herder Prize in 1970 and the award of the VIIth Biennial Poetry Competition in Knokke-le Zoute in 1965. [M.M.] [Excerpts] [Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 5 May 83 p 22]

HUNGARIAN-CZECHOSLOVAK POSTAL AGREEMENT--Vlastimil Chalupa, Czechoslovakia's federal minister of communications, paid a friendly official visit to Hungary on 16-18 May, on the invitation of Arpad Pullai, minister of transportation and postal affairs. On Wednesday, after the officials talks--attended by Illes Toth, director general of the Hungarian Post Office--the two ministers signed a postal and telecommunications cooperation agreement between the two countries. The agreement makes it possible to modernize postal and telecommunication services between the two countries and to expand their cooperation. Deputy Premier Janos Borbandi received Vlastimil Chalupa. The Czechoslovak federal minister and his aides left Budapest on Wednesday. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 May 83 p 5] 1014

CSO: 2500/259

CSLA AUTOINJECTOR FOR DEFENSE AGAINST ABC WARFARE VIEWED

Prague ATOM in Czech No 8, 1981 pp 12-13

/Article by Col Jiri Matousek: "Autoinjectors for the Peoples Army?"

/Text/ Autoinjectors are an absolutely indispensable component of individual protective equipment which significantly enhances the reliability of one of the basic protective measures in a strike by nerve-paralyzing substances. In contemporary combat conditions it is also important for administration of other types of medication which eliminate some of the symptoms of illness stemming from radiation, or alleviate pain from serious wounds by conventional or nuclear weapons.

Their principal advantages include elimination of psychic barriers in injecting one's own body, high speed of usage, simplicity of handling, easy reproductiveness of dosage amounts, less time in emptying the contents, painless injection, high reliability and more rapid achievement of the necessary level of medication in the blood stream.

Since 1979/80, the Czechoslovak Peoples Army /CSLA/ has ranked among advanced armed forces which include in their outfitting this superior sanitary instrument designed for inexperienced first aid and self-aid during a strike by highly toxic nerve-paralyzing substances.

Autoinjector GAI introduced in the CSLA is a semi-automatic instrument for painless, rapid, simple, reliable and reusable intramuscular application. It was devised through a joint effort of GDR and CSSR scientific, research, development and production installations.

Extension of the injection needle from the instrument and the pressing of the solution into a muscle is performed by a mechanism following its activation by one simple action.

The autoinjector is part of the sanitary outfitting of each soldier. It is designed for self-aid and inexperienced first aid in an attack by nerve-paralyzing substances. In first aid it will gradually replace the layman's injection sprayer /LIS/. Autoinjection treatment may be repeated according to need, following replacement of the dosage filler. It will also be used in first aid stations for treatment with other antidotes, as well as for rapid intramuscular relief by means of other basic medicines (for pain, nausea, etc.).

Of all the autoinjectors invented around the world, the GAI model is the only one capable of independent application of the dosage for manual use as a layman's injection sprayer.

#### Description of Autoinjector

The complete autoinjector set includes the instrument proper (mechanical part), dosage filler (injection part), instructions and protective cover. The instrument is issued to the troops unfilled (without the dosage filler), closed (loosened spring), safety-latched, along with instructions in the sealed cover. The filler is issued and kept separately in its own wrapping.

The autoinjector is of elongated cylindrical shape and consists of an upper and lower part. The upper part contains the control and safety mechanisms. The body of the autoinjector and the safety device are visible from the outside. The body is gray in color, the safety catch which is black in color is connected to the body by means of a clockwise thread. The top of the safety catch is marked by a counterclockwise arrow indicating the direction of releasing the catch. The upper and lower parts constitute an indivisible whole which must not be taken apart in routine handling.

The lower part contains the medication filler and is activated by pressure in the direction of the activating face which in use rests against the place of injection. It is light gray, of tubular shape, and its counterclockwise thread serves to connect it with the upper part. A red rubber cap protects the lower cylindrical part of the starting face.

The medication filler is held in a tray-shaped, transparent plastic container, protected on top by aluminum foil on which a description of the medication is printed. It consists of the filler body, neck, injection needle with its cylindrical sheath.

The body of the filler is a transparent plastic container, shaped for use in the autoinjector, as well as for manual operation. Its color matches the solution used. Thus, for example, the antidote for nerve-paralyzing substance is placed in a red-colored body (filler marked IS), while a training filler, marked IU, has a green body.

The upper part of the neck is equipped with a flange serving to connect it with the lower part, as well as a handle in manual use. On the inside is the thread for screwing on the filler body. The needle, honed on both sides, passes through it. A bellows-shaped cover is placed at the lower end to protect the sterility of the needle.

#### Function

A filled, wound and safety-latched autoinjector is put into operation by releasing the safety latch and pressing in the direction of the autoinjector's axis top to bottom toward the starting face resting against the point of injection (front center part of the thigh, avoiding the trouser pockets and seams, since in combat the injection is made through clothing).

## Use

The autoinjector is carried, along with pocket bandages, in the outside left breast pocket of the uniform jacket, in a vertical position with the safety latch on top. When protective clothing is worn, the autoinjector is stored in the bag housing the protective mask.

Preparation for use consists of releasing the safety catch, inserting the filler, winding the mechanism and securing. The procedure, accompanied by comprehensive illustrations, is described in the instructions.

When ready to use the instrument, the filled, wound and secured autoinjector is pressed vertically against the front or outer center of the thigh (avoiding pockets and seams) until it is released. This process automatically and painlessly inserts the needle (through clothing) and injects the solution into the muscular tissue. After waiting about 5 seconds, the needle is retracted from the injection point.

The injection part alone may be used as a layman's injection needle by grasping the body with one hand, removing the tubular cover with the other, and firmly inserting the needle all the way into the thigh. Then, through steady finger pressure on the body of the injection part, the full dosage is injected into the muscle, after which the needle is pulled out.

Preparation of the autoinjector for reuse consists of removing the old and inserting a new filler, winding and securing the mechanism. The GAI autoinjector represents a qualitative leap in the modernization of sanitary equipment of the individual, and the instrument in all its parts is at an advanced development and production stage. This is convincing evidence that the armed forces of a socialist state devote equal attention to weapons systems and all means designed to protect health and, in extreme cases, save soldiers' lives.

9496

CSO: 2400/285

FUNCTION OF TRADE UNION PLANT COMMITTEES EXPLAINED

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 20 Apr 83 Supplement pp 1-8

[Article prepared by the URO [Central Trade Union Council] Division of Propaganda and Training: "The Status, Role and Duties of ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] Plant Committees"]

[Text] Current Political Information for Trade Union Sectors

The national program for further building a developed socialist society adopted at the 16th CPCZ Congress calls for the ROH to project its creative input into constructive efforts, to play an increasingly active role in further social advancement and to carry out its unique mission even more responsibly.

On this basis the 10th All-Union Congress set a goal of broadly developing the role and joint responsibility of the ROH for further expansion of our socialist society and greatly intensifying the trade unions' active part in implementing the 16th CPCZ Congress program.

Achieving this goal depends on continuing improvement of the internal life of trade unions, intensifying the organizational and management operation of union bodies and expanding the activity of basic organizations and members. The plant committees of ROH have the greatest roles in this regard.

The essence of the work of ROH plant committees is to support and organize implementation of all the tasks which comprise the activities of ROH basic organizations.

Article 40 of the ROH bylaws stipulates that the focus of ROH activity is in the basic organizations. These carry out tasks which issue from the unique place held by the ROH in the sphere of production, in concern for workers and their socialist education, as well as in fulfilling our international obligations.

The ROH plant committee is the managing and executive arm of the basic organization, the representative of all workers and a partner of industrial management.

In cooperation with industrial management, it organizes the participation of workers in the formation, implementation and supervision of the fulfillment of

economic plans, the application of scientific and technical achievements, in increasing the efficiency of comprehensive socialist work, the introduction and application of internal union khozraschet procedures and it sees to the preparation, execution and supervision of wage-policy measures and moral stimulants.

Consistent with these tasks, it works to satisfy justified material, cultural and social needs and the legal rights of workers. It creates conditions for active participation of workers in management, administration and control in the resolution of all problems of production and the welfare of workers in the plant.

It develops the education of workers so they better understand the policies of the CPCZ, the socialist state and the ROH, our alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the basic economic problems of developing socialism and so they may actively and consciously join in the consolidation and development of a socialist social order.

To guarantee the fulfillment of these tasks--as emphasized by the 10th All-Union Congress--it is essential to make much greater use of joint discussions between plant (enterprise) committees and industrial management on the basis of a program formulated in agreement with the organization's industrial management at a time previously agreed upon. The agenda should include questions of a basic nature whose resolution affects the working collective, the plant or the enterprise.

On the basis of conclusions from the joint discussions, specific measures should be adopted along economic and trade union lines designating responsibilities and time limits for implementing the decisions jointly agreed upon. Members of the ROH are to be informed of the jointly adopted measures and prevailed upon to carry them out.

The basic organizations will adapt their internal structure, style and method of work as well as their form of daily contacts with the workers at large to this task.

To manage the work in the ROH basic organization, a plant (local) committee and a review commission will be elected for 2 or 3 years by secret ballot.

In basic organizations that have fewer than 20 members, a plant trustee and two members authorized to supervise the management will be elected by secret ballot for a like term.

A resolution of the 10th All-Union Congress calls for raising the effectiveness of the organizational work of ROH plant committees and their activity and increasing and expanding the creative life of basic organizations.

On the basis of Article 43 of the ROH bylaws, the plant (local) committee has the obligation of organizing the work of the aktiv and members of the basic organization of the ROH in order to consistently carry out the resolutions of membership meetings (conferences) of the ROH basic organizations and higher trade union bodies.

Furthermore, they are to make joint decisions with the industrial management and exercise the right of joint action and supervision in matters prescribed by legal regulations and resolutions of higher trade union bodies such as resolutions of the Fourth All-Union Congress, the Labor Code and such.

In relations with state and economic bodies and agencies of social organizations, they are to discuss matters and express themselves in the name of all the workers in the plant.

In accordance with the size, character and requirements of the basic organization, the plant committee will appoint permanent or provisional commissions and working groups as its auxiliary organs in order to carry out the tasks of individual sectors of activity.

The plant committee may invest shop committees and union sectors with the authority of the plant committee to an extent determined by agreement with the URO. For example, the admission of members to the ROH may be delegated by membership meetings to shop organizations or union sectors.

The regulations of the ROH bylaws assign to plant committees the obligation of calling sector trustees to discuss proposals, opinions and measures connected with the resolution of all important questions concerning the operation of the basic organization and the interests and needs of members before they are approved or submitted for discussion and decision by the membership meeting (conference), as, for example, the economic plan, proposals of collective agreements, etc. These regulations are to point up the role of union sectors and the position of sector trustees as organizers and permanently elected representatives of these collectives.

In preparing its materials the plant committee should take into account any proposals and suggestions from these consultations and report on their disposition at ensuing consultations.

In the interests of distributing the workload for carrying out its tasks, the plant committee will elect from its midst by open voting a chairman, vice chairman, finance officer (treasurer) and other officers.

In the period between membership meetings (conferences), the plant committee will see that the tasks and resolutions adopted are carried out. Through its activity, especially by systematically involving broad-based voluntary official activists in union work, it will set the stage for the broadest participation of workers in management and administration.

It is important that the plant committee in handling its tasks not concentrate on one place or even on one person but that it make use of the multifaceted and numerically strong union aktiv concentrated in commissions, workshop committees and officials of union sectors so that the membership meeting (conference) will have a much greater say in practical decisionmaking on all matters.

To carry out its demanding work and attain continuous activity of all members requires, above all, that the committee handle the forms as well as methods

of its managing and organizational work in such a way as to enable the entire basic organization and all of its members to see good order in the organization and be certain that its components will create optimal conditions for their activities and that they will consistently and systematically be kept aware of all the problems which the organization is resolving or planning to resolve.

Carrying out the tasks of the entire organization also depends on good, goal-oriented work by the plant committee. It is incumbent on the plant committee to adopt Lenin's style of work in its managerial and organizational work which is related to the ability to consistently confront theory with practice, the ability of knowing and correctly determining, under the heterogeneous conditions of our plants, the tasks prescribed by resolutions of the highest organs. Adopting Lenin's style in management work means having the ability to maintain revolutionary optimism, not succumbing to skepticism at every lack of success, consistently seeking and implementing even untested methods and means which might contribute to the members' active involvement.

Adopting Lenin's style of work in the plant committee means, particularly, that the plant committee should base its work on such principles as the scientific approach, concreteness, materiality and pertinence, goal-orientation and comprehensiveness, collectivity in decisionmaking, consistent contact with workers, working with the aktiv, systematic planning, industriousness and initiative, adherence to principle in cadre policies, criticism of oneself as well as others and consistent supervision.

In Article 12 of the ROH bylaws, collectiveness in working with union bodies is pointed up as an integral part of the principles of internal union democracy as follows: "Trade union bodies are responsible for consistently observing union democracy, the principles of collective leadership, regularly calling membership or plenary meetings, conferences and congresses, giving them reports on their activities and management, assuring regular and democratic elections at union bodies, creating conditions for the development of criticism and self-criticism, discussing and handling members' suggestions and grievances in a timely and careful manner, fighting against bureaucratism, suppression of criticism and violation of laws, recruiting members of active participation in union work, consolidating and expanding relations with workers and making use of the broadbased union aktiv in their work."

Collectivity in the work of plant committees is not only a condition of the quality of its management work but at the same time also an essential requisite for the formation of correct decisions and resolutions.

The plant committee has a high degree of responsibility and authority. This, however, assumes that the plant committee always realizes that the performance of its management duties and its great authority belong to it exclusively on condition that it take actions and decisions as a collective body. This means that the plant committee gathers regularly at its meetings and observes the principle of proceeding to business only if an absolute majority of elected members is present at the session. In any kind of action or decisionmaking, the collective of elected members of the plant committee must confer together and if the matter is subject to a vote the resolution or decision must be passed by an absolute majority of the plant committee present.

Membership meetings (conferences) are an expression of collectivity in the work of the basic organization. The plant committee is obliged to submit to members for their deliberation such items as the following:

- the proposed economic plan of the plant or any changes in the course of the year;
- the basis and all modifications of the plant's wage, pay and bonus regulations and other forms of worker compensation;
- proposed policies and collective adjustments of performance norms;
- proposed work rules and any changes;
- proposals to modify worktime which affects all the plant workers;
- proposals of collective agreements;
- the budget of the plant's fund for cultural and social needs and any withdrawals;
- conditions for socialist competitions within the plant;
- policies and provisions which the industrial organization have to set up to protect worker health, sanitation and safety on the job;
- reports on the activities of ROH basic organization bodies and on resolutions carried out and the implementation of worker suggestions and proposals;
- the recall of individual members of plant committees and appointment of officers in the course of their official term;
- the scope of the authority of individual bodies and commissions of ROH basic organizations;
- the permanent release of officials to perform functions according to principles issued by URO;
- the budgets of basic organizations of ROH and any withdrawals.

At the meetings, the plant committee will report on its activities and will expect the members to make proposals, suggestions and critical comments to help further develop dynamic union activity. It is important to note and act on any suggestions brought up by members at the membership meetings (conferences). The plant committees must always have a listing of all suggestions, regardless of whether they are handled by the ROH basic organization itself or passed on to another body for disposition. Therefore it must keep a record which will make sure that no suggestions were overlooked.

To make sure that membership meetings (conferences) are truly an expression of collective discussions, the plant committees must make extensive preparations, see that they are convened regularly and have programs which will fully cover the needs and interests of all the members.

It is precisely the substance of the problems discussed that is one of the key factors which determines whether membership meetings (conferences) are attractive to the workers so they recognize their importance and are persuaded that they themselves are actually deciding on the most important matters that the union organizations are resolving or supporting. To manage to give every member the full possibility of actively participating in judging and deciding on matters of union life--that is the great and responsible mission of plant committees. Therein lie their authority and responsibility.

The principle of collectivity in the work of the plant committee calls for the broadest possible participation of union official aktivs in management, decisionmaking, implementation and supervision of performance. Their energetic and goal-oriented input in the work of the union organization is one of the guarantees of attaining all-around participation of all members.

The union aktiv of a basic organization consists of all members who voluntarily accepted offices in their agencies, commissions or working groups or who were entrusted with some kind of task, even though only temporarily.

A carefully nurtured aktiv is the basic requisite for successful work of every organ--it raises its ability to take action and strengthens relations with the members.

One basic and significant method of good work with the aktiv is its selection and preparation. The plant committee sees that both elected and appointed offices are filled primarily by workers and other employees directly from production, persons who have the basic requisite to carry out the office taken and so have, above all, a positive attitude toward building a socialist society, the ability to get publicly involved and by systematic training attain the knowledge required to perform their duties and who have qualities of character such as a good attitude toward people, openness, directness, are capable of self-criticism and conduct themselves modestly.

An important method of work with the aktiv is its systematic preparation for performing its duties. This is best done by training newly elected officers and then providing regular schooling for them during practically their entire term of office. The plant committee is also able to send its officials to various method-oriented and other kinds of lectures arranged by offices of union training at district trade union councils as well as to school courses which are given by appropriate higher union bodies. An important and significant method of working with aktivs is keeping them full informed and making certain of always consulting with them.

So that the aktiv of officials can carry out its assigned duties well and on time, the plant committee should set up a fixed schedule of regular conferences, briefings, discussions and other forms by which it will keep the officials abreast of current matters of union work, consult with them about future procedures, solicit their views and opinions about various problems and at the same time find out how any individual resolutions or tasks are being carried out.

It should be considered essential to hold regular briefings and consultations of the plant or shop committee with officials of union sectors. The sector trustees are closest to all the members, they have the best and most detailed knowledge of how members are reacting to any resolutions, measures or decisions taken. They know their views and opinions and so it is in the best interest of every plant committee to devote special attention to the guidance of sector trustees.

It is the task of the trade union body to call and conduct production conferences. The duty of the economic employees there is to give detailed

explanations to inquiries and at the same time see to the fulfillment of the tasks within their province that are the subject of resolutions at production conferences. The economic employees also make notes at the conferences and keep exact records. Union bodies develop the initiative of workers on the basis of resolutions at production conferences. They see that the next production conference supervises the execution of resolutions taken at previous conferences.

The broad character of the tasks of the union organization and its obligation to see that they are carried out has called for the creation of permanent and temporary commissions of the plant committee.

The commissions are initiating and executive bodies of the ROH plant (shop) committee which work to supplement its multifaceted operations and intensify everyday contacts with all the workers.

Consistent with this task, the plant (shop) committee as a rule sets up the following permanent commissions to take care of the comprehensive tasks of the organization:

- ideological training and cultural work;
- mass production;
- for the employee invention and improvement program;
- wages;
- worker welfare;
- job safety and health protection;
- national insurance.

For those basic organizations where the extent of tasks in various areas is not covered by any of the above commissions, other commissions and aktivs to meet their special conditions and needs may be set up, as, for example, a center for union training, a speakers' bureau, library board, ROH plant club committee, commissions for housing, labor rights, education, food supplying, work with young people, women's commissions, etc.

In accordance with its needs, the plant committee, consistent with appropriate regulations, may transfer to the commissions some of its authority based on cooperation and joint decisions with the industrial management.

The importance of this union aktiv lies particularly in the fact that the union organization, through the commissions, participates continuously and regularly in the discussions about all problems affecting the life and work of the workers and consistently organizes, with the help of the commissions, worker participation in the resolution of various problems and tasks.

Relations between commissions of the ROH plant committee and the commissions of the ROH shop committee are not based on subordinates. The commissions are managed by the body that sets them up. This does not mean, however, that commissions of the ROH plant committees may not give assistance on methods of work to the commissions of the ROH shop committee.

An essential part of the method of working with the aktiv is showing concern about it. Every official of a union organization must have the perception that his commitment to public and dedicated work is recognized and appreciated. The plant committee, together with the plant management, must be sure to create conditions that permit the organization officials to perform their work. This depends not only on pertinent legal regulations but particularly on their authority supported by quality work so that the plant will carry out its production tasks well and that the working, social and political conditions will reflect a high political standard in all of its workers.

This means seeing to it that every official is valued for his work, that all workers in the plant realize that voluntary, dedicated work for others also brings social respect and that inner worth can also be supplemented by material rewards.

Properly conducting and managing union work, consistently setting conditions conducive to the continuous activity of all members and activity in the life of the organization can only be done only if the plant committee manages its work in a businesslike way, with the ability to divide its responsibilities and also knows how to properly distribute tasks to officials and commissions. Therefore, systematic planning is the basic condition for businesslike work by the plant committee. This means that it operates on the basis of an adopted plan.

Since the Eighth All-Union Congress the operation of all basic organizations has been directed by annual plans of activity which have become very effective instruments for unifying the entire movement and as general program documents for the organizations for the period of a year. The 10th All-Union Congress directed the plant committees to base their work on knowledge of mass political work, knowledge of the opinions, attitudes and needs of the workers and to take up any proposed plan of activity at joint discussions of the ROH plant committee with the plant management prior to approval at the membership meeting (conference).

The activity plan of the ROH basic organization is the basis of work for the plant committee and the semiannual or quarterly working plan received from it is a kind of executive plan of activity for the plant committee as well as for other agencies and commissions of the basic organization. Therefore, it is essential:

1. That preparation of the plan of activity and also its own working plan be arranged with the broadest possible participation of the official aktiv. Before the plan is adopted the plant committee which prepares the plan should confer with the chairmen of shop committees and with the sector trustees, obtain their viewpoints and suggestions and then determine the various tasks and also times for discussion and review;
2. That once the plan is approved the plant committee acquaint the entire official aktiv of the basic organization with it and discuss how its operation will be coordinated and unified so that fulfillment of the planned tasks may be reflected in increased effectiveness of union work;

3. That the membership meeting (conference) of the ROH basic organization also be informed about the working plan.

In formulating the working plans, shop committees, union sectors and commissions should be sure to coordinate the agenda and time elements of the working plan, that is, allow sufficient lead time, especially where reports on completion of tasks within a time limit set by the plant committee's working plan must first be submitted to the plant committee or membership meeting for discussion.

A good plan of activity of the basic organization and a well-formulated working plan permit the concentration of forces, timely preparation of measures, efficient management and proper distribution of tasks to the aktiv. Leading the aktiv well and organizing supervision over fulfillment of tasks assigned help increase the responsibility and discipline of officials in carrying out the decisions.

The activities of the ROH plant committees are extremely important in consolidating mutual relations of comradely cooperation between the organization management and the plant committees. The legal basis of this mutual cooperation stems from a resolution of the Fourth All-Union Congress (amended and supplemented by resolution of the Statewide All-Union Conference in May 1965), for individual provisions of the Labor Code and other legal regulations which grant extensive authority to plant committees. Their aim, above all, is to achieve close cooperation between the organization management and the plant committee in all sectors of organization operations.

The authority of plant committees cannot be fathomed in an isolated way, outside the context of economic and social concerns. They are not a self-serving set of rights and privileges but rather a tool that should make it easier for plant committees to carry out their important social duties.

In a socialist society there are no rights without obligations. Therefore, the authority of the plant committee corresponds to its obligations, its responsibilities toward the worker collective and toward all of society. There is a direct connection between the rights and the obligations of ROH plant committees. It forms an inseparable whole whose purpose is to carry out the social duties of union bodies in plants and in workplaces through conscientious and everyday work on behalf of our economy and all of society.

The proper and consistent exercise of the authority of ROH plant committees has a marked social effect. Close cooperation between the organization management and appropriate union bodies in the enterprise, plant or shop contribute significantly to developing socialist production relations, to intensifying worker participation in management, toward raising overall concern for workers and to consolidating socialist legality.

The resolution of the 10th All-Union Congress called, among other things, for making effective use of legal authority, consistently reviewing the observation of legal regulations and not permitting the violation of laws and other legal norms concerning labor rights.

The authority of plant committees is an effective means of carrying out these important tasks. Plant committees exercise it through decisions taken, joint discussions and cooperative and collective control.

Decisive authority devolves on plant committees only in a limited range of questions, in the area of job safety and health insurance.

Joint decisionmaking of the plant committee with the organization management means that the organization can take certain measures with legal effect only after prior approval of the ROH plant committee or in agreement with it. This authority extends especially to provisions concerning important interests of the workers.

In certain provisions of the Labor Code we find such formulations as: "The organization requires prior approval of the plant committee for its measures," or that "it can take certain measures only with prior approval of the plant committee." Elsewhere it says that "the organization will take certain measures in agreement with the plant committee."

The common denominator of these declarations is the principle that the organization must honor this joint decisionmaking power of the plant committee. If the organization takes measures without prior approval of the plant committee where the Labor Code or resolution of the Fourth All-Union Congress calls for it, the measures are invalid (ineffective).

In executing its authority of joint decisionmaking, the plant committee is obliged to see to it that any measures proposed by the organization management are consistent with the interests of society and the legitimate interests of individuals and working collectives and are in accord with valid legal regulations.

In this connection, mention should also be made of the provisions of Article 4/f of the ROH bylaws, according to which an ROH member has the right to personally take part in the deliberations of trade union bodies in those cases where the union body is ruling on his activities or conduct. The union body is obliged to invite him to the discussions. These provisions apply not only to cases where the union bodies exercise their decisionmaking authority under current regulations but also to cases of joint decisionmaking. If, for example, the plant committee discusses at its meeting granting prior approval for the discharge of a worker which the organization is planning, it should call the worker to this discussion. If the plant committee were to grant prior approval at its meeting without calling the worker it would, of course, be violating its own union obligation based on its bylaws; however, it would not affect the validity of the dismissal.

Cooperation of the plant committee with management also represents a form of cooperation between economic and union bodies at which both sides discuss problems, exchange information and opinions and consult together, although the final decision belongs to management. In cooperation with the organization management, plant committees fully discuss important matters concerning the preparation, formation and fulfillment of the economic plans of the

organization, developing worker initiative, reinforcing worker discipline, cutting costs and generally concerning themselves with improving the living, working, health and social conditions of the workers.

Another important power of the plant committees is joint supervision. This especially involves the right to check adherence to wage and labor rights provisions. Joint supervision by the ROH over safety and health protection on the job also has broad application. By exercising their supervisory authority the plant committees carry out an important social duty--seeing that socialist legality is observed in matters of employment.

Supervisory authority of the plant committees rests primarily on the provisions of Article 4/l of the Fourth All-Union Congress resolution, which gives plant committees supervision over enforcement of labor rights provisions, the hiring of workers, their work and wage assignments and agreements on termination of employment by either party.

According to Article 4/e of the Fourth All-Union Congress regulations, plant committees also supervise adherence to wage policies. Article 4/k of the Fourth All-Union Congress resolution gives ROH plant committees the right to ask for the participation of responsible representatives of the organization management at meetings of the union organization and its bodies. They check on what measures were taken by the management of union organizations on the basis of proposals submitted and resolutions passed at these meetings and the results of discussions at production conferences. A basic regulation is also found in Article 22 of the Fourth All-Union Congress resolution which grants plant committees effective and legal means to force the elimination of deficiencies in cases where employees of the organization management fail to carry out the duties incumbent on them from the resolution of the Fourth All-Union Congress, the work rules or collective agreements, violate the labor rights regulations or cause delays in the performance of duties.

The plant committee will warn these employees of their deficiencies or criticize them at union meetings. If these means are not effective, the plant committee can ask the appropriate body to take suitable measures under applicable regulations against the managerial employee--denial of bonuses, taking disciplinary action or even firing him.

So that supervision of adherence to labor rights regulations may be effective, it must be devoid of chance and applied consistently and systematically. This idea also leads to methodic directives for ROH plant committees to carry out supervision of adherence to labor rights regulations approved by resolutions of the URO Presidium 3 July 1974 which should help plant committees develop supervisory activity systematically, as an integral part of their union work. The directives take up in detail the subject matter of supervisory activity of plant committees. Their purpose is to cover all aspects of labor rights and the important problems involved. At the same time, they emphasize that the purpose of the supervision is not only to ascertain whether the organizations are not violating the basic rights of workers but also to find out how the organizations are requiring workers to carry out their duties, what measures they take to strengthen work discipline, the

protection of property in the socialist domain and the consolidation of working relations. This stems from the essence of the socialist labor code which, on the one hand, guarantees the worker rights and social gains but, on the other hand, requires conscientious performance of duties and a good attitude toward work.

The organization management is obliged to recognize the authority of the plant committees and enable them to exercise it. According to Article 5 of the Fourth All-Union Congress resolution, management will submit to the plant committee or the body authorized by it, all requested explanations, necessary data, reports and documentation with respect to its position and proposals and will inform it of the steps taken on the basis of suggestions submitted by union bodies or workers or on the basis of proposals stemming from resolutions at meetings of the union organization and its organs and from the records of discussions at production conferences. In the same way, Paragraph 19, Section 2 of the Labor Code calls for managerial personnel to carry out their prescribed duties with respect to basic ROH organizations and union bodies.

An important regulation is contained in Article 23 of the Fourth All-Union Congress resolution on how to resolve disputes that may arise between the plant committee and the organization management. These disputes are settled by the top union body in agreement with the senior body of the organization. If the plant committee refuses to give the organization approval to terminate the employment of a worker by giving him notice or by immediate dismissal, the district trade union council can annul the plant committee's decision and give its approval instead.

So that the ROH can measure up to its duties successfully, it is necessary to fully apply the requirement formulated at the 16th CPCZ Congress to the trade unions, too, so that under these new, more difficult conditions, they can develop their activity in a more challenging way, more energetically take part in resolving the new economic and social problems and expand their understanding and feeling for that which is new. In this way the ROH plant committees, too, can play their positive role.

8491

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CULTURAL AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH USSR

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 May 83 p 4

[Interview with Bela Kopeczi, minister of culture, by Hanna Szalay, Moscow correspondent of MAGYAR HIRLAP, in Moscow, on 18 May 1983]

[Text] The 19th session of the Hungarian-Soviet Intergovernmental Committee on Cultural Cooperation ended yesterday in Moscow.

The heads of the delegations attending the session--Istvan Sarlos, a member of the MSZMP Politburo and deputy premier; and Petr Demichev, a candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of culture--signed the protocol of the session.

The committee established that cultural cooperation between our countries was developing successfully, that it was fruitful and useful, and that its future prospects were favorable. The committee deemed the further development of this cooperation necessary and feasible, in several areas.

At the end of the session, this year's program of Hungarian-Soviet cultural cooperation was signed by Dezso Toth, deputy minister of education and culture, and by Yuriy Barabash, USSR first deputy minister of culture.

Our Moscow correspondent, Hanna Szalay, interviewed Bela Kopeczi, the minister of education and culture and cochairman of the committee's Hungarian section, when the protocol of the 19th session of the Hungarian-Soviet Intergovernmental Committee on Cultural Cooperation and this year's program of Hungarian-Soviet cultural cooperation were signed.

Question: Over and above what can be written in the reports and specified in the plans, what is the quality of Hungarian-Soviet cultural cooperation?

Answer: First of all we must appreciate the fact that this is a process of several decades' duration. Which means that we are not starting something now, but are continuing it. Continuation always raises also the questions of quantity and quality. Regarding quantity, we may say that Hungarian-Soviet relations are indeed very extensive and extend to every branch of culture. So far as quality is concerned, cooperation has made very significant progress last year also in this respect. For example, direct cooperation between creative people, which is always one of the most sensitive areas of cultural cooperation, was one of the items on the agenda. We have been able to establish that in literature, and in the theater

and in motion pictures as well, there were many initiatives in which Soviet and Hungarian creative people participated jointly.

We attach very great importance to cooperation between young creative people, to their getting to know each other better, to their participation in joint work, to their gaining deeper knowledge and a better understanding of each other's country, culture and literature.

The role that the mass media play in the development of cooperation has been placed on the agenda. I do not think that it will be particularly necessary to present proof of the importance of the role that radio, television and the press are playing in cooperation. The point now was not only that we would exchange information, but also that we would be participating in numerous joint initiatives.

In the area of education I wish to point out only one thing: aid in teaching the Russian language in Hungary. It is common knowledge that we are confronted with fairly great problems in the instruction of foreign languages in Hungary. The assistance that pedagogical students majoring in Russian have been receiving for years is very important. In this respect we can speak of a certain expansion.

Question: What can we expect in the area of book publishing?

Answer: In book publishing we discussed the situation with respect to the translation of each other's literature in our countries. Efforts must be made particularly to aid the training of translators.

Yesterday Mikhail Zimyanin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received the Hungarian delegation in Moscow that is headed by Istvan Sarlos, a member of the MSZMP Politburo and deputy premier.

On Wednesday the Hungarian delegation headed by Deputy Premier Istvan Sarlos arrived home from Moscow. Vladimir Bazovskiy, the Soviet ambassador in Hungary, was at Ferihegy Airport to welcome the returning delegation.

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KADAR SPEECH TO APRIL PARTY PLENUM

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[Speech by Janos Kadar, MDZMP first secretary, to the 12-13 April MSZMP Plenum in Budapest 12 April 1983]

[Text] When the Central Committee reviews the work that has been done since the 12th Congress and designates the tasks facing the party, it is dealing with an important item of the agenda, which rises above its usual subjects, for its position will decisively influence the further work of the party, and affect of necessity the life of our country and the activity of our people.

In preparing for the session, the Politburo reviewed in appropriate form every area of party work, domestic and foreign policy, economic and cultural work, the activities of public administration, the domestic organs, and the Army, everything which on such an occasion must be dealt with. It took into account the self-evaluation of the Budapest, megye, and megye-equivalent party committees regarding their work and the quantifiable facts.

The Politburo moved that the present session should approve one document, the resolution proposal, and make it public in its entirety.

The Politburo debated the resolution proposal several times. In addition to the departments of the Central Committee, the Budapest Party Committee, the megye and megye-equivalent party committees, the following important bodies, the Council of Ministers, the Presidium of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the leading bodies of the mass organizations, who were asked to give an opinion on the resolution proposal, participated in the preparatory work. The Politburo received many useful comments in about 300 pages, and these were very helpful in drawing up the final resolution proposal. We were able to use most of the comments, and indeed there were many coincidences among them. We separated some of the comments and included them in a supplement. We believe that according to the decision of the Central Committee it will be obligatory for us to use these in the further course of our work. There were some comments which we did not recommend for consideration either in the resolution or the further course of our work. Among these I shall mention only one: the opinion that we should change the main goals of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. We recommend that the Central Committee should not accept this.

Text prepared on basis of the stenographic record.

For the comments which were useful and helpful in our work I would like to take this opportunity to thank in the name of the Politburo those bodies which were asked to give their opinions.

The address which I am giving as charged by the Politburo is linked to the main subjects of the resolution proposal, although not to all of these. This would be superfluous in view of the fact that we sent out the resolution proposal in advance.

It is the task of the present session of the Central Committee to evaluate the execution of the Congress's resolutions, to take a clear position in certain questions currently being debated, to designate the further tasks, and to mobilize the party membership, our federates, and our working people to carry out successfully the resolutions of the 12th Congress and achieve the main goals of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

As an evaluation of the work performed, I shall here mention that in the Politburo's view our party membership and our people have already accepted and are supporting with deeds the main resolutions of the 12th Congress, among which I shall mention by way of reminder the international balance of payments, the general improvement in the domestic budgetary balance and the economic equilibrium, and the maintaining the achieved living standards. Work is being successfully conducted for the solution of these tasks, justifying in practice the correctness of the line of direction and main goals of the 12th Congress.

We recommend that the Central Committee express by way of resolution that it will strengthen and continue to regard as valid the line of direction of the 12th Congress, its resolutions, the main goals of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, and that it will continue to regard as its task the propagation and mobilization and attainment of these goals.

I shall mention that the resolution proposal extends--deliberately--only to certain key questions of party work, and does not touch on various very important areas. It does not because we believe that the attainment of the goals of the Congress depend on the successful solution of the tasks that play a role in the resolution proposal. Our position will certainly help in the problems that are now on the agenda and which occupy the party members and the population of the country so that in this respect, too, there will be unity in the party and of public opinion.

First of all, I want to address international questions. The carrying out of the resolutions of the 12th Congress of the MSZMP is conducted in a more tense international situation, under worse foreign economic conditions: the international situation is strained. Extremist imperialist circles active in the United States, other NATO states, and other countries have launched an ideological and political attack on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and on the Communist movement and the forces of socialism in general. In instances, they have also attempted to organize economic boycotts. Striving for superiority, they have initiated an arms race with the goal of changing, in global dimensions, the power relations in favor of imperialism. The causes for this are important, and I shall speak of these briefly.

The imperialists have drawn up a balance sheet of the detente years, and these turned out unfavorable for them. Let us only recall: in the years of the detente the Soviet Union and, in general, the socialist countries grew stronger; the U.S. war against Vietnam ended in defeat. Fascism in Portugal, Spain and Greece failed. Various former colonial countries gained their independence, the national and democratic revolutions forged ahead. The influence of imperialism was ended in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, South Yemen, and other countries. The political leaders of many of the countries that were freed from under the yoke of imperialism proclaimed a socialist program, and their peoples are struggling to realize this. The imperialist positions have also been weakened in Latin America. The people's democratic revolutionary forces were victorious in Nicaragua, and in El Salvador heated battles are being waged. In southern Africa, Zimbabwe has been liberated, and a sharp struggle is being waged for the freedom of Namibia.

For the imperialists this is the balance sheet of the detente years, and of course they are not satisfied. They place responsibility for their defeats on the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the competitive policy of peaceful coexistence, but in reality capitalism is struggling with unsolvable internal conflicts, the conditions for changing the capitalist system are ripening, and peoples have had enough of imperialist oppression.

The deep social, economic and political crisis of capitalism plays a role in the deterioration of the international situation. We know that the capitalist world is not unified, capitalist interests are varied, but at present an influence is being realized in the war industry by monopoly capitalist groups, who seek a way out of the crisis by heating up the international situation.

A realistic evaluation of the international situation requires us to note that the maneuvering possibilities of imperialism are made easier to a certain extent by the development problems of the socialist world and by the serious and unsolved problems of the Third World.

The points of conflict between imperialism and the progressive forces have increased in this more tense situation, wide-scale and strong struggles in world outlook have developed, and an anticommunist and anti-Soviet campaign has been started. A reactionary wave, a political shift to the right can be observed in a number of capitalist countries. Imperialism is striving to break up the achievements of detente, it would like to undo the results of the Helsinki Conference and the process of consolidating European peace and security, and to this end it is obstructing a successful conclusion to the Madrid meeting.

At the center of the arms competition which extends to every area is the deployment in Europe of American medium-range missiles. Imperialism has taken an aggressive stance in the zones of regional conflicts--the Middle East, Central America, South Africa and Indochina. This is what the resolution proposal refers to in the statement that in the recent period the number of conflicts at critical points has not decreased, but increased.

We must, of course, draw certain conclusions about such a development in the international situation. The Soviet Union, the other members of the Warsaw

Pact, and other socialist countries have come to the conclusion that in the perspectives of world development it is the central task unconditionally to maintain the balance of military power. But it is also a conclusion of equal importance that at present we need appropriate alertness, and extremely active, continuous, resolute and deliberate political work, as well as to struggle to strengthen European security, to restrain the arms race, to stop the deployment of American medium-range land missiles in Europe, to prevent nuclear war, and to bring about agreements that extend equal and mutual security.

We must have confidence in the attainment of our goals. World war is not inevitable. The political, economic and defense strength of the socialist countries is immense. The possibilities of imperialism are limited in economic, military and other fields, for the world change has created a new situation: the time has long since and forever passed when imperialism was the only lord and master of the world. This era will never again return. All people desire peace, and even among the political forces of the "extreme side" men of sober thinking desire peace not war.

Our cause is just, our positions strong. The goal we have set can be represented everywhere and to everyone with resolution and self-confidence because it expresses the interest of all mankind: equal security, a lower level of arms.

The socialist countries have expressed their intention on various occasions and in appropriate form. The Soviet Union has taken important initiatives. It has announced that it will not be the first to use nuclear arms and is ready to reduce the number of its own medium-range land missiles in Europe to the level of the British and French medium-range missiles. At its most recent meeting in Prague, the Political Consultative Body of the Warsaw Pact made a very important proposal that the countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO should sign an agreement to renounce the use of military force and not to use against each other either conventional or nuclear arms. These proposals and other initiatives represent realistic and representable positions.

The Soviet Union is representing a realistic position which takes into account the interests of both sides at the present talks in Geneva regarding the limitation of strategic weapons and European nuclear weapons. We are also conferring in this spirit at the forums in Vienna and Madrid.

It is in this kind of international situation that the Hungarian People's Republic lives and works. Our major strength in the basic problem of the international situation is that the party, the government, and the people together and in unity want peace. This comes from the socialist, humanistic ideas that guide our society and from the interests of our people. This is our major strength.

Our most important task is concern for the security of our people. By relying on our alliance system and by availing ourselves of the possibilities in numerous bilateral ties, we are conducting continuous and steadfast political work to guard and strengthen the achievements of detente and to promote the cause of peace. The word of the Hungarian People's Republic also has a certain weight, and the solution to provide it with a security and base is our domestic task.

At the center of our foreign policy is the guarding of peace, the prevention of nuclear war, peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, and fruitful cooperation appropriate to mutual interests. It gives great strength to our policy and position that this interest agrees with the interests of all people and all mankind.

In the following I should like to speak of several domestic political problems. Our internal political situation is balanced. The Hungarian People's Republic is a socialist country that rests on firm foundations, it is a member of the Warsaw Pact and of CEMA. In our country the leading role of the party is implemented. Our federation policy is successful. The party enjoys the support of the masses, and this is the main strength of our party and system. The workers, co-op peasants, intellectuals, scientists, artists, the vast majority of the clergy, and the Hungarian working people agree with the basic elements of our party's policy and support it with deeds. This is how our situation is judged internationally, too, by the socialist and progressive forces and even by those who are opposed to us.

In speaking of the general, internal political tasks, I recommend that the Central Committee should strengthen the political line of our party and its open policy. It should strengthen our federation policy, our efforts at further building up and consolidating socialist national unity and at the development of socialist democracy. It should strengthen the independence and responsibility of our social, state, economic and cultural organizations. Finally, it should strengthen the methods which have already proved successful, namely, that we are believers in reasoning, debate and persuasion, and this is how we want to achieve unified action in the party and in the whole society.

We must also devote great attention in the future to trade union work, to the activity of the party's youth organization, the Communist Youth Federation, and of the Patriotic People's Front. Under the sign of socialist national unity we must strengthen the unity of the communists and noncommunists and people with differing world outlooks.

I would like to emphasize that in our political work we must devote particular attention to the youth, above all because a significant share of our tasks is linked with the young. An important condition for the realization of our positive efforts is to win the large masses of youth for our goals.

We are familiar with the work and study results of our youth, and we evaluate--most recently, for example, on the occasion of the Revolutionary Youth Days--their political activity. I dare maintain that the youth of today are as good as the youth of any preceding period. At the same time, of course, the youth of today are not what we were, for the relations and circumstances are different, and the social bases have also changed. At the same time, we must note that the inquisitive, objective knowledge of our youth is more significant than ever before.

Even scientific relations, the scientific outlook does not permeate automatically the thinking of the youth. The world outlook of the youth is still, in large part, developing, their experiences with life and political struggles

is considerably less than that of the adult generations. Therefore, we must devote great attention to the political education and occupational training of the young, and we must educate them for life. We must familiarize them with the history of our people, our nation, the history of the Hungarian class struggles, which offers a wealth of lessons also for the young generation, and we must reveal to them the realities of the present world. We must have them participate in work more responsibly in order that they may acquire the experience they lack.

We must also remember that forces opposing us exploit the political inexperience of the young. Therefore, we need to devote great attention to winning over youth ideologically, something which always has been accompanied by struggles in the lives of societies.

We need to deal continuously with the problems of the young. We must handle these with understanding and help young people in the choice of a career, in establishing a family, acquiring a house, and in gaining a cultured life. Besides our understanding and assistance, we must also put requirements on them: we may and must demand their acceptance of our principles, the support of our system. We must also require that they meet their obligations: the pupils must learn and those who are already working must fulfill their tasks in an exemplary way. They must observe the social, moral norms, understand that socialism is the society of work, and in a socialist order only he will enjoy respect, realization, and a future who is politically and occupationally adequately prepared and who works.

In speaking of youth, it is important that we speak of every problem without mystification. We may encounter, for example, the notion that in the life of the country a certain age group functions for 20 years, and then it is "re-lieved" and another age group enters. But the so-called generational change does not occur like a change of divisions in the army. In society, the generational change takes place continuously from day to day. One can be aware of the generational change only by observing the life of society over a longer period of time.

We must endeavor to raise our youth to become politically and occupationally well-prepared adults, we must raise good patriots for the socialist homeland, proceeding from the fact that the future really belongs to the young, but the young themselves must do something to make the future beautiful, encouraging and happy.

In taking realistic account of the situation we must also see that our party members, our associations and our society are now exposed to greater burdens than a few years ago. I believe I am also expressing the conviction of the Central Committee when I state that our party members, our associations and our society are facing up to the more difficult test, they understand that now we need better work, resolute commitment, and strengthening of civil discipline, we need to have everyone obey our laws and meet obligations. I am certain that in the future, too, we shall respond to the greater burden and test because our party and our people are more experienced and politically at a higher level than they were in former years.

This commitment, this dedication was also reflected in the 4 April honors, the State and Kossuth prizes. These honors and prizes are of great moral value, for they are not awarded without being merited. This year those were again given recognition who earned it, because they were committed in their own area, and by creating great works they strive for our socialist goals.

A contrary phenomena is also in evidence in our society, a certain oppositional and in fact in some places inimical commotion to which radios and other propaganda organs supported and financed by the imperialists grant daily support. Numerically these forces are not significant, they are isolated from the masses.

However, behind this commotion there lurks anticommunism and opposition to the socialist system, sometimes independently of the knowledge and will of the participant. We must therefore evaluate their activities in this way.

In the recent period these elements have become somewhat more aggressive. There are certain ones who would like to legalize themselves in order to acquire a forum. In this regard, the party and primarily our Central Committee must present a firm stance: in Hungary the social movements provide broad-scale possibilities, in which every honorable person has a place, the participants represent a varied scale of colors but we shall not legalize hostile endeavors either in the people's front or in the peace movement or in any other area; we shall not tolerate the building up of oppositional bases.

We do not wish to multiply the number of our enemies, we shall not stigmatize anyone, we shall not name anyone as an oppositionist. We must work and strive to win over every person. If finally someone turns out to be incorrigible and is opposed in an organized way to the socialist system, we must let him clearly understand: our party, our federates who progress with us, and the greatest part of Hungarian society are unified in seeing that we shall defend the interests of our people and our socialist achievements by every means and against everyone, in such a way as the situation requires.

In the interest of our great goals we shall strive for unity with every creative force, with every honorable person. Let us emphasize and implement in practice that in our society everyone has a place and role without regard to party affiliation and world outlook, and also one who is not a party member may fulfill any office outside of a party function. As for the future, it will continue to be our position that the socialist society, the classless society is being built for everyone, and in it everyone can find his place.

Economic building work is being conducted under conditions more difficult than anticipated, but in accordance with the resolutions of the 12th Congress. We have achieved important results, and the development of the economy is proceeding according to our economic political efforts. The internal budgetary balance has improved somewhat, and this can also be perceived in the foreign economic equilibrium. In 1981, our foreign trade balance improved by 7.4 billion forints, and in 1982 by 13.9 billion forints, and in capitalist trade we achieved in 1982 a balance surplus of 400 million dollars. We have protected the country's solvency. We have met our obligations to everyone.

It pertains to the truth that this encouraging result was achieved--unfortunately--not by an increase in exports but primarily by a reduction of imports, and not by increased production efficiency but chiefly by restraining investments and consumption.

Even with the squeeze on investments we have completed Hungary's section of the CEMA 750 kilovolt long-distance, power transmission line, the first block of the Paks nuclear power plant is providing electricity, oil and natural gas production has increased, new coal mines have been opened at Markushegy and Many, elsewhere new bauxite mines have been opened, the combined steel mill is finished at the Lenin Metallurgical Works, and converter steel production has been started at the Danube Iron Works. A new section of the metro has been put into operation in Budapest, and we have built the new, modern Sport Hall. And I could go on with the list at length: we have built many industrial and agricultural plants, hospitals and hotels, housing projects, and public roads. Those who see Budapest and Hungary less often than we do are well aware that the country is growing despite the more difficult conditions.

In the main questions of economic work, the decisions of the Congress--in the judgment of the Politburo--have been justified in practice, including also the fact that to create an equilibrium we had to reduce the development rate as compared to what was formerly usual. This was not a happy decision, but it was necessary and has proved to be correct. Let me add that a decrease like this in the development rate is not unique in respect to socialist countries. Despite the reduction in the development rate, it is noteworthy that the national income in 1982 grew to about 105 percent as compared to 1980. This result matches data from the economically developed capitalist countries: the 1982 national income as compared to 1980 was 101 in Austria, 99 in Great Britain, 98 in the Netherlands, and 100 in the FRG.

In the resolution proposal, because of experiences taken into consideration, we refer in general form to the kind of international and domestic environment and the kind of tasks with which we struggled to improve the economic balance in the past year.

For us the deterioration in international terms of trade means that in return for the same volume of imports we must export 20 percent more commodities than 9 years ago. For our lessons and experiences, I must also state that we allowed the price losses suffered by the Hungarian People's Republic in this period to be acted upon only in a delayed manner. For quite a few years we made up the shortage by taking new loans. The price losses in foreign trade and the interest on the credits intended to make up for these losses represented an incredible sum during these years, in 9 years a total of about 500 billion forints. This sum is equal to 11 percent of the Hungarian national income over 9 years. Let me add that we had to guard our ability to pay and bear the charges under conditions when there were problems of selling on Western markets. It was proper that on 4 April in the cupola hall of the Parliament, foreign trade and financial workers were included in the various categories of outstanding workers and creative persons who were decorated, for they did a great deal to help us manage adequately with the goods produced by the work of the people.

Now let me speak a few words--only by way of indication--about our economic tasks. In 1983, in the interest of guarding the country's solvency, we must attain a 7-800 million dollar positive trade balance. To keep maintaining our international solvency and the foreign economic and the domestic economic balance is the true path to better solve the tasks that face us, an increase in efficient production, and not a further reduction in the ratio of investments. I do not think that I need go into details--the requirement is better work.

In the following I shall speak of another problem which is being debated to a certain extent in the party and in society, one in which--I believe--the Central Committee will have to take a firm and clear position. In recent years and decades, Hungary has developed, and it has found suitable solutions for its social and economic problems. We may speak of this with assurance but the Western propagandists would make it appear that this is possible in the field of economic life because the Hungarians--they say--use capitalist methods. This same question is also asked, although with a certain concern on our part, in our society and party: "Aren't we using capitalist instead of socialist methods?"

Well, in the end, what methods are we using? What kind of building is under-way in Hungary, socialist or capitalist? To clarify this, I would like to recall our quarter-century-old debate, once already concluded, on an earlier problem. I recall, for example, the earliest phase of the post-1956 development when there was a debate over the fact that we put an end to having industrial workers bound to a definite place of work. There was a debate over the fact that we did away with the agricultural collection system and converted to a contractual system. Some people asked me: "From where will the country get its bread?" At that time, I did not know what to answer, but the decision was an urgent one, and we passed the resolution in December 1956. I knew this much: we would not get our bread from the collection system, and I also had confidence that the contractual system would make it possible to buy up the necessary amount. This is what happened. Later, when the socialist reorganization was carried out in agriculture, a debate was waged over household farms. And then for a long time there was a debate over holding a second job. Since then on the basis of experiences, it has become clear that the household farm is an integral part of large-scale, socialist agriculture, it is to the benefit of the country and the individuals engaged in the work. We also regulated second jobs adequately--there is no problem with it. There was a great deal of debate over the economic reform introduced in 1968, the economic guidance system.

Unfortunately, there are still problems in regard to small private businesses. Most recently, the Politburo sought to create some kind of order and to make it possible for us to work with clear concepts and to allow propaganda also to deal unambiguously with the problem. We need to clarify the concept of small businesses in itself. If some state industrial enterprises, with definite industrial goals, divest themselves of or make independent some of their own operations, they remain state industrial enterprises even though they become smaller. The same is true of an agricultural or industrial coop, even though it works with a smaller number of personnel, it remains a coop, a part

of the socialist sector. Small trade and small industry, which we are consciously developing, we will continue to call exactly that and we will not call them small businesses. There are small businesses, we need them but the number of participants is relatively insignificant, particularly in relation to their press. Propaganda should not deal with them too much now, let us wait a year, review our experiences, let us put the matters in their proper place; all these forms serve the interest of our socialist goals and of the population.

At present, there is a debate over our indebtedness to the West. Regarding this, I would merely note that a country lives with certain geographical, natural and economic endowments, and no one in the world can change these. We have available a developing production capacity which requires raw materials and energy. We need to import many other things because we cannot produce them ourselves. In this regard, we have had for about a quarter of a century one basic rule: we will buy everything from the Soviet Union and from other socialist countries. Whatever we cannot obtain there we will look for in the developing world. Finally, whatever cannot be obtained there either we will purchase from the developed capitalist countries. A country must live and work, an economy must operate.

The relative shortage of raw materials and energy in our country, of course, plays a role in our international economic relations. We must also take into account the fact that the domestic market of our country is small, and we have for long known that it is impossible to produce efficiently in small serial numbers. If we want to produce efficiently, we cannot build on the domestic market alone, we cannot shut ourselves off from the rest of the world. From the economic and political point of view, we live and work in our era in an international environment that is partly socialist and partly capitalist. If it depended on us alone, on communists, we would right away vote to have one socialist international environment. But this does not depend on voting.

Our society must work under given developmental conditions. If one wants to look at this problem from the theoretical point of view, this is also possible. We are living in a socialist society at the lower stage in the development of a communist society. The building of socialism is turning into a long development phase and is characterized, among other things, but commodity production. And where commodity production is conducted, there is money, there wage and price also play a role, and a market exists. Our domestic market is regulated, we cannot regulate the international market but we must take it into account.

The building of socialism and the interest of the people require that we manage efficiently, that plants operate with a profit, and that we assure the basic equilibrium of our economy. Let me add--and this is not an obsolete maxim--that in its essence a socialist society creates more favorable conditions for true development in the field of economic building as well, we only need to know how to avail ourselves of the possibilities. It is an important theoretical problem that in the socialist system, too, it is necessary to produce efficiently; materials, energy and manpower must not be wasted. For

me, it is a world-outlook problem that this higher order of society, a socialist society, should be capable of providing for human needs to a higher degree than capitalism. This is the final question in the class struggle.

Finally, I would like to answer the question whether we are working in a socialist or a capitalist manner. Production distribution according to social sectors in Hungary was the following in 1982: 93.1 percent of industrial production was produced by state factories, 5.6 percent by coops, that is, 98.7 percent was produced by the socialist sector, 1.3 percent of industrial production by the private sector. In agriculture in the past year, state farms produced 16.4 percent of production, cooperative farms 68.4 percent, and so-called auxiliary farms 14.2 percent. That is, the socialist sector provides 99 percent of total agricultural production, and the individual farmers--as we put it according to the old concept--or the private sector produced 1 percent. The state conducted 62.2 percent of retail trade, coops 36.7 percent, or 98.9 percent was conducted by the socialist sector and 1.1 by the private sector.

I believe everyone here knows that in our country 98 percent of the means of production is social property, we have eliminated the exploitation of man by man. Therefore, we can maintain that the Hungarian economy is socialist, the methods used in economic life promote socialist building and serve its interests. We need to have a clear picture of this in our entire party and among our federates.

We introduced the present economic guidance system on 1 January 1968, and at the time we called it the economic guidance reform. Today we could actually drop the reform concept because we are speaking of a system which has been operating for 15 years. The essence of it is: socialist plan management that takes into account the laws of the market. The characteristic of this system is guidance by economic regulators, the economic plans are not broken down by factories, which work with great independence. This guidance system operates, it is viable.

Nowadays certain ones are raising--in some places in publications--the reform of the reform as a requirement, a demand. As one element of these beginnings, the view has been expressed in certain writings that the state should not interfere in economic life, in economic activity. Although not in writing, the view has also been expressed that the party should withdraw from the economy. The Central Committee must take a firm position in this question and work with clear concepts. We must firmly fix, first of all, that the party will have a decisive role in determining economic policy. Secondly, that in economic work the organizing role of the state will remain throughout the era of building socialism. Thirdly, that we will keep the economic guidance system that has succeeded in practice, its improvement is a constant task, but a new reform, the reform of the reform is not on the agenda. The way matters stand at present this is unnecessary, and in fact would be harmful. Of course, we will have to attend to, maintain, perfect and develop our economic guidance system, we will never be free from this task and problem.

In turning to the problems of the Sixth Five-Year Plan I would ask the Central Committee to state that it continues to regard the targets and main

goals of the Sixth Five-Year Plan as valid. A realistic accounting of the situation and of achievements thus far does not justify changing the targets. Let us not deal with predictions, we need not go into prophecies. We know what we want, what goals we are working and striving for, but we cannot foresee exactly what concrete results we shall achieve. Up to now we have been moving in accordance with the main targets of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, and we have been observing these to a respectable extent, considering in particular the difficult circumstances. Our work is successful, we have no reason to change this plan. But we have reason to mobilize our party and our people to strive for the attainment of the main goals. The development of our successes depends on our domestic work and our international circumstances. When the plan period comes to an end we will fairly give account of how we succeeded in fulfilling the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

The Politburo recommends that the Central Committee state it is necessary to work for the attainment of the main goals of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. It calls on us to strive with even better work for the fulfillment of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, for an increase in efficient production, for keeping the living standards, for improving living conditions, and for continuing without interruption to build a socialist society.

I ask that the Central Committee should establish that in economic building work, under difficult conditions and with the support of the working masses, our party has done everything to carry out the resolution of the 12th Congress. The results as measured by the possibilities are encouraging, but they are still not satisfactory as compared to the requirements.

Certain critics--oppositional or nonoppositional, but in any event persons in a panic--say that the government has not solved a single economic problem in recent years. In opposition to this view I would like to announce with full responsibility that for the past 3 years in economic work the Central Committee and its executive organs have always made the appropriate decisions necessary for solving the problems on the agenda.

The government and its many executive economic organs have also acted in a similar way. Given the extremely complicated relations, the difficult conditions, it was necessary to have purposeful, energetic and responsible decisions which assured the development of the economy. It must be this way in the future, too. I can give this answer with a clear and calm conscience to our critics.

In our policy on living standards we have achieved basically in the past 3 years the goals set by the 12th Congress. In 1981 to 1982, real income rose by more than 3 percent, and consumption by the population increased by about 4 percent. Purchasing power and commodity cover are in balance, we have guarded the level of public supply, health services and the housing situation have improved, and we have introduced the 5-day work week. It continues to be our task to guard the social dimensions of living standards, including the improvement of the situation for families with children, for young people who are establishing a family, and for the elderly living on small pensions, as well as to continue the housing construction program.

By way of information, I shall report that in accordance with the earlier position in principle of the Central Committee the government has in preparation the measure by which effective on 1 July of this year--thus beginning with the August payment--the per child family allowance of families with two children will be increased from 490 forints to 600 forints. In the case of families with one child the allowance will be increased by 170 forints to a total of 300 forints until the child is 6 years of age. If during these 6 years another child is born the family will receive the allowance payable for two children, if there is no other child they will continue to receive the present 130 forints.

About 2 million 100,000 pensioners and annuitants are living at present in this country. This is a tremendous number, and it is difficult to improve the situation of all. For various reasons, there are several hundred thousand recipients of regular social support. Therefore, the number of those receiving social support is very large. In this regard, the thought has come up a number of times in the Politburo that we should deal seriously with differentiating our social policy--of course, on a principled basis and according to strict rules. If we always try to improve the situation of 2 million 100,000 pensioners and annuitants through comprehensive measures, it will be difficult for us, because of the country's inability to bear the burden of achieving a noticeable improvement. And in this there is a certain injustice. For according to law the pension is due to everyone who is entitled, but the social situation of pensioners is not identical. A pensioner with a family that has active workers is in an entirely different situation from one who lives on a small pension, is sick, and has no family support. In consideration of the country's ability to bear the burden, we should also support in a differentiated way those who are dependent on the payments either because their pension is small or because they have no family members who are able to support them.

The Politburo is now studying the possibility whether in industry--where in certain three-shift factories a 40-hour work week already exists--we could introduce the 40-hour work week. I emphasize that we are speaking only of industry, and there also we must study the matter, make preparations, and speak with the interested parties. As we see it, after proper preparation the factories with their own resources could convert to a 40-hour work week in the coming years. We have already held conversations with industrial leaders, who believe this would be solvable without a decrease in production. It is possible that through good work organization in a 40-hour work week the actual achievement would be greater than now when there is frequent slackness.

The problems awaiting solution in theoretical tasks, the requirements in the practice of socialist building work, and in the international area the increasingly tense struggle between social systems and ideas make it necessary that now and in the coming years we devote greater attention to ideological work.

This year's Karl Marx anniversary is a good opportunity for us to propagate in a broad way and in every class of society the ideas of Marx and the main results of his work: dialectical and historical materialism, recognition that the history of mankind is the history of class struggles, the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism, and socialism as the path of development

in human society. Related to this, we must propagate the contributions of Lenin to the ideas and teachings of Marx and Engels. We must also emphasize that Marxism-Leninism is a living science, and with the realization of its ideas there has been a turn in the history of mankind: the world's first socialist country, the Soviet Union, was established, and then socialism became a world system. In practice, the ideas of socialism and communism are present in and have an impact on every country in the world.

There have also been particularly difficult periods in realizing our concepts. If we look at pertinent Hungarian experiences, for example, why the 1956 events came about, it is obvious that the crises did not stem from the ideas of Marxism-Leninism but from the distortions in their practical implementation. I believe that our experiences exactly show that if we return to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and try to use these purposefully in harmony with our own reality, we will be traveling on the straight and sure road of socialist development.

The ideas of Marxism-Leninism are being propagated in Hungary in wide scope. On an annual average 1 million 700,000 persons receive Marxist instruction in party education, state higher education, and the mass organizations. This high number is in itself worthy of acknowledgement, but we who know our practices in their field from close range are aware that the average level of work in this area leaves much to be desired, and we cannot be satisfied. We must propagate the living theory at an appropriate level. This depends on the selection and preparations of the teachers. Only an appropriate teaching staff can prevent the teaching from being abstract, can link teachings with reality because only in this way will the audience be actually able to acquire the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, it is necessary to circumspectly select, train, help the teachers, and if necessary judge them in party, state and mass organization education. It is essential that what we hold forth as Marxist-Leninist instruction should in fact be that. Considering the present lax teaching framework and teachers who are not always adequate, it would perhaps be better if instead of 1 million 700,000 persons we now have enrolled we would have 1 million 200,000 or 1 million 400,000 persons participate in Marxist-Leninist instruction, but at a higher qualitative level.

Many different forms exist for agitation and the propagation of socialist ideas: we must use these in a varied way. We cannot give up the old and well-tried methods, individual agitation and mass programs. From the viewpoint of propagating and representing socialist ideas and our policy, we must devote a great deal of attention to the means of mass communication, the press, radio and television. In general, development is evident. Hungarian public opinion is much more mature, more political, and capable of thinking at a higher level than 10 or particularly 20 years ago, and of course the press, television and radio play a role in this with their inestimable mass effect.

It is not true that everything which a periodical writes, the radio reports or television shows is done with the prior approval of the party, but it is a fact that the various presentations of mass communications are frequently ascribed to the party--to the benefit of the party's policy if the given

article or program is good and to its detriment if it is bad. Fluctuation and a certain retrogression are also in evidence in the field of mass information. Development in this area, too, has influenced work: when it appears that we can relax and we are advancing in every respect, there is a lapse in this area also in worthy politicizing and in being attentive to what is announced or propagated. But in respect to the mass effect, it is not all the same to us whether these organs are the forums or not of socialist views, socialist attitudes, or of the petty bourgeoisie. For this very reason we must seriously improve our work also in the area of propaganda, agitation and mass information.

The first condition for doing this is the responsible handling of basic questions. In the press, radio and television field it is not enough that there should be a presentation or that the newspaper should appear. More important than this is the content, what they provide and what they propagate in mass dimensions. Because it is really true that in Hungary one of the characteristics of development is a somewhat greater possibility for individual success and improvement in living standards, but we will not do well if we place the race for material goods excessively in the center of interest. In society and people alike, a dual feature can be observed: socialist thinking has been strengthened but petty bourgeois thinking has also advanced. In recent times there has been a bit of an expansion of indifference toward public affairs, of egoism and selfishness. When these petty bourgeois views appear in mass information we frequently hear reference to the alleged demands and interests of public opinion. The problem is not that simple! Mass information must also think about what kind of demands it arouses with its work, what interest it stirs and nourishes.

There is an increase in the printed press--although more in peripherally placed journals and newspapers as well as on radio and television of disquieting publications which vary from our policy and in fact are in opposition to it which are appearing without the editors or program directors correcting these immediately or at least at the given opportunity. We have no censorship, and we shall not have because there are those responsible in the area who must keep their hand on matters. They are the ones who must be concerned about the kind of mass effects the programs and articles have, particularly if political and ideological matters are in question. I do not like to bring it up, but in certain Hungarian periodicals they sometimes print such economic views that one must ask: Is what they have written a nightmare or are they just pulling our leg? But we hear of open praise and even excuses for stealing. On another occasion, an interview with a workers' guard suggested it is not worthwhile to make any sacrifice. Is this our policy? Is this the propagation of our ideas? We must take these matters more seriously.

I am not saying that mistakes must not appear in the printed press, on radio or television. But then please correct, straighten out these errors. And also express the party's point of view, although sometimes it is not even a matter of the party's point of view. And let us not put up with having old, sometimes decades-old, affairs dug up that arouse feelings against the party and the system.

I do not want to make too much of all this, but we must regard these phenomena seriously, and in this area also we must work according to the situation. We must recognize that the press, radio and television are not the property of those who work there, but are socialist property. All those who work there must serve the goals and realize the intentions of the people who are building socialism and of the socialist state.

An important ideological and political task for us is to overcome a perceptibly increasing wave of nationalism. In our country in the decades following the liberation, the feeling and outlook of socialist patriotism was developed and strengthened, indivisibly together with internationalism, the idea of friendship among people. At the same time as a heritage of the ideas of the fallen social system, the residue of bourgeois nationalism and of chauvinism still lives and from time to time becomes strengthened. It is no wonder that these ideas, which are foreign to us, continue stubbornly to maintain themselves. Under the old system, they nourished our children with these ideas in elementary school, and they continued daily to stuff the heads of adults with these same ideas. At present the imperialists are also inciting nationalism because it is in their interest to heat up nationalist emotions in the socialist countries and thereby bring into confrontation with one another the people who are building socialism.

Bourgeois nationalism is a serious danger, one of the important cards and trumps of imperialism, and one of the important weapons of the enemies of our system against socialist ideology. Well, whoever is riding on the waves of nationalism should think a little bit: Is he actually driving the boat, or is he being swept by a wave to where he himself does not want to go?

In certain circles a false self-consciousness is developing that only we Hungarians understand how to build socialism, and only we know how to organize matters. This is an unfounded view because we do not know the tasks, difficulties and problems of other people as we do our own. Others also understand their own affairs and are building socialism, we have no reason to boast, to act superior.

We all have a natural national feeling, which means that we follow with empathy and sympathy the fate of the Hungarians living in neighboring countries. But nationalism and irresponsibility should have nothing to do with this natural feeling.

The party and the government should always act with deliberation. We must not do anything, and we will not do anything, that can harm our people, the cause of socialism, or play into the hand of the enemy. As for the future, the historical development of the nationality problem shows that only socialism can solve the problems of the people and nationality, capitalism never can. This problem has to be handled in this way, we have to oppose nationalist incitement and we must realize socialist patriotism, internationalism, the concept of the friendship of peoples.

I would also like to speak of the guidance methods being realized in the cultural field. We stand on the ground of Marxist-Leninist ideology, but

we know that in Hungary Marxism-Leninism is not in an exclusive but in a hegemonic position. In another respect we assert--and we also do so in practice--that we want to realize the ideological leadership of the party together with the independence of the art workshops.

I believe it would be useful if the Central Committee, now when this problem is being discussed, would affirm that we desire to work with this method, and we regard it as valid for the future, too. The essence is not being changed either in theoretical work nor in the methods of leadership. But we must improve the work, because in the cultural area there are more and more places where this principle and this guidance method are not operating. We must see to it that the editorial offices and the creative workshops act not only independently but also responsibly, and that they do not allow oppositional bases to be built in the cultural area either.

Finally, I would like to speak about the party. The general situation of the MSZMP is good. The party membership is committed, the party's leading role is being realized. Unity exists in the party; our membership is increasing. The number of members has increased by about 40,000 since the last Congress, and the social composition of the increment corresponds by and large to the resolution of the Congress.

The executive organs of the Central Committee--I am thinking primarily of the Politburo, the Secretariat, the Budapest and megye party committees, and the Central Committee apparatus--are fulfilling their calling. The Leninist norms are being realized: the leadership is collective in the bodies, personal responsibility is manifested in execution, and democratic centralism is being realized. Cooperation is harmonious between the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee--this is very important.

After having stated all these things, it still must be said that since the Congress a certain laxness is perceptible in the ranks of the party. In some places the effective stand in support for our principles, our system, and our policy is impotent. The more strained international situation, the more difficult international economic conditions and the more complicated economic tasks domestically have evoked faint-heartedness and indecision. In the ranks of the party and in fact in a certain sense even among the activists, some judge the future to be uncertain.

The situation actually is not an easy one, but I believe the Central Committee may emphasize that a Marxist-Leninist party, the vanguard of the working class, may and must work and strive in every situation. I emphasize: In every situation! And to this I must add: We shall live, work and strive as the situation requires. The party members, the followers of communism and socialism--I am also thinking of our associates outside the party--must stand up more resolutely and actively in the present situation and come forward on behalf of the ideas of socialism, for the socialist goals of our people. In all questions of everyday life, we must represent the interests of the socialist point of view and of our people.

When we state that democratic centralism is being realized, Leninist norms are becoming valid in our bodies and organizations, it does no harm to emphasize-- and the same can be said to a certain extent of the social organs--that we should demand debates in appropriate forums, at the place of decision and before the decision. We need debate to know and to compare differing points of view, but after that we need a unified decision and thereafter unified representation in its execution.

The party has numerous responsible bodies where decisions are made on important questions. It is unacceptable behavior if someone not agreeing with the position taken by the party in an important question remains silent at the meeting, but after the decision advertises his dissenting opinion "on the outskirts." It is also unacceptable if someone openly proclaims and represents a private view which is in opposition to that taken by the Central Committee and the authoritative organs. Everyone must observe our rules on this matter. In conversations, press statements, and articles everyone may represent only the position taken in the resolution of the party.

We now require commitment from the entire party membership and all the people, consistent and superior work. This is particularly valid for all the officials of the MSZMP whether in the highest organs, at middle or lower level. But it also applies to each party member. They may debate at membership meetings for hours, for months if necessary, but this is where the debate must be conducted and brought to a decision.

The party members must support observance of the moral norms of a socialist society. They must protect public property, fight against abuse of an assignment, corruption, bribery, bureaucratism, egoism and other unfavorable phenomena. The party must be free of these abuses against which it fights. I have frequently emphasized this, but I know there are those who wonder how they can defend the party against such errors when the party lives in society and its weaknesses are reflected in the party. To such a view my reply is that this is a slandering of our people and party. We have egoists, looters, abusers of assignments, thieves, embezzlers, irresponsible people, but the vast majority of the people and the vast majority of the party membership do their work decently and honestly and make their living in this way.

I insist that the party must be free of these errors, and it is particularly impermissible for the party's leading officials to violate moral laws because they are then unable to represent the moral norms of a socialist society. This is unconditionally necessary, and the requirement for this--rightly so--is very sensitive. With the full strength of the party and not least of all by example, we will continue to fight for the observance of socialist moral requirements.

Having reviewed the main areas of its work, the Politburo regards it as its obligation to examine the situation of the cadres working in key positions. This is unavoidable, for in examining the work problems it must also deal with cadre affairs. The Politburo has judged that there are no significant changes necessary in key positions as was the case 10 months ago. But in the name of the Politburo, I recommend that the Central Committee should

obligate the Politburo to solve in the course of its work in continuous order the problems which are ripe for a decision in order that these tasks do not accumulate at the time of the 13th Congress. The Central Committee recommends this same procedure for the party's other guiding organs and for the Budapest and megye party committees.

As for the cadre questions, our system of norms remains valid--the threefold requirements of political reliability, work training, and leadership ability. Humanism, tact, patience and circumspection have for long been characteristic of the solution of cadre affairs. We must continue to strengthen the correctness of and need for this practice, but it is impermissible that certain people should abuse this humanism, since examples of this, too, have appeared. The old slogan that "I always went where the party sent me" is frequently quoted by those who do not want to go where the party wants. That is, it cannot be permitted that for this reason the solution of cadre questions and the work should suffer.

In speaking of the party's international activity, I regard it as particularly important that we are cooperating closely in good comradely spirit with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Our cooperation with the parties of the other socialist countries is also manysided, fruitful and practical.

We have regular ties with most of the parties of the international communist and workers' movement, including those with which we have several rather important subjects of debate. We believe in maintaining ties, in comradely exchange of ideas, and debate. In this area we have positive experiences, and we shall follow this principle with every party that is so inclined.

Because of the well-known reasons, we do not have party ties with the Communist Party of China or with the Albanian Workers Party. In respect to China, a possibility appears to exist for a certain revival in interstate relations. It is our wish for the Chinese people that the socialist features of their society should be strengthened.

A number of parties in the international communist movement are urging and others are opposing the calling of a large international conference. Our position is that after appropriate preparation there would be meaning to a broad-scale international meeting of the communist and worker parties with an agenda that would obviously bind us together, and this is the cause of defending peace.

We maintain broad-scale and useful relations with the liberation movements and with the socialist and social democratic parties, particularly the European. In respect to these relations, we inform one another in a consultative way of the basic goal of how to strengthen European security and peace and develop cooperation among countries with different social systems.

These broad-scale international relations, of course, give our party and government organs great many tasks, but I am convinced these are necessary and worth the effort.

In conclusion, I ask the Central Committee in the name of the Politburo to mobilize with its resolution our party membership and all the material and intellectual strength of society for a more and more success fulfillment of the resolutions of the 12th Congress. The resolution proposal which has been introduced will serve the goal of helping us to continue working and striving for the socialist development of our country and for peace together with our allies and federates and with all men of good will. I ask the Central Committee to debate and approve the resolution proposal which has been introduced by the Politburo.

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## NEGATIVE ROLE OF SETON-WATSON ON HISTORY EXAMINED

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[Article by Geza Jeszensky: "The Wandering Scot and Hungary"]

[Text] Several articles analyzing contemporary political events in Hungary appeared in 1906 in the English weekly SPECTATOR under the pseudonym of the "Wandering Scot." The author, then 27 years old, soon made his true name public--Robert William Seton-Watson. He was known in Hungary and in surrounding countries as Scotus Viator, first as the number one British expert on the nationality problems of the region and later, during and after the world war, as one of the precipitators of the dissolution of the Monarchy and spiritual midwife and patron of the new states achieving ample frontiers. His career as a historian, beginning in the 1920's, and his creation of a center for Eastern European research in Great Britain appeared to be only complementary to his earlier activity. His name, which became respectable subsequently, only made more credible in later decades the products of his publicistic activity prior to 1918. With an effect still felt his early writings gave western European public opinion a most negative picture of Hungary and they became a basic source for the new history of Hungary in the eyes of western public opinion. British archival material which has become accessible in recent years and new studies (primarily a biography by his sons which appeared in 1981) make it possible for us to try to show what role was played by Seton-Watson and the group of journalists, historians and political emigres which formed about him in British policy in regard to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and in the birth of the successor states.

In a number of respects family background determined the character and career of this British publicist-scientist. His father, W. L. Watson, was a successful businessman, for a Scotch firm operating primarily in India. The modest property acquired by him made it possible for his son to spend years on studies and travels corresponding to his historical and political interests, spending his time on literary activities without the daily concerns of making a living. On his mother's side he came from the Seton family, which figures much in Scotch history, and from the age of 18 he bore the double family name. He preserved his Scotch sentiments throughout his life, but this did not prevent his being a British patriot proud of the institutions regarded as a joint English-Scotch creation. His schools and his studies in Germany and Italy

made him a convinced believer in classical 19th century English liberalism, human rights, democratic process and social justice, but he was only a distant, reserved admirer of radicalism and social democratism. In contrast to the majority of his contemporaries he did not see the growing strength of Germany as a threat to the British Empire. He believed that "the natural alliance of the future will be the three great Teutonic nations, Britain, America and Germany," and he believed that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was an indispensable element in the European balance.

#### Liberal Reform--The Nationality Question

When he first arrived in Vienna in November 1905 to study the history of the Habsburg countries he still shared the admiration of the Hungarians, the nation of Louis Kossuth, which was then conventional for a significant part of the British people. He supported the coalition, which was victorious in the elections and which demanded a separate army with a Hungarian language of command, and he supported the Hungarian side in the inflexible debate in this question. He made his first tour of Hungary in May-June 1906. The shortsighted nationalism of his Hungarian interviewees and the Saxon and Romanian intellectuals he met here, however, shook his pro-Hungarian sympathies. His interest in the nationality question was strengthened by the social democrats in Vienna, by the Slovaks he met through them and especially by the Vienna correspondent of the TIMES, Wickham Steed. In the spring of 1907 he again visited Hungary to study the Slovak question on the spot. It was then that he became emotionally close to the Slovak people, who reminded him of the inhabitants of the Scotch Highlands. He then began, in articles appearing under the name Scotus Viator, to regularly criticize in the English press the principles and practice of the nationalities policy in Hungary. In response a campaign began in the Hungarian press against "nameless slanderers" (suspecting in the matter new maneuvers by "Vienna"). The English public began to be bombarded by counter-articles, pamphlets and even books. Scotus Viator appealed to European public opinion in a pamphlet which appeared in English, French and German which gathered together the violations considered most serious. The real bomb was a book by Seton-Watson which appeared at the end of 1908, "Racial Problems in Hungary." In it he criticized in detail the nationality policy of the age of Dualism--the wrongs in school affairs and public administration, in the system and methods of the elections, the press trials, the deficiencies in the right of organization and assembly and the administration of justice. But he definitely rejected separatism, the idea of separating the several regions. He expected a solution from the introduction of a general electoral law, maintaining and expanding nationality rights and the introduction of cultural autonomy. The book contained not only the just charges of a writer representing his convictions with passion. He saw deliberate nationality discrimination where there was no basis for it, where it was even impossible (for example, in the history of medieval Hungary) and under the influence of his clerical Slovak and Romanian friends he exaggerated the role of the Jews in the measures afflicting the nationalities. It was his characteristic error to regard even natural and voluntary assimilation as Hungarianization, and he saw even in Petofi and Kossuth assimilated, renegade Slovaks. Naturally the Hungarian press leaped at the exaggerations and errors of Scotus Viator. Few noticed that the purpose of the author, who named himself in the foreword, was

more than exposure--it was to change British public opinion, then sympathetic to Hungary. "I want to prove that Hungarian freedom is only a legend, at most pertaining to the Hungarians, but even they have part in it only if they do not adopt the cause of socialism or of the workers."

#### World Politics--Nationalities

The work of Seton-Watson aroused serious interest. The majority of the contemporary English press gave credit to the "convincing indictment." The picture of a liberal, constitutional Hungary was shaken in British public opinion. In the years following, the "Wandering Scot" continued his travels in the Habsburg monarchy. He formed especially close contact with the Croats adopting the idea of a south Slav union. The Croat question was also suitable for making British public opinion, showing little interest in distant European problems, sensitive to the internal problems of the Monarchy. The 1908 annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Balkan wars of 1912-1913 raised the possibility of a general European conflict and--as we know--Great Britain formed the entente with France and Italy in 1907. The nationality tensions of Southeastern Europe had become foreign policy questions. Seton-Watson repeatedly stressed that the peace of Europe was threatened by the fate of the nationalities in Hungary, by Budapest's policy of "Hungarianization." When--following his Slav and Romanian friends--he approached the camp of the followers of Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand he drew a new flood of attacks and anger from the Hungarians. They called him a paid agent of "Vienna," a deliberate falsifier, even a plagiarist. A single brave voice stands out from this chorus, that of Oszkar Jaszi, who greeted the foreign critic as an ally in his struggle for a democratic transformation of the country and for a solution of the nationalities question therein. He regularly reported on the work of Seton-Watson in the HUSZADIK SZAZAD, pointing out that the charges "reflect the indignation of a cultured westerner, an indignation evoked by violent class rule hiding behind the Potemkin village of legal order, an indignation evoked in a publicist who grew up in the atmosphere of English parliamentarianism and the self-government of free counties." He pointed out that the proposals for internal reform made by the "pan-Slav agitator" were conceived in the liberal spirit of Deak and Eotvos. At the same time, Jaszi also sensed that Seton-Watson was less and less capable of preserving his impartiality and was coming under the influence of nationalisms opposed to the Hungarian one. For this reason, in 1914, as a condition for participation in a new journal planned by Seton-Watson, he stipulated that the criticism against the Hungarian ruling classes, "the usurpers of the rights of the Hungarian people and of the nationalities," should not be directed against the Hungarian people as a whole. The precaution was doubly appropriate, in the first place because the danger of this tendency really existed, and in the second place because the Hungarian publicists were strongly attacking the Hungarian radicals for cooperating with the "enemies of the Hungarians" with dangerous naivete.

#### The Complete Dismembering of the Monarchy

There can be no doubt that by 1914 Seton-Watson was irretrievably, emotionally and intellectually committed on the side of the non-German and non-Hungarian nationalities of the Monarchy and, together with Wickham Steed and exploiting

the favorable foreign policy mood, had succeeded in gaining more and more of British public opinion to their side. But this did not mean that the British political leadership, public opinion or Seton-Watson himself were ready to give up the century old dogma of the necessity of the Monarchy. It was in just this spirit that they would have liked to cure, through some radical structural reform, this sick great power staggering from one political crisis to another, so that it could be a more independent partner of Germany, playing a braking role. The ultimatum to Serbia and the eruption of the world war, however, gave an entirely new direction to their thinking. He saw in the two camps clashing on the battlefield a struggle between Good and Evil and he was not inclined to come to an understanding with or show mercy for the enemies of Britain. In a letter written to his wife on 6 August 1914 he formulated his own war goals program. "From now on a greater Serb state is inevitable, and we must create it.... Dalmatia, Bosnia and Croatia must be united with Serbia, maintaining a Croatian parliament. Romania must get all of the Romanians." A few months later, under the influence of talks with Masaryk in Amsterdam, he accepted the idea of a complete dismembering of the Monarchy. For the next four and a half years, with incredible energy and tenacity, not sparing his own fortune, he worked literally night and day to get his own government and the allies to adopt this program and aid its realization. He did all this with the conviction that he was working to create a better world and a new Europe.

The home front was the crucial arena in Seton-Watson's struggle for a new Europe. It was not easy to convince the British foreign ministry, which always treated with distrust outsiders dabbling in foreign policy, or the politicians and soldiers, who regarded Germany as the chief enemy in the war, or the difficult to move public opinion to give up a century old basic principle and commit themselves to the dismemberment of the Habsburg monarchy. The other line was contacts cultivated with emigres arriving from the Monarchy. Together with Steed, who in the meantime had been promoted to foreign policy editor of the TIMES, he brought the nationality politicians together with official circles, popularized their cause before public opinion and, before all else, aided their political organization, helped smooth out their internal conflicts and participated in working out their programs. In their interest he visited the war zone, organized associations, gave lectures, wrote propaganda publications and, in 1916, founded together with Masaryk the weekly THE NEW EUROPE, which, with the participation of distinguished British and foreign authors, commented on current political and war events in the spirit of its motto--"Pour la Victoire Integrale." This journal really formed public opinion and finally won over the political elite too because it successfully joined the desire for a just and better world with a sure formula for winning the war, with the program to break up the Monarchy and realize the nationality principle. On military service after 1917 Seton-Watson was assigned to the government's information and propaganda office and in 1918 he was assigned to the newly created Ministry of Information. With his colleagues--who included A. Toynbee, Lewis Namier, Headlam-Morley and other famous scientists and politicians--he manufactured a mass of reports and memoranda which were circulated in the highest circles. These contributed in large measure to the gradual raising of the status of the emigre movements and to the adoption in principle of a plan to restructure Central Europe.

The breakthrough at the front took place in the spring of 1918, when Prime Minister Lloyd George and the Foreign Office had given up hope of a separate peace to be signed with the Monarchy. The government authorized the initiation of an intensive propaganda campaign on the Italian front proposing the dismemberment of the Monarchy and in the course of the summer--adopting the clever formula of Steed--it recognized the emigree Czechoslovak National Council as the "depository of the future Czechoslovak government."

#### A Peace Solution?

The struggle for a new Europe did not come to an end with victory, the dissolution of the Monarchy and the creation of the new states. The antagonisms among the several emigree trends which had been suppressed thus far only with difficulty and the international disputes about the boundaries of the new states flared up. The peace conference to draw the borders was still to come. From December 1918 to April 1919 Steed and Seton-Watson were in Paris under one roof to further the final codification of their life work. At that time Seton-Watson began to see that the new, just world he had hoped for would not issue from the war, rather it was the old face of selfishness, greed and power politics. But he was solaced by the triumph with which the new states received him--Czechoslovakia in the spring of 1919, the Kingdom of Serbia-Croatia-Slovenia and Romania in the summer of 1920. In the years ahead he was to be disappointed--if to differing degrees--in these states too.

Reviewing this rare example of successful, persistent individual action, based on conviction and favorable external circumstances, we must answer the question: Was Seton-Watson the "gravedigger" of Hungary? Knowing the concrete course of history one can unambiguously refute the view so often voiced between the two world wars that the propaganda activity of Seton-Watson and his friends blew up the Monarchy, that they caused the destruction of historical Hungary. But there can be no doubt that from August 1914 Seton-Watson and his circle zealously dug the grave of the Monarchy and of historical Hungary with it. Naturally, they did not cause their death; this was caused by the national and class movements, and by the war, the coup de grace for the sick man. One already dead was laid in the grave formed by Seton-Watson's group.

In 1918-1919 he could not believe in the birth of a new Hungary, and although he recommended something a bit more favorable than the borders which were drawn he and his friends offered no support to the Hungarian forces desiring to place the relations of the peoples of the region on new foundations, and he opposed the Republic of Councils sharply, as he opposed "Bolshevism" in general. The counterrevolutionary regime of Horthy was not suitable for changing his sentiments or for making him urge solutions deviating substantially from the policy of the little entente. His human integrity did not permit him not to notice the appearance of methods he had condemned before 1914, now afflicting the Hungarian minorities in the successor states. On a number of occasions he raised his voice against the policy being conducted against them. It is true, not now before the European public. He sent a 33 page memorandum to his old friends Masaryk and Benes in this matter, but in vain.

Reviewing his entire life's work there can be no doubt that Hungarian policy before 1914 made Seton-Watson, the idealist seeker of truth, an "anti-Hungarian." The course of events then made it possible for this partisan expert to have a say in history in a brief, critical period and to a large extent he influenced the fate of an entire historical region.

8984

CSO: 2500/226-B

INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM VS 'TIME FOR EVERYTHING' VIEWPOINT

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 9 Apr 83 p 10

[Article by Istvan Herman: "About the Unlimited Possibilities, a Contrary Opinion"]

[Text] There once was a slogan that expressed, though in a vulgar way, people's belief that unlimited possibilities mean the same thing as freedom. This slogan was: "America is the country of unlimited possibilities." We will not ask now what kind of experiences stood behind this expression, and I also don't wish to investigate the ways in which this slogan has been disproved. The main thing is that most people have seen real freedom in the unlimitedness of possibilities, or the fact that possibilities always exist. As if life as a whole could only be properly organized if we knew that our possibilities were unlimited. Of course, it is also completely true that this concept has usually been contrasted with the following bourgeois viewpoint: "A time for everything."

I think every intelligent person initially struggles against those who want to limit him in a "Philistine" manner. Almost everyone has experienced in his childhood parents or acquaintances warning: "Don't read these things; this isn't good for you." This is partly because the person knows himself how to decide what is good for him and what is not, and he is justly offended if he is not entrusted with the decision. There may be some truth, in theory, to the conclusion that children should be counselled against certain books. But this warning must be expressed not as a prohibition nor as a reprimand, but as a gently phrased piece of advice.

On the other hand, this kind of intrusion was infuriating because very often-- I can see this now, afterwards--it was made on the basis of a narrow point of view. If they thought that some work of Balzac, such as his "Splendor and Misery of the Courtesans," was not for my fingers when I was 15 years old, now I can say I was right. One must turn against such warnings. And in this sense I considered then and still do consider such admonitions as limitations of freedom. And let me also remark that I consider very questionable sometimes the determination of age restrictions for films, as also, occasionally, the fact that all ages can view a film that portrays real horrors. Here what is wrong is that the basis for the restriction is almost always the number and intensity of sexual scenes--but even this viewpoint is not followed consistently.

But rebellion against the bourgeois viewpoint does not at all mean that we must regard our freedom as unlimited or that exemption from restrictions is real freedom. Think of how many women and men have ruined their lives by thinking "there's still time." There is still time because he has unlimited possibilities. He has time, because he is only X years old, and how many people have started families at a much older age? In a word, there is time. But it is clear, however, that time is not unlimited. Hegel once formulated it this way: "Time is not a container in which various events and objects are contained;" and let us add that human existence has a rhythm, even if it is not obligatory. Thus many spinsters and bachelors blessed with a strange fastidiousness still hope that some day they will have children, because once they thought that there is nothing to prevent them from choosing over and over again, looking for their possibilities.

In this way Hungarian society has given birth to the strange phenomena we are living through these days. We have writers in almost every form and genre that have been "young" poets, or dramatists, or writers of epics for decades. Decades! The question has arisen many times, when will these "young people" stop being young, when will the period end when they are considered pioneering and futuristic? As if society itself were to believe in unlimited possibilities; as if our collective conviction that three or four, even five or six, thin volumes of poems were just a prologue to the time when the poet dressed in peculiar armor would speak in an original voice!

The complaints that young people, especially young intellectuals, are making about their financial situations sound justified. But there are many among the young who are disproportionately well off, who are young in the way described above, that is they are considered to have youthful abilities; though they have been working for years they still have only unfulfilled promises to show for themselves. So we can see that the question of whether our possibilities are unlimited is not just an individual question, but a social question as well. If society believes in unlimited possibilities, the individuals do too. If there is trust in the unlimited further development of one tendency or another, then why can't there be faith in the unlimited future of every economic trend that appears in our times? So one might believe that after the collapse of oil prices the price of oil will only increase and will not fall again even temporarily. In other words, this is a question of attitude.

But let us return to the individual. We have contrasted two extreme errors. One is the petty pedantry that continually points out that there is a time for everything. The other believes in unlimited possibilities, and so his life will be characterized by missed opportunities. The same is true, as we have seen, of societies. There are some societies that assume the possibility of making great leaps forward, and there are those that pursue a path of small steps, the path of plannable and planned steps only, without innovation. They recall that "natura non facit saltus," that nature does not progress by leaps, and therefore individuals and society do not either.

But it is very instructive from the point of view of the individual also that those who continually try to make all the right steps at the right time also can ruin their lives. They always want to choose the right time, and therefore

they throw away the opportunities that really point ahead and might give their lives a great boost forward. For without the recognition of opportunities, human life not only becomes monotonous, but usually is condemned to the same kind of hopelessness as the individual who would believe in unlimited possibilities.

In both cases, time becomes mystified. Mystification means that it has the effect of an external force. It is acting as an external force when someone says: "One should start a family at age 30"--and does so, and also when someone takes time and waits--waits endlessly for the "one and only." Stated simply, human life and the existence of society are not determined only by time. Processes are not defined either by time-viewpoints or by a lack of them. Time will become the natural medium of existence if life itself has content, if it has its "point of Archimedes." Therefore, even if it is not necessary to think about when to do something, we must think about what to do. Attila Jozsef's statement, "My leader leads from within me," is true in this sense. That is, the determining factor is not sufficient time, not infinite time, but human and social content, by means of which time can be captured.

9611

CSO: 2500/215

PUBLICATION OF SEVENTH JEWISH ALMANAC REVIEWED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 May 83 p 8

[Review by Miklos Csapody of book "MIOK Evkonyve 1981-1982" [1981-1982 Almanac of the National Representation of Hungarian Jews], Sandor Scheiber editor, Budapest, 1983]

[Text] The first volume of the almanac series published by the National Representation of Hungarian Jews appeared in 1970. Since then, a new volume has come out every other year. The present, seventh, volume in the series has once again been edited by Sandor Scheiber, the originator of the almanac. He compiled the nearly 600 pages of the 1981-1982 volume in accordance with the requirements of readability and scientific professionalism. Conforming to the rules that are mandatory for a work of this type, the almanac offers every literary form and genre, as well as numerous aspects of the Jewish topic. Understandably, this volume bears the imprint of its editor's intellectual disposition and scientific interest. Thanks to this broad scope, the volume is historical and literary, while at the same time it also offers variety. Consequently the volume is not only an almanac in the original sense of this word, but also a depository of research results and scientific reports.

The authors investigating the less familiar chapters of earlier and modern Hungarian literature (they include Robert Dan, Tamas Lichtmann, Kalman Vargha and Sandor V. Kovacs) present their research into Simon Pechi's Sabbatarian translation of the Bible, Akos Molnar's historical novels and Aladar Komlos's literary work, citing interesting sources such as, for example, the correspondence in German between Martin Buber and Gyorgy Lukacs, quoted in the publication of Pamela Vermes.

Because of the abundance of its data, the most important writing in the almanac is Sandor Scheiber's collection of Jewish folklore motifs (customs, legends, myths, traditions and folksongs) from Illes Kaczer's biblical works, tracing many traditions and figures of speech as far as modern Hungarian literature. Klara Friedrich analyzes the graphics of Gyorgy Kadar. An art history study by Marianna H. Takacs reviews Rembrandt's Jewish customers. A posthumous work by Bence Szabolcsi (his story "From the Cave of Polyphemos" in the preceding volume had met with wide acclaim) is based on data gathered between 1912 and 1942 and analyzes the musical traditions of the Jews ". . . among whom particularly the ones living in the provinces could be regarded as Hungarians. But the persecutions of 1944 and the mass deportations claimed their more than 500,000 victims

primarily from the ranks of these Jews, effectively annihilating the provincial Jews. Thereby essentially the old Hungarian Jews were destroyed."

Important historical contributions are Istvan Csillag's sketch of Mor Kalazdy who had been Kossuth's regimental physician in the war of independence in 1848; Istvan Hiller's summary of the Hungarian Jews' martyrdom in Austria; and the chapter-long autobiographies that are typical documents of the period between the two world wars (including the recollections of Samu Stern who subsequently became president of the Jewish Council, or the Goldziher family's history by Geza Hegedus).

Continuing the tradition of the previous volumes, the almanac offers also literary works. The best prose is "Rio," a short story by Ferenc Karinthy. The poets in this volume include Sandor Csoori, Agnes Gergely, Andras Mezei, Janos Pilinszky and Zoltan Zelk. The almanac can justifiably expect to attract the interest of a wide circle of readers.

1014

CSO: 2500/260

## BRIEFS

AFRICAN OFFICERS--Sandor Gaspar, SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] general secretary, received the African trade union officials who are spending one month at the SZOT central school to study the experience and activity of the Hungarian trade unions. At the meeting Sandor Gaspar gave a briefing on the timely problems of the international trade union movement, on the activity of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and on the more important tasks confronting the Hungarian trade unions. He also answered the questions that were asked. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 May 83 p 8] 1014

KAMPUCHEAN MILITARY DELEGATION--On the invitation of Army General Lajos Czinege, the minister of national defense, a Kampuchean military delegation arrived here Thursday for an official fraternal visit. The delegation is headed by Bou Thong, a member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Politburo, deputy premier of the Kampuchean People's Republic and minister of national defense. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 May 83 p 8] 1014

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE--On Thursday, at the College of Public Administration, the Ministry of Culture and Education held an educational conference attended by the deputy chairmen of the Budapest and megye councils, the chiefs of their culture and education departments, the department chiefs of the Budapest and megye MSZMP committees, and the Budapest and megye secretaries of the Teachers' Trade Union. Maria Hanga, deputy minister of culture and education, evaluated the experience of the 1982-1983 school year and spoke of the tasks in the next school year. She then lectured on the tasks of implementing the policy on national minorities. The lecture was followed by consultations and debate. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 May 83 p 8] 1014

CSO: 2500/259

PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Organizations, Associations in PRON Activities

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 7 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Report by PAP: "Role of Organizations and Associations in PRON Activities"]

[Text] WARSAW (PAP). On 6 [April 1983] meetings of representatives of the public organizations which joined the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] took place in Warsaw. The course of and conclusions ensuing from the pre-congress campaign of the national rebirth movement so far were assessed and the possibilities for increasing the public activism of the organizations and institutions participating in the PRON were appraised against this background.

At the meeting chaired by Jerzy Ozdowski, Deputy Marshal of the Parliament and Deputy Chairman of the Provisional National Council [TRK] of the PRON, ways of strengthening the socio-educational role of the PRON were considered, among other things. Describing the course so far of the pre-congress discussion on the movement for national rebirth, J. Ozdowski declared that the movement's main program assumptions, as presented in its draft declaration and draft statute, have gained acceptance. At meetings and encounters within individual communities many amendments to these documents and proposals on the future activity of the PRON have also been submitted. Attention has also been drawn to the need to enhance the PRON's influence among youth in artistic and intelligentsia communities as well as in work establishments. The socio-educational possibilities of the organizations active within the PRON were emphasized.

It was pointed out that the currently discussed draft declaration of the PRON should be revised so as to stress more strongly and clearly the issues of shaping civic attitudes and culture and education of children and youth. It was stressed that youth's participation in stimulating public activism is indispensable. In this connection, attention was drawn to the educational function of the family.

It is a task of the national rebirth movement--it was stated--to conduct a dialogue in the spirit of humanism, tolerance and respect for the value of the individual as well as for national and state values. It is also important to counter-act manifestations of pathology and direct public attention to problems of minors, the physically disabled and all those whom the crisis hits the hardest.

Economic Organizations Within the PRON

Will the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth be a formalized organization or a living social movement with loose forms of operation of autonomous elements

reflecting the problems of society in their activities? What should be the status of the signatories in the movement? How will candidates to the National Council step forward? What will be the status of the PRON in the political system of the PRL? Will it exercise the role of social control of the administration?

Briefing on precisely these problems, raised in pre-congress discussions within the PRON was provided on 6 [April 1983] by Jerzy Grzybaczak, deputy chairman of the Provisional National Council of the PRON, to representatives of social economic organizations (including central cooperative unions), technical organizations (e.g. the NOT [Supreme Technical Organization] and others (League for Natural Conservation, Maritime League) which declared their participation in the PRON.

While accepting the basic directions of activity of the PRON, the participants in the meeting criticized the fact that no clear boundary line between means and ends was drawn in the draft declaration of the PRON, as well as the imprecise formulation of some other aspects of that draft. They also drew attention to its insufficient treatment of problems of environmental protection. Concern was also expressed for preserving the movement's original spirit of authenticity in the course of its further development.

J. Grzybaczak declared that the current stage of the PRON is that of program discussions: the society is waiting for concrete accomplishments and discussion of the solution of specific problems. Only the Congress will decide on the form of action of the movement.

#### PRON--Opportunity for Individuals

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 7 Apr 83 p 3

[Unsigned article: "A Movement Which Teaches Respect for the Individual and His Work..." under the rubric "How I View the PRON"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original course]

[Text] /The pre-congress campaign of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, which has currently reached the stage of province congresses, elicits discussion of the idea of national accord and of the aims and tasks of this movement, which has already become a mass social movement. Today we publish below comments of PRON activists, including two recorded at the city conference in Bydgoszcz, as well as of sympathizers of this movement./

/Zofia Witkowska, activist at the League of Polish Women [LKP] in Wloclawek:/

The fundamental aim of the movement for a national accord should be to genuinely rally people round a program for surmounting the crisis. As a longtime activist of the League of Women, my view of this issue may be practical but is probably in accord with the female mind. For unless we ourselves attend to improving our living and social conditions, and unless we cope with the growing problems of everyday life, it will be difficult to convince anyone of the validity of even the most ambitious programs. Must the PRON attend precisely to these matters? After all, this should be done by the authorities. Just as this assertion may be, in my opinion it is not practical at present. The officialdom does not display sufficient interest in these problems and for this very reason the elements of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth must fill this gap and become an intermediary between the citizens and the state.

I also am perturbed by the declining activism of residential self-governments. Recently they have become somewhat disoriented, believing that the establishment of the Citizens' Committees for National Salvation [OKON] means that it is the function of these committees to attend to the claims and proposals of the population. As activists in the national rebirth movement we should assure the practical measurability of our actions. There should not be any situations such as the one I had recently observed at a session of a self-government: "We keep talking and talking but nothing specific is being done."

/Janusz Urbanski, representative of the plant OKON operating at the Bydgoszcz Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops [ZNTK]:/

Let me recall the truism that the socio-political climate is decided by the mood of the workforces in labor establishments. People are watching the authorities to see how they will implement their declarations. This is a factor that shapes the general mood. Hence it is an important duty of PRON activists to monitor the manner in which the authorities implement their obligations. Through the mediation of the PRON the society should also directly influence the manner in which power is exercised. As I see it, this means that PRON elements should make sure that, when deciding on issues important to the society, representatives of the authorities adhere to the principle of public consultation before making the final decisions.

The third major factor is restoring respect for work. This is not being promoted by the excessive spreading of the "umbrella" of welfare services. Is the worker--who in the final analysis is the direct producer of national income who pays for the welfare activities of the state--capable of supporting with his work such an extended system of social services? Does not such a social system depreciate the value of labor, especially of the labor of the worker? Respect for work should be taught primarily to young people, and it can be taught effectively only when the criterion of work becomes the decisive criterion of the value of the individual. The translation of this idea into reality is, in my opinion, the third most important task for the PRON.

/Robert Letowski, chairman of the city board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] in Bydgoszcz:/

The slogan "Youth" has recently again become fashionable. But a dividing line should not be drawn between the problems of the young and those of adults. They are simply social problems. The forum of the PRON precisely provides a chance for such a treatment of these questions and for the joint action of youth and adults to resolve them. I hope that this patriotic movement, which after all unites persons with differing views and outlook, will engage in educational activities in behalf of the rising generation. Here I refer chiefly to historical education--respect for historical sites, for people, for symbols of national and state identity. This is, in my opinion, one of the most essential tasks facing PRON activists.

/Stanislawa Frejtag: delegate to the province PRON congress in Wloclawek:/

To me, the principal task of the PRON is the moral-ethical rebirth of the nation. Hence also I consider it most important to shape patriotic attitudes among youth,

to teach respect for the authorities and to develop the feeling of responsibility for the national destiny. This concerns besides not only young people but adults. After all, much is still to be done at work establishments, where discipline leaves much to be desired.

The movement has already drafted good program documents. We also are familiar with its main aims and assumptions. Now, in my opinion, it is necessary to identify good activists, persons enjoying authority in their communities, who also are capable of convincingly arguing their views. I believe that the beginnings of the PRON should imbue us with optimism. But it will be better if we all join in implementing the idea of the national accord.

/Maria Piatek, salesperson at the SPOLEM Consumer Cooperatives Union in Grudziadz:/

The idea of national accord and the initiative for that accord was conceived even before the introduction of the martial law. I happen to remember this, because at the time many of us had ardently desired something that would put an end to the incessant tension and fears of the future. Thus, the initiative for the accord had then been conceived just in time, offering a spark of hope. Unfortunately....

This idea is now being translated into reality by the PRON movement. I admit that I know little about the program, initiatives and actions of that movement. I think that one of its fundamental tasks will be the striving to find the moral "identity" of our society. We should bear in mind our best traditions, cultivate them and educate our children in their spirit.

These days I am horrorstruck to see the ruthless pursuit of profits, the desire to amass personal fortunes at any price, the growth of petty conflicts into scurrilous adventures, the little respect being shown for the aged, children and women. What I sometimes see in my store, on the trolley or on the bus suffices to awaken anxiety about primarily the education of our children, the attitudes of youth--because they also witness all that....

The PRON will not, of course, change this situation immediately, but it should associate individuals and public organizations in a common front for a moral renewal. This is how I view this social movement at present, and this is what I expect from it.

#### Youth in PRON

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 8 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Waldemar Banach: "Youth in the PRON"]

[Text] (Own information.) Yesterday 7 [April 1983] a conference of members of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] active in elements of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth was held at the ZSMP Province Board in Olsztyn. It was attended by Wladyslaw Ogrodzinski, chairman of the WTR PRON [Province Provisional Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth]. Opening the conference, Zbigniew Zlakowski, deputy chairman of the ZSMP Province Board and secretary of the WTR PRON, declared that, among other things: "The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is an ever-young movement that gradually and not without difficulty is becoming part of our ideological and political landscape. There are many fields of public life in which we can and should debate, discuss

and explore creative compromise. But we cannot doubt that the most important issue at present is rescuing the country from its economic and political crisis and surmounting the crisis in civic attitudes. The idea of the PRON is open to all members of the ZSMP, all young Poles. We not only can but should influence the evolution of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and winning over to its idea broad masses of youth. Repeatedly in the past, and in the present as well, voices have been heard to the effect that there are too few of us young people in various elements of the political system. Today we have the opportunity for correcting this situation. We must confirm the ideas of the PRON by the attitudes of our members and initiatives and joint action to solve particular problems of life.

Teresa Kujawska, an activist of the Citizens Committee for National Salvation in Szkotow, commented on the gmina PRON conference in Kozlow. It is symptomatic that the conference dealt with aspects of work discipline, the upbringing of children and youth and morality. She stated that the draft declaration and statute principles of the PZPR still are insufficiently known to the public.

Jolanta Rodziewicz declared that the conference in Jeziorany discussed improving trade and expanding housing construction. Many spoke about the future and fewer about the past.

Jerzy Chotkowski of Nidzica observed that instances of civic-spirited attitude, on which national accord and rebirth hinges, are growing in number. The PRON cannot be an "intervention bureau" and instead it should be the initiator of action.

In Bartoszyce, according to Elzbieta Mackiewicz, much attention is paid to aspects of developing culture in that city.

Wladyslaw Ogrodzinski, the TWR chairman, stressed in his speech that the PRON is still at the beginning of the road. During the short period elapsed since the declaration was accepted in our province, the number of persons involved in the activities of PRON elements has tripled. W. Ogrodzinski also briefed those present about the comments ensuing from the pre-congress campaign. Misconceptions of the idea of the PRON sometimes are due to unfamiliarity with or misunderstanding of the theses contained in the basic draft documents, which are couched in inadequately clear language--it was stated at the conference. Much effort and toil of each of us will still be needed before the idea of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is translated into practical reality. Huge tasks in this respect face youth, as was explicitly stressed at the close of the conference.

#### Torun Province PRON Delegates

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 8 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (T): "The PRON--Such As We Make It" under the rubric "Participants in the National Congress Elected in the Torun Province"]

[Text] Attempts to unify the efforts of the Torun Province public in the spirit of a national accord had first been undertaken in the fall of 1981. A month later already the first Citizens' Committees for National Salvation [OKON] had been formed to implement the concepts of the 9th Party Congress under the new historical conditions, and on 6 October 1982, through the will of by then already

several thousand committed activists, the Province Provisional Council [TWR] of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth had been appointed.

This was another stage in the integration of the movement, the meshing of the efforts of its local elements to translate into reality the supremely important duties of rebuilding public morality and work patriotism and serving the citizens and the organs of the authorities needing support and help. These issues, now enriched by the contents of the ideological program of the PRON, dominated the discussions and actions of the local elements of the OKON and PRON during the pre-congress campaign as well as during the first province PRON conference held yesterday in Torun.

The participants in the conference, which was chaired by Professor Doctor of Engineering Adam Swinarski, the chairman of the TWR PRON, were 230 activists of the TRW PRON and representatives of community and local elements. Also present were Alfred Beszterda, deputy chairman of the Provisional National Council [TKR] of the PRON, and representatives of the party and allied political parties as well as of the social organizations which had signed the ideological declaration of the PRON: Zenon Draminski, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee; Zofia Kalisz, chairperson of the Province Board of the United Peasant Party [ZSL]; Henryk Marczak, chairman of the Province Board of the Democratic Party [SD]; Kazimierz Jaworski, chairman of the Province Board of the PAX Association; Zbigniew Markiewicz, chairman of the Province Board of the PZKS [Polish Catholic-Social Union]; Kazimierz Sulkowski, chairman of the Province Board of the Christian Social Association [ChSS]; and also Col (Ret) Kazimierz Chudy, plenipotentiary of the Committee for National Defense [KOK] and Stanislaw Trokowski, the Torun Province Governor.

Many interesting issues were raised in a discussion marked by a deep concern for the durability of the Movement and its growth. The 242 elements in the province already associate 10,500 of its inhabitants. But the problem is that this should become a genuine mass movement. It was pointed out that the Movement has indeed room for all persons to whom the good of the country matters. The forces of society should--it was emphasized--support the application of the economic reform and the establishment of the self-government movement in labor establishments. There is a great need to develop the educational process beginning with the family, which represents the smallest social nucleus, and to combat harmful manifestations of social malaise by promoting the universal spread of culture, sports and tourism and of concern for natural human surroundings.

It was also stated in the discussion that national consolidation is the basic pre-requisite for calm in the country and recovering Poland's standing in international politics. The conference participants expressed their deep anxiety about the exacerbated international situation. The adopted resolution also states: "...In solidarity with all the world's progressive forces acting in behalf of the preservation of peace, understanding among nations and social justice, we are opposed to the renascent revisionist tendencies in the politics of the FRG and to the threat of the annihilation of mankind owing to the use of nuclear arms."

/It was also resolved to abolish the provisional nature of the Province PRON Council./ [printed in boldface]

Those present elected 12 delegates to the national congress of the PRON. Mandates for representing the Torun Province were received by: Prof Antoni

Czacharowski, prorector of the Nicolas Copernicus University and ARIOS [expansion unknown] activist (non-party member); Jadwiga Drozdowicz, farmer of Lubicz Gmina (PZPR); Pawel Grzymowicz, PRON activist from Nowe Miasto Lubawskie (non-party member); Henryk Jastrzebski, teacher from Chelmza (PZPR); Aleksander Komorowski, director of Institute of Plant Cultivation and Acclimatization (IHAR) at Konczewice (non-party member); Henryk Poplawski, white-collar worker from Torun (SD); Czeslaw Ratajski, pensioner from Torun (ZSL); Col (Ret) Stanislaw Spasiuk (PZPR); Prof Antoni Swinarski, chairman of the TWR PRON (non-party member); Slawomir Targowski, retired engineer (PZPR); Janina Watkowska, farmer from Rogozno Gmina (non-party member); and Tadeusz Wladyko, editor of GAZETA TORUNSKA (PZPR).

Earlier, during meetings of local PRON elements, 13 other delegates to the congress, whose names we had published in separate articles, had been elected as well. Thus, together with the four current members of the TKR [Provisional National Council] of the PRON, 29 persons will represent the Torun Province at the congress. Four permanent members of the national council were elected yesterday from among this group. These duties will be exercised by: Kazimierz Jaworski of Torun (PAX); Jan Przeczewski of Grudziadz (ZSMP); Henryk Swobodzinski of Wabrzezno (PZPR); and Slawomir Targowski of Torun (PZPR).

#### Warsaw Province PRON Conference

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 11 Apr 83 pp 1,7

[Article by (ts): "First Warsaw PRON Conference in Session: Programs-Elections Campaign Prior to the National Congress; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source ]

[Text] Successive province congresses and conferences of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth were held on 9 and 10 [April 1983]. On Saturday they were held at Chelm, Kalisz, Katowice, Krakow, Lodz, Olsztyn, Piotrkow, Poznan, Skierniewice, Suwalki, Szczecin, Tarnow, Wloclawek, Wroclaw and Warsaw, and on Sunday in Bialystok.

The PRON has emerged as the response to society's need and will for a renewal, a national accord and democratic improvement of the Polish Republic; we are forming a program in which there will be room for activism of all--such have been the guiding ideas of the participants in these conferences and congresses.

On Saturday April 9 the First Warsaw Conference of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth was held in Warsaw. It was attended by members of the Provisional Warsaw Council [TWR] of the PRON, representatives of local elements of the Movement, delegates to the First National Congress of the PRON and invited guests. They included Jan Dobraczynski, chairman of the Provisional National Council [TRK] of the PRON and Prof Marian Orzechowski, secretary general of the TRK PRON, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The conference was inaugurated by Prof Adolf Ciborowski, chairman of the TWR PRON.

The program reports described the outcome of the pre-congress campaign and briefed the conference participants about the course of elections of delegates to the First National Congress of the PRON at the Movement's local elements.

✓ /Discussing the pre-congress state of the Warsaw organization, Janusz Stefanowicz, deputy chairman of the TWR PRON, also declared. During the campaign

in the Nation's Capital province a total of 440 meetings was held. Altogether, 220 PRON elements and 70 founding groups operate in the province. The number of participants in the Movement is estimated at about 15,000 in the province. A preliminary estimate of the effects of the campaign points to a substantial, 50-percent increase in the number of participants as well as in the number of organizational elements. The program of action of the Province PRON Council has gained universal acceptance. Repeated reservations have been made, though, concerning the ways and means of translating that program into reality. The need to determine the priorities and importance of individual issues was mentioned./

The participants in the conference expressed their views during the discussion. The urgency of defining the PRON's place in the country's political system was repeatedly emphasized. The PRON must have a Constitutionally guaranteed place in the political system of the PRL--it was declared--primarily as regards its rights to initiate legislative, election and monitoring drives.

The discussants expressed anxiety about the imprecise definition of the roles of the signatories to the Movement's draft declaration. They thought unconvincing the formulation that the presence of signatories in the PRON represents the guarantee of its autonomy and partnership vis a vis the authorities. The signatories are an integral part of the PRON and hence guarantees of this kind should be given not by themselves but by virtue of a Constitutional provision. The representatives of the signatories should not hold dual high posts in their own organizations and in the PRON. It was commented that the role of the signatories should be considered not on the declaration but in the statute.

/A critical position was taken toward the provisions of the draft program discussing the democratization of methods of exercise of power and the formulation of social premises for the democratization of public life. They are so generalized--it was stated--that they do not specify the manner in which the PRON is to implement such complex tasks./

The participants in the discussions urged a new and broader treatment of the origins of the PRON movement. They mentioned the need to link it to national traditions beginning with the ideals of the Enlightenment and Renaissance and running through the experiences of the 3 May Constitution to the Manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation and the achievements of People's Poland. The genesis of the PRON--it was said--derives from both the successive protests of the working class and the achievements of the leading political force--the PZPR and other participants in the coalition system of rule as well as of the Polish Episcopate and the Polish Ecumenical Council.

--In the course of the discussions many aspects of current organizational activities and experience gained in several months of operation were touched upon. Attention was drawn to the potential represented by engaging the participation of youth and artistic communities in the PRON. Ways of convincing broad masses of society to become active for the Movement were pointed out. In this connection, the need to prepare a thorough analysis of the experience so far, clearly formulating what is serving the socialist renewal and how, was emphasized.

--Speaking of the tremendous culture-shaping and opinion-making role played by the Nation's Capital, stress was placed on the special role of the intelligentsia and its activism in behalf of improving national welfare. One discussant stated that a moral individual has no right to refuse intellectual services to the society which provided him with education and upbringing. In Warsaw there exist

conditions for a fuller utilization of artistic communities and the engineer intelligentsia.

During the discussions there was no lack of voices pointing to matters to which local PRON organizations should devote most attention in their regular activities. Attention was drawn to the need to provide maximum assistance to the elderly, lonely people and minors. The need to promote the expansion of communal construction and the protection of architectural relics in the Nation's Capital was pointed out. The principal tasks mentioned included the environmental protection of the Nation's Capital and the province, with the most urgent tasks in this connection pertaining to the drafting of proper principles of environmental control and the prevention of environmental degradation due to improper siting of facilities that decisively influence the health of the inhabitants, as well as the preservation of the ecological balance in Warsaw and environs.

/During the conference the list of delegates to the National Congress of the PRON was complemented. Altogether, 94 delegates and 9 candidates to the national authorities of the PRON will represent the Warsaw community at the congress. Of this total, 74 were elected during the campaign at local elements and 24 emerged during the Warsaw PRON Conference.

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During the deliberations of the First Warsaw PRON Conference we talked with delegates from the Nation's Capital and province to the First National Congress of the PRON. They told EXPRESS WIECZORNY as follows:

--Jerzy Regulski, deputy chairman of the PRON in Lomianki: As civic-minded persons, we place the good of the society and state above all else. As a delegate and a longtime social activist, I expect that my experience will be of help in drafting a program which will help to put an end to the crisis once and for all. As a delegate from a rural gmina I'm interested in issues concerning the countryside, agriculture and livestock raising. If I were to take the floor during the congress, I would chiefly touch upon agricultural issues. The issue of the quality and quantity of agricultural production is always topical--and at present it is extraordinarily important. /The aim should be to utilize with maximum efficiency the time and efforts of farmers. The provision of an appropriate level of living conditions in the countryside is of tremendous importance to these issues./ Being desirous of helping themselves at least partially in the present difficult situation, some of the 15,000 inhabitants of our gmina have organized themselves into public committees for building gas pipelines. Aid in this too was provided by the PRON.

--Zygmunt Mikolajuk, chairman of the PRON in Sulejowek: I consider it a great honor to have become a delegate to the national congress. The pre-congress campaign prompted many initiatives and served to formulate many constructive proposals. Hence I believe that the congress will be an important element in improving the affairs of the Republic. During the congress I would like to share my observations on the work of our PRON organization. /Our initiatives already are bearing fruit. The value of public projects initiated by the PRON is reaching 12 million zlotys./ Last year we put the first gas pipeline into operation, thus providing, among other things, gas to 200 dwellings. Thanks to our efforts, the opening of an urban transit line linking Sulejowek to Warsaw could be accelerated. Soon now the first buses will run on that line.

--Andrzej Kepa, chairman of the Citizens' Committee for National Salvation [OKON] at the Enterprise for Social Services to Construction and representative of the Wola City-Quarter: Above all, I'm concerned with economic problems. During the congress I would like to raise my voice concerning the problems in applying the economic reform to the work establishment. In my everyday OKON activities I often encounter these problems. One of the first matters which we succeeded in settling at our plant also pertained to these problems. On the recommendation of representatives of the workforce, while still in the martial law era, we started talks with the plant management to make more realistic the new wage rate provisions applying to construction employees and adapt them to the needs of the workforce. The initial decisions of the plant management were modified, and on that occasion it turned out that the activities of our OKON at the plant are needed and increasingly broadly accepted. During the congress I also would like to take the floor in behalf of the younger delegates. We are few, yet we represent those who will continue to build Poland.

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FURTHER REPORTAGE ON PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES

Delegates Forum at PRON Congress

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 15 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by J. Swiader]

[Text] Soon the countrywide PRON congress will begin, but before it does, we would like to present statements and opinions of congress delegates. They represent various occupations, communities, social groups, and political orientations. Their views may be controversial, but we believe that the best programs are created as a result of discussions and disputes.

Today we present statements of representatives from Biala Podlaska Voivodship.

Stanislawa Kirch--teacher, PZPR member, deputy chairman of the PRON City-Gmina [parish] Council in Radzyn Podlaski:

"As a teacher, I believe that at present most efforts should concentrate on the youth--both students and working youth, although I would give even more attention to the high school youth. During the previous period high school students discussed many issues, were concerned with many problems, and had many doubts. It is necessary to clarify and explain those doubts, and encourage the youth to work and study in a productive way.

In plants much can be done by masters and, of course, PRON activists. For example, in Radzyn we are planning for a broad, multidimensional contact with youths. I put so much emphasis on youths because, after all, they will take over the baton of action from us, older people.

Young people are always the most active part of the society, and they are open to all new ideas. We have to make contact with them and awaken in them a desire for constructive action. Furthermore, I think that we should have a broad-based contact with the public, take advantage of all situations which can help people become closer to each other, explain to the people the idea of national understanding, and convince them of its value. I

believe that our wishes will be fulfilled. After all, the mood of the country is improving, in the sense that people are beginning to understand the idea of work ethics. Only hard, honest work can accomplish something. We cannot count on improvements in living standard if all of us do not contribute to it. I have noticed that people talk more and more about the necessity and the need for honest work. However, words are not enough, authentic enthusiasm toward work is needed.

This is how I see national understanding--in uniting efforts to accomplish better life for our homeland.

Stanislaw Marczuk--chairman of the Voivodship People's Council; not a party member:

I am very hopeful about the national rebirth movement. I believe that PRON activists are true representatives of the people. They are not restricted in any way and are best suited to introducing the idea of rebirth in our society's life.

I believe that the PRON will expand quickly, because already there are hard proofs that the movement attracts people who are truly devoted to the welfare of our country. Many irregularities took place in our country. I am convinced that people concentrated around the national rebirth movement will prevent corruption from happening in the future. United by a common idea, they will save their nation and homeland from danger that threatens us at present.

Also, I can see that these people are sincere. That is very important, because only in spontaneous, free discussions a viable program can be created.

As a people's council activist, I see a need for integration and cooperation of our activities. The bill on people's councils, which is now in the Sejm, should also link people's councils' functioning with the PRON. We have the same basis since both councilors and PRON representatives are chosen by the people. They represent similar interests, and have common goals of correcting the wrongs and rebuilding Poland.

Thus, I am happy that the movement is attracting more and more people. They are decent and trustworthy people. Our country's honor means much to them.

#### Composition of PRON Participants

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 18 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by Marian Dlugolecki: "Shaping People's Rebirth"]

[Text] The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth voivodship conferences have ended. New people were chosen as members of the voivodship administration (delegates to the PRON congress and candidates to the central

PRON administration were chosen as well). Only yesterday those activists were known very little or not at all outside of their particular communities. In most cases they are grass-roots choices. They come from enterprise workshops and from a plow on a farm. They take time out of their hard work to participate in the rebirth program.

This phenomenon can be viewed from another point of view. These people have not been chosen as a result of plans made "behind the scenes". They have not been chosen by a small group. There have been no lofty slogans to the effect that there has to be "a key", because without it, of course (!)--there can be no just distribution of posts. Now the public chooses its representatives according to its own criteria: "He spoke wisely during a discussion--let him become a part of the administration, let him become a delegate. He fought for an issue, let us give him a chance to go higher. He wants to be active--he should get his chance. He was never elected before--he should be given opportunity at last". These seem to be the criteria. They are popular and seem to have functioned smoothly in all voivodships.

A small but important detail should be noted: voivodship conferences also elected voivodship candidates to the PRON central administration. We know who is going to represent our voivodship. It should also be noted that candidates to the PRON central authorities are driven to Warsaw fully exposed to public view. Another matter noted on the margin of PRON elections concerns party composition of the representatives. It is true that the example presented at the top encourages people and serves as a model. In the case of the PRON it encourages to follow the example of Catholics since the movement is headed by a Catholic. Thus, persons who are not the party members become much more vocal.

Of course, the democratic election process, even "the most democratic of all democratic processes", will not prevent negative selections and guarantee positive selections. And there is no proof that every party member is unqualified by definition. This might have happened as a result of the secrecy in public life, which led to creation of coteries and cliques. A transition from negative to positive selection can take place only if the process is fully exposed, i.e. fully monitored by the public opinion. The elected representatives must feel in their daily activities that just because they were elected once, does not mean automatically that they will be elected again. They were not born with the right to be elected.

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, which has national rebirth in its very name, declares that it will make efforts to make the election process more democratic. Will it succeed? Will changes recommended by the movement find supporters in other representative bodies? Perhaps this could be true at least for trade unions, youth organizations, and various self-governments?

One thing is certain at least. Moral national rebirth, which is high on the PRON list, will not take place if we do not have enough political will and power in order to fight consistently and against odds for a more

democratic election process. After all, there is no doubt that the elected representative is in the hands of those that elected him. Wherever a more democratic process is introduced, the elected representatives will seek people out, and will be more modest.

There is one more aspect to the matter. For a long time now sociology and political science pointed out that young people stay away from politics and do not want to enter political and electoral lists. At the same time the PRON emphasizes its desire to be a youth movement. It is possible that a more democratic election process will contribute to this goal by making politics more attractive. However, the PRON has to be consistent in its influence on all constituencies in order to give young people the opportunity to experience the new policies, otherwise the PRON will be left without the youth.

Right now it is important that the PRON become a factor in people's consciousness as an organization with specific goals. Now the organization is at the stage when the goals are being accomplished through hard work.

#### Example of PRON Activities at Rybnik

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 18 Apr 83 p 5

[Article by Jerzy Waksmaniak: "Taking Care of Every Matter is the Beginning of Understanding" passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] "Zachod" city district in Rybnik consists of six large residential communities in mostly new, recently built dwellings. About 40,000 inhabitants live in those communities. Every day they have to cope with problems plaguing all larger urban areas. Their complaints concern trade, because there are not enough trade centers in the district, and the city transportation system. There is also lack of interesting cultural events and the necessary investments are being implemented too slowly, which is even more aggravating. Construction people are blamed for slow work since the list of those needing apartments is still very long. The problem of waste and destruction of public property comes up often at community meetings as well. Wastefulness and carelessness are both surprising and saddening phenomena since countries that are much wealthier than we pay much more attention to caring for public property. However, in our country one can daily encounter examples of destruction, which is both the result of carelessness and purposeful vandalism, and should be punished in the way that would deter future vandals.

Last January in the Zachod City-District of Rybnik the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth initiated its activities. The PRON Intercommunity Council Presidium was created at that time. In addition to three senior citizens, Tadeusz Rozek, Zdzislaw Zimny, and Jerzy Tomas, the Presidium includes relatively young people, such as Irena Kwiatkowska (teacher), Jan Krol (policemen), Maria Nabaglo (clerk), and Stefan Dabkowski (ZSMP activist)--the council chairman. The city-district PRON undertook tasks of fulfilling all helpful suggestions and postulates made by citizens and eliminating and solving various difficulties and problems plaguing them in their daily life. It is believed that these actions will help spread the idea of national understanding among people. Franciszek Celary was elected a representative to the First PRON Congress in Warsaw.

"After several months of efforts," says Stefan Dabkowski, chairman of the intercommunity council, "I can say one thing: undertaking to deal with almost all human matters and spreading the idea of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in our community in this way are our main achievements. Our city-district has many new communities. A total of 50 percent of our residents are young people who have their own specific problems. We want to help them as much as possible. We plan to cooperate in this matter with resident self-governments."

In a city district that has 40,000 residents there is not even one house of culture, a movie house, a sports center, or a field, where it would be possible to spend time in a useful and pleasant way. There are no cultural centers in which both young people and adults could develop their interests. This was pointed out at the first PRON meeting. The meeting was attended by many young people. They brought up the matter of organizing their spare time and the lack of facilities in which they could meet and organize either cultural or sports events. We could not betray their trust, especially since we are young too, and we realize how valid are their suggestions. Thus, the Foreign Language Center opened last September in the new Elementary School No 31 in the Rubnik community of Nowiny. Several hundred people will be able to learn there. The center was created in cooperation with resident self-governments and with the knowledge of the Rybnik City Office Department of Education. Everybody wanting to learn should contact us. English, Esperanto, German, French, and Russian languages will be taught in the center.

We have developed other forms of activities among the youth as well. A bicycle club has been active for several months now. A discoteque for boys and girls has been open in Dworek Community. We organize sports tournaments for young people in our city-district in underutilized school gyms. Furthermore, we expect to start social dance classes and sewing courses soon. These activities will be continued, developed, enriched, and improved. We believe that the PRON should include in its programs of activities all needs that have not been fulfilled by housing cooperatives and the city administration. That is why we give so much attention to suggestions and postulates of citizens. We listen to citizens every Monday from 5 to 6 pm on 32 Zebrzydowska Street at the quarters of the

Resident Self-Government No 1, telephone: 23-381. The intervention team deals with matters concerning construction, public order, public property care, and improvements in trade and services and in the functioning of the city transportation system, as well as other small but bothersome matters.

The question arises: why do we find intervening in these matters so important: After all, these actions do not seem to be directly linked to the PRON idea program. Well, I believe that such a direct link exists. Every specific matter that has been settled is a beginning of some kind of understanding because it validates our activities and attracts citizens to our movement.

Recently, at the initiative of the Zachod City-District PRON Inter-community Council in Rybnik there was a meeting of the community residents. Representatives of the city administration and economic authorities were also present at the meeting. Many representatives of various communities and occupations attended the meeting as well. They were given the opportunity to discuss their problems and difficulties at a wider forum and hear specific answers to their complaints and suggestions. An animated discussion lasted 4 hours and helped break the barrier of prejudices and mutual mistrust. Participants had a chance to get acquainted and explain and settle many matters concerning the city-district's and the city's development and the planned investments, including construction of new preschool facilities, kindergartens, elementary schools, and facilities for play and games, as well as the organization of the city-districts infrastructure.

#### Effective Activity Under PRON

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 18 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by Dr Stanislaw Slomkowski, employee, the Center for Molecular and Macromolecular Research at the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN]:  
"Before the PRON Congress--Convincing Through Effective Action"]

[Text] At present Poles are faced with many problems. The problems linked to the living standard are felt the most, but they are not our only problems. Thus, changes that we want to make in the country should go in the direction of upgrading Poland's standing among socialist countries.

In order to implement the changes we need wise governing and understanding of the people. However, the lack of trust and unfulfilled hopes still stand in the way. But the truth is that we all need to have active influence on all events in Poland in order to live better.

Within the system of changes the PRON can play an important role as an exponent of the public opinion. Is this the PRON's role at present? It is not sufficiently so, but in time it will become so. The movement introduces a new element to the country's political system. It should be ensured influence on the decisionmaking process of the authorities, but it should not be only a formal influence. On the other hand, the PRON should not become an organ of the state authority. It should remain mainly an exponent of the public opinion.

The authorities do not always have to agree with the PRON, but they should always pay attention to the PRON's recommendations in order to strengthen citizens' belief that they indeed can influence changes in the country and in their communities. Thus, it is necessary to let the PRON's opinions be known to the society, as well as to the authorities. The PRON should have its own press medium for this purpose. In addition, PRON activists should express their views in local press.

The most important task of the movement is gaining trust of the society. I believe that this will be accomplished as the PRON organization and activities take shape. The movement has to build the people's trust through action.

The PRON is now coming out of its infancy. The pregress campaign is taking place. The movement, through its teams, is also involved in consulting the authorities concerning important draft laws and the state's plan of action.

The PRON must remain an open movement, because, as I already said above, it will eventually gain the people's trust, and it will need to remain accessible to the people. The movement should draw all those who care about Poland's welfare and have a desire to work for their country.

People have to be convinced through effective action because they are tired of social movements. This particularly concerns young people who did not see their hopes fulfilled in the trade union movement.

I emphasize again that every Pole should be able to influence events taking place in Poland in order to improve the quality of our lives.

#### PRON Delegate Meeting at Wroclaw

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 18 Apr 83 p 2

[Article by hsm: "A Pregress PRON Delegate Meeting in Wroclaw"]

[Text] A meeting of the city and the voivodship delegates to the congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth took place last Saturday in Wroclaw. Wincenty Lewandowski, deputy chairman, the PRON Provisional Countrywide Council and deputy chairman of the PAX Society, participated in the meeting.

Professor Ryszard Badura, chairman, the PRON Voivodship Council, opened the meeting. He informed the participants that the voivodship PRON consists of about 300 elements or 15,000 activists functioning both in the city of Wroclaw and in the voivodship. PRON members represent various social communities and occupations. At the PRON congress they will be represented by 50 delegates. During the program-election campaign drafts of documents that would be presented at the congress were discussed, as well as problems of particular communities. Revisionist demands of certain circles in RFG concerning Polish Western territories were protested. Many constructive suggestions were made concerning methods of solving both

countrywide and local problems. The suggestions will help overcome the social and economic crisis and build national reconciliation and understanding. The most important suggestions and postulates were prepared for sending to Warsaw.

Wincenty Lewandowski discussed the PRON's place in the Polish sociopolitical system. He said that this movement is still searching for its identity and its place in the country faced with the society's low confidence in the state. The confidence can be rebuilt with actions that would be both beneficial to the state and constitute a positive response to the society's expectations. The PRON movement is new not only in the sense that it is just forming, but also because it does not have an equivalent in the Polish history. The PRON does not plan to become simply an instrument transmitting decisions of the authorities to the society. The PRON will support the state in decisions and intentions that serve both the state and the people. At the same time, the PRON will present a critical view of the authorities' activities in order to prevent the crisis situation from happening again. In addition to presenting its postulates to the state, the PRON will present them to the public as well. The PRON wants to become a representative of the public opinion, but it wants to shape that opinion too. As we all know, some postulates made by certain communities do not serve social interest. It is also well known that our society is differentiated concerning political direction and world view. In addition, various groups foster their own particular interests. The PRON's objective is uniting the nation around the Polish reason of state and basic social interests.

The discussion that took place at the meeting concerned housing problems, cultural development, integration of artistic communities, and formation of the lowest-level PRON structures. Raising funds for the movement was also discussed. Other matters tackled at the meeting concerned the congress electoral system and preventing the PRON from becoming formalized and bureaucratic.

A meeting of the activists of the Dolny Slask PAX Society also took place last Saturday in Wroclaw. Wincenty Lewandowski gave a lecture "The PRON in the Poland's Sociopolitical System" at the meeting. The discussion that took place at the meeting concerned the PRON program, its functioning methods, and the role of lay Catholics in building national understanding.

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LODZ, BAILYSTOK, SUWALKI PRON ACTIVITIES

Lodz Province PRON Congress

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 8 Apr 83 p 2

[Article by S.B.]

[Text] A meeting took place in Lodz yesterday at the headquarters of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] Provincial Provisional Council [WTR] of district, municipal and gmina chairmen, with Tadeusz Czechowicz, a member of the Politburo's Central Committee and party first secretary of the Lodz Committee [KL].

In opening the deliberations, WTR PRON Chairman Igor Sikirycki said among others, that the most important event for the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in recent days was the publication of two essential documents; namely, the ideological-programmatic declaration and the statutory bases of PRON. These documents required broad dissemination in society, something that should be accomplished primarily by PRON activist meetings and discussion with work plant staffs, for having been drawn up in great haste, these documents are not always fully legible. However, even the best prepared documents and declarations will not determine PRON's authority, but proficient and useful activity that enjoys social support.

The meeting took place almost on the eve of the provincial congress, and during the period directly preceding the national PRON congress. In referring to both of these important events, T. Czechowicz emphasized that the party attaches great importance to them, and regards them as facts of real political significance. The PRON movement itself has much to do in the country. There is a need for expanding historical education in society, and for abolishing many myths that are the result of a poor knowledge of the country's history. A similar problem exists with respect to knowledge of law and of economics. Enormous problems are associated with moral regeneration and the shaping of citizens' attitudes. As an open movement PRON also has an important mission in reaching to resident self-governments, and winning over worthwhile people of various outlooks on life and convictions who, however, are concerned about the welfare and continuity of our country and the fate of citizens living in it.

Later on in the meeting, in which KL PZPR secretary Andrzej Hampel also participated, organizational problems associated with the PRON provincial congress were discussed. It will take place next Saturday in Lodz at 10 o'clock in the National Council hall.

Two hundred ninety delegates and 50 invited guests will take part in it.

#### In Process of Establishing PRON

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 7 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Wladyslaw M. Rzymiski: "PRON a Movement in the Process of Formation"]

[Text] A pregress PRON program-election campaign is taking place in the entire country. The provincial congress will, among others, make an analysis of PRON element activity to date in Lodz and in the province, and also--something that is more important from the standpoint of the movement's future program-organizational form--will define the tasks that the Lodz delegation will submit for deliberation by the congress.

An attempt to answer the question as to what PRON is at present is burdened in advance with many unknowns because:

First--despite the intital phase of organization, the movement continues to be in a period of forming and creating itself. PRON Councils of all levels have a provisional definition and operate on the basis of general program principles formulated in the declaration on PRON of 20 July 1982; that is, a document of a political nature. On the other hand, legal normalizations of a general as well as of a specific nature by the highest PRL legislative authority are needed for the good of the movement and its proper position in the country's sociopolitical life.

Secondly--provisional PRON councils have been operating in their present organizational form no longer than 7 months (the first TRWs arose toward the end of August 1982), and the organizational principles under which they operate are rather arbitrary.

Thirdly--it is not possible to say that something that is being formed or results from the exchange of views that frequently are controversial, or stormy discussions on program and organizational subjects, is established.

Fourthly--the PRON congress will of course be an important phase in the formation of the movement, which does not mean that the moment congressional deliberations end, everything will automatically become simple and clear to the end. Based on the campaign's achievement, the congress will establish common program goals and common organizational principles. This will assuredly provide an inducement to the formal and legal position of the movement.

And so it is possible today to talk about what PRON should become.

Perhaps a basic statement is, that it cannot be still one more formalized organization with an appropriate hierarchical structure such as is usually the case with organizations. This is why ideas as to formal membership, declarations, PRON membership cards, etc. were rejected. A proper form is participation in the movement and its efforts through acceptance of its program, active propagation of goals and work results, without regard of whether or not one remains or does not remain a member of the PRON authorities. Every activity requires a certain minimum amount of organizing and at the same time protection against formalizing. Hence, adoption of a principle is proper that says, higher level PRON councils cannot have any authority prerogatives relative to lower level councils, although they do take on the responsibility for providing assistance and service for the execution of organizational-programmatic coordination functions.

Appropriate principles of forming the membership make-up of PRON councils at all levels must result from a vertical structure so understood. This means a statutory influence by lower level elements on the composition of higher level councils, and also a statutory right by declaration signatories of recommending their representatives for councils in a number no greater than 15-25 percent. It is a self-evident fact that the selection of council members and congress participants should take place under democratic conditions and forms.

Many problems of the movement, not only of an organizational but also of a statutory nature, still need to be defined and synthesized. The congress will do this. However, the most important task of the Congress is the definition of the movement's position, program and method of operation. In developing the program subjects contained in the declaration, and in analyzing the results of pre-congress discussions to date, it is possible to formulate four main areas of PRON activity, areas that simultaneously define its place and status in the country's socio-political realities.

The fundamental problem is the existence of the PRON as an institutional plane, that is, recorded in the constitution, and the Sejm's legal acts, for communication by citizen and social groups and classes based on the constitution of the PRL, in matters that are the most important for the country, the people and society. Such communication should lead to working out a common position with respect to behavior in a given situation. I am emphasizing behavior and not an illusory unity of views. Similar behavior does not exclude a variety of views. A second direction is the common overcoming of the crisis in all of its aspects but particularly in the emotional and material sphere. Overcoming the crisis should today become an instrument for preventing the recurrence of crises in the future. This is linked with the need for the subjectivization of citizens and society; that is, creating legal-organizational conditions for their effective influence on the state of public life, membership of representative organs and the formation of economic and social programs of local and central significance. Achievement of the above-mentioned program directions should create and

prepare the social bases necessary for conducting legal-organizational reforms in the country. This means stimulation by PRON, among others, of the social process of the formation of law, and vigilance to assure its uniform observance by all sides.

PRON's work forms and the achievements of its goals do not permit of definition once for all. However, a broadly understood dialogue will remain fundamental. Among others, that means listening to the arguments and opinions of both sides and reaching wherever there is a possibility of a more precise critical analysis of the problem.

Of course each of the above-named directions or aspects of PRON activity has its dimension in individual areas of social and economic life and the groups associated with them. Mention could also be made, for example, of PRON's educational tasks, functions in patriotic, citizenship and political training, and the scope of the present understanding of democracy.

People are necessary for creating and achieving a program. Hence, the statement that there is a place for people in PRON who are not indifferent, those who already have experience in social activity and those who wish to obtain it. One of the movement's tasks also is the training of its own social aktiv, prepared also for social activity beyond PRON.

Dr Wladyslaw M. Rzymaki, an activist of the Democratic Party [SD], engaged in the formation of the WTR PRON in Lodz.

#### Bailystok Province PRON Congress

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 11 Apr 83 pp 1, 2.

[Article by Helena Pilipiuk-Vankova: "Unity in Variety"]

[Text] [Own information] Six hundred delegates filled the hall of the Alexander Wegierki drama theater in Bialystok for the first provincial congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. Besides the Polish emblem, the stage was adorned by a quotation from Norwid: "One's country is a great collective responsibility." Excerpts from the poetic creativity of the last Polish Romantic were recalled many times during the eight-hour deliberations. In opening the congress, the chairman of the PRON Provisional Council, Prof Marian Szamatowicz, reached to Norwid's thoughts. He cited Norwid's bitter opinion about us Poles: "We only know how to quarrel or to love, but we do not know how to differ nicely and strongly."

"Must this truth of a century ago be obligatory to this day?" asked Prof Szamatowicz, at the same time encouraging dispute as to what needs to be done, and how, in order to make life in our country better. A debate lasting many hours ensued as a result of that appeal.

Prof Szamatowicz chaired the deliberations and also was the first to take part in the discussion. He emphasized that the provincial congress is a

successive phase of the formation of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. He said that we will transform its temporary elements into permanent ones through systematic and gradual activity, having ever wider public support. The congress concludes a certain phase of organizational activities, but it does not close out matters associated with PRON's further development. Everyone who joined the movement as well as those who will become members, has the right to speak out about its form. The chairman appealed for a credible character of congressional discussion because it is attentively followed by advocates, and still more attentively by people who are hostile to the movement.

Włodzimierz Kolodziejuk spoke on behalf of the Provincial Commission on Party Cooperation and Political Parties, on the subject of PRON's winning over more and more of Białystok's social classes. He said that the Movement's program and its model solutions arise in the fire of genuine discussion. Learned people, workers and farmers are involved in its formation. PRON is becoming an important social force in Białystok Province. Besides six signatory-founders, 18 sociopolitical organizations and more than 12,000 individuals participate in its activities. Włodzimierz Kolodziejuk said that enormous problems face the movement. Among others, he named the organizing of social consultations, participation in conducting next year's elections to the Sejm and national councils, appearing in the role of mediator in conflicts between the authority and society, or between individual social groups. The speaker wished the congress fruitful discussions--this means achieving results that all social forces in our province and its inhabitants will identify with.

It is not easy to render the climate and essence of congressional discussions in a brief report. Altogether 21 speakers expressed their opinions. More were ready to speak but because of the late hour, it was voted to let them submit their observations for the record.

The social cross-section of the discussants was extensive. Scholars spoke: Docent Wenancjusz Panek, Docent Jerzy Niebrzydowski and Prof Stefan Soszka. They appealed for winning youth over for work in shaping future Poland.

Farmers spoke up about their problems. Halina Krakowko, an activist of the Rural Housewives' circle [KGW] from Drohiczyn Gmina called for appreciating the farmer's labor, and respecting the fruits of his effort. Jan Wawrzeniuk, an individual farmer and head of the PRON Gmina Council in Narwa, spoke in the same spirit. He spoke up for a fuller representation of farmers and workers in the PRON leadership, because the possibility of overcoming the crisis depends on direct producers. Thus, they must have moral satisfaction, among others, through participation in provincial and national PRON leadership.

Pensioners who had joined the patriotic rebirth movement earliest appeared quite often on the speaker's platform at the congress. Czesław Adamski, founder of the first provincial Citizens Committee of National Rebirth in the Białystok hamlet of Skorupa, talked about the early days. PAX activist Paweł Borowski, chairman of the Municipal National Council in Białystok,

pointed up the actual problems that require initiative by PRON. This consists primarily of combatting social pathology, but particularly, alcoholism. Zdzislaw Werpachowski, a teacher from Siematycz, emphasized this plague in his statement. He said that all of the bars are open on Sunday, while on the other hand, no one can get into a cultural institution.

Mieczyslaw Chorosz spoke for the Bialystok Section of the Polish Union of lay Catholics [PZKS]. He said that Catholics stand on dialogue and compromise. The remaining Christians were represented in a statement by Eugeniusz Czykwin, secretary of the Bialystok Section of ChSS. He called attention to the religious diversity of the province's inhabitants, which favors the practical realization of the ideals of equality and tolerance among people of various convictions and outlooks on life. Zbigniew Olbert, chairman of the PAX Provincial Administration spoke in favor of dialogue by the government with the public without use of the formula that separates people into "us" and "them." Only in this way is it possible to obtain understanding, and in effect--cooperation.

PRON is to unify all social forces. Halinia Bielenia, chairwoman of the Provincial Administration of the League of Polish Women in Lodz spoke up for representation of women in the movement based on their numbers and significance. Irena Moscicka, chairwoman of the Provincial Administration of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW], spoke on behalf of youth.

There were many statements pertaining to the principles of PRON's activities. Henryk Szczerba, a farmer from the village of Slomianka signalled the need for excluding persons from election to PRON offices who hold positions in political parties and organizations or in state administration. This will assure objectivity in exercising social control in PRON and counteraction against the repetition of crises. Jan Wawrzyniak, chairman of PRON's Municipal Council in Biala Poelaska, spoke up for the introduction of a provision into the PRL Constitution on PRON's position in the state's political system.

The presentation of Stanislaw Charyton, a worker of the Biala Podlaska Construction Enterprise, was acquitted with deafening bravos. In conclusion, he read a verse he had just written about the need for understanding between Poles. Toward the end of the congressional debate, Kazimierz Morawski, a member of the State Council and Presidium of PRON's Provisional National Council, asked to speak. He reviewed the essential value of the Bialystok congress approvingly. His statement concerned the need for the shaping of political culture in our country. One of its elements is know-how in joining diversity into oneness. Kazimierz Morawski stated that the foundation of People's Poland is the Polish Committee of National Liberation [PKWN] Manifesto. Despite deformations that have appeared in the building of socialism, the achievement of the PRL is indisputable. On the other hand, concrete activities are necessary because people have lost confidence in nice-sounding declarations. The resolutions undertaken must be achieved precisely.

A 183-person PRON Provincial Council, elected by the congress, whose chairman will be Piotr Boron will concern itself with that. Also elected were 31

Bialystok delegates for a National Congress. Consistent with the rules, the congress selected two PRON National Council members: Prof Marian Szamatowicz and the Orthodox Church parish priest in Wasilkowo, Anatol Siegieny.

To end the congress, the delegates adopted a program of action as well as a resolution relative to ways of achieving national understanding. In addition, a resolution was adopted with respect to the present international situation. In its text, among others, we read: "We have one country and we wish and will fight for peace for it. Our power is the deep patriotism of Poles and socialist relations with the Soviet Union and socialist states. We need agreement and understanding above everything else. We need peaceful and honest effort. We want to live and work in peace." The congress also approved an appeal to the Bialystok community relative to observing the May holidays.

The final words during the congress belonged to the newly elected chairman of the PRON Provincial Council, Prof Piotr Boron. He expressed the hope that thanks to the collective cooperation of all council members, PRON will achieve its goals. The professor concluded his talk with the statement "goodwill is essential for people."

The applause by the delegates was an expression of support for the new council while Jan Bielak, commandant of the Polish Scout Union Troop, appeared on behalf of youth with wishes, flowers, and a proposal of cooperation. The PRON provincial congress which had taken place in an elevated and creative atmosphere concluded with the national anthem.

#### Suwalki Province PRON Congress

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 11 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jerzy Marks: "Travel a Difficult Road"]

[Text] [Own information] The First Provincial Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth deliberated in Suwalki on Saturday 9 April under the slogan, "We are creating a program under which room will be found for the activity of all."

Among others, the following served on the Congress' presidium: first secretary of the Provincial Committee [KW] PZPR--Waldemar Berdys, chairman of the WK United Peasant Party [ZSL]--Kazimierz Koziol, chairman of the WK SD--Jerzy Gryko, chairman of PAX Publishing Institute's Provincial Section--Janusz Maciejewski, chairman of the Provincial People's Council [WRN]--Jan Nowakowski, Sejm deputy from Suwalki Province and presidium member of PRON's TRK [unable to expand]--Edward Dziegel, governor--

Kazimierz Jablonski, and National Defense Committee [KOK] plenipotentiary--Col Kazimierz Wojtowicz. Among Congress guests and 203 delegates, also present were representatives of various religions, social and youth organizations, and military personnel.

After the playing of the national anthem, Col Boleslaw Dziadziak, chairman of PRON's TWR [Provisional Provincial Council], delivered a report-program talk. During the introduction, he stated that the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth had taken on difficult and unpopular tasks. Difficult, primarily, because it recognized as its responsibility activities that are intended to unite and to concentrate the entire society around an anti-crisis program. However, socioeconomic reform tasks can be realized only in an atmosphere of agreement and involvement. Thus, it becomes clear that all social forces have opportunities for the mutual resolution of problems that are important for society. PRON links all groups and classes; it is open for people and their initiatives. A fundamental goal of our activity, said Col Boleslaw Dziadziak, is educational work, resolving problems of moral regeneration, development of broadly understood democracy, and freeing social activity.

Then the speaker presented the activities of PRON elements in the province that had contributed to improving the quality of life. Thus, for example, PRON's initiatives in Pisz pertaining to the construction of a hamlet of one-family homes from wood obtained from fallen trees, or hamlet initiatives in Elk or Gizycko aimed at assuring law and order. Problem commissions operating in rural PRON elements can also boast of many achievements associated with farming. What is the situation with respect to the development of dialog and cooperation with people and groups of various philosophical convictions, or having a different opinion about the organization of social life? Not the best as yet, although the movement guarantees equal rights and political partnership.

The program-election campaign pointed up many burning questions in the province which it is necessary to resolve as quickly as possible. This does not by any means entail having PRON taking on all of them for resolution. It does, however, involve creating an atmosphere so that those problems can be taken up by the organs and institutions established for that purpose.

In conclusion, the chairman said, "We are here to serve people and to coauthor better living conditions in even the smallest community."

Twenty persons expressed their opinion in the discussion. The delegates from Pisz turned out to be the most active. However, the first speaker was Henryk Rygier from Mikolajek. Referring to recent statements by the GDR minister of internal affairs, and other retaliatory anti-Polish actions in that country, the speaker said that the Polish nature of the recovered lands is an accomplished fact and that no one except Poles has, nor can have, any right to them.

Ryszard Labanowski said: "In my opinion, it is difficult to speak today about our movement's achievement. The period up to the congress was a time of

organizing PRON elements. However, this does not mean that we were not occupied with settling various matters and problems. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth conceals a deep substance within itself. It is necessary to regenerate something that was crushed in people--belief in the party, the state, the nation and finally, in self. Our movement took on an enormous load on its shoulders. Will it be in a position to lift it? I think so. After all we are going to have democratic elections and have the duty of pointing out the government's mistakes. We also have an obligation to eliminate divisions in society. In order to bring this closer we must avoid the mistakes that were made in the past."

Janusz Michalowski of Swietajna spoke about youth in PRON. There is not much of it that is even evident here. This needs to be considered seriously. We can attract youth only by our own work and example.

Ewa Czubaszek of Pisz was of the same opinion. The achievement of our PRON, she said, is significant. Along with this, cooperation with local authorities and work plants is shaping up well.

In his presentation, Wiktor Laskowski of Augustowo pointed to the need for thrift as one of the ways of overcoming the present crisis.

The next speaker, Wieslaw Pietrzak of Wegorzewo, said that PRON's main task ought to be the combatting of various social plagues: drunkenness, bribery and speculation. The movement's activities must primarily have in mind the interest of the whole. The rather small interest of society in our undertaking results from the fact that the majority of people immediately ask: "What will it cost?" before undertaking anything.

Henryk Cieciuch of Barglow Koscielny concentrated his statement on PRON's declaration. Speaking of the movement's position in the political system, he said: if PRON, being a social organism that assembles various people, undertakes something that is universally just and desired, that means that no one ought to impair that. In PRON it is necessary to talk, discuss and convince. Everything here must be ground as in handmills, and after sifting through our PRON-sieve, should come out pure flour: a clearly presented matter, without conjectures or doubts.

No one will give us their confidence or support, assured Jerzy Krakowiak. That has to be worked for even if we have to take difficult measures. We in Pisz have undertaken such activity as we are able to. That does not take place without hard, manly talks. We are aware of the fact that we must earn our credibility by concrete actions.

In taking the floor, first secretary, Waldemar Berdyga of the Provincial Committee [KW] PZPR said: PRON is our idea for emerging out of the crisis. Ours, because it was the PZPR jointly with political allies, that initiated that movement. For the party, PRON is strong socialism and a powerful authority. The movement is exposed to various dangers. One of them is the treatment of PRON as a passing phenomenon. However, the development of this

movement will depend primarily on the attitudes of the people acting in it. Comrade Waldemar Berdya thanked movement activists for their achievements and efforts to date.

Many other problems were discussed, alike of an economic and investment nature. Rural representatives raised the problems of an inadequate supply of equipment for agricultural production. The urgent need for preserving the natural environment was also discussed. A series of factual comments were presented. Governor Kazimierz Jablonski addressed himself to some of these problems. In his talk, he emphasized that the administration is counting on PRON's help.

Procedural problems connected with the elections occupied much time at the Congress. A 97-person PRON Provincial Council was elected. Col Boleslaw Dziadziak was elected as chairman of the Provincial Council [WR] in an open vote. The congress also elected delegates for the First PRON Congress. Suwalki Province will be represented by Jan Kaminski, Henryk Kucmin, Janusz Maciejewski, Mieczyslaw Zawadzki, Roman Hasior, Wincenty Sanejko, Irena Stankiewicz, Jerzy Znaniecki and the following who had been elected at regional conferences: Walenty Astramowicz, Marcin Blaszczak, Waldemar Brzezinski, Zenon Czarniecki, Ewa Czubaszek, Barbara Glowacka, Jan Oleksy, Czeslaw Skorupski and Zdzislaw Skrodski, Col Boleslaw Dziadziak, Halina Kapala and Norbert Lisowski became candidates for PRON's National Council.

The congress adopted a resolution containing the program of PRON's future activity in Suwalki Province. Delegates also adopted a resolution on building a monument to "Suwalki Heroes", a resolution concerning the control over building up the health, education and culture service, and an appeal for universal participation in the construction of a "Polish Mother" hospital-monument.

After nearly nine hours of debate, the congress concluded its deliberations.

#### Historical PRON Origins

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 9-10 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Docent Dr Hab Zbigniew J. Hirszt, TWR PRON press spokesman in Bialystok: "PRON's Origin Written by Polish History"]

[Text] The plan of PRON's statutory principles states that it is "an answer to the social need and desire for socialist renewal, regeneration, national understanding and democratic reform of the republic." From that assertion, it is already evident that hopes for a better tomorrow should be linked with this movement because it can bring about a socialist renewal in the political system of the PRL and lead Polish society to a national understanding--something that will contribute to the democratization of political and social life.

Goals of a sociopolitical movement being built in this way have a futuristic character. However, there are certain insinuations in that strategy. PRON's declaration plan omits a fundamental problem of a political and social nature. That is, the rebuilding of the worker-peasant alliance, a stable alliance of the national front in a socialist state.

#### Alliance--A Leading Thought

What is that worker-peasant alliance that Polish encyclopedias and lexicons are silent about? Speaking most generally, the worker-peasant alliance, together with the working intelligentsia, is a mutual or multisided self-commitment of large social groups, such as the nonantagonistic classes are, for furnishing mutual assistance in every situation. The more so, when the good of the fatherland requires that. As a consequence, an alliance based on a community of interests that leads to the ideological and sociopolitical unity of a nation. It has a long history in Poland.

It is necessary in the history of a newly-forming movement of national rebirth to reach to roots, to sources and experiences of the Polish road to socialism covered. Is it a falsehood that the mainstream of that original road during the entire postwar period goes through the Polish countryside? Thus, a political struggle for the peasant as a natural ally of the working class is taking place throughout Poland's entire history.

A partnership of a worker-peasant alliance should pervade all social and political structures, all elements of the state's authority. This alliance ought to be the leading thought of PRON's statutory principles.

#### Under National Front Slogans

The traditions of mass movements are rich and simultaneously varied from a political standpoint. National liberation movements and national movements in reborn Poland which differ in tactics and strategic goals belong to such movements. A modification of a national front, is a people's front that characterizes itself by limited scope. It should be recalled from the past that the national front in Poland in the 1930s advanced goals of antifascist struggle. The Polish Communist Party founded a National Front in 1936 in order to boycott a Sejm electoral law that made it impossible for opposition parties to propose their own candidates. The victory that was attained was based on a drop in attendance by those authorized to vote.

#### In The Face of a Threat

The Second World War brought entirely different proofs of national unity. A state's activity in a situation of serious external threat is complex. Despite the danger threatening from the Hitlerite occupier, some political forces exploited the situation to maintain old authority structures, other--to change them. Society underwent political divisions (a London and a revolutionary camp were formed). A people's government was organized based on a tradition of revolutionary movements. A national liberation front

with a specific kind of activity based itself on society's active opposition--an opposition that hastened the foe's expulsion.

The Polish Worker's Party which had experienced defeats and achievements, played an enormous role in this activity. National Struggle committees formed by it as organs of the National Front in the conspiracy, rose only sporadically and fell in a short time (1942). That is why the PPR changed its tactics in creating the Democratic Front, proposing a very understandable formula: without traitors and defeatists. Such a concept does not require formalization of political access, and functions as a model collection of ideas. In addition, it could achieve itself as an idea in national councils, in the people's army, in the worker-peasant alliance, and it could have allies in the peasant battalions and in the Peasant's Party.

#### Evolution of Structures

The evolution of the National Front in Poland after World War II has its own individual attributes, such as, how original and unrepeatable is the Polish road to socialism. However, this front always depends on the concentration of dynamic forces in the state in order to consolidate the nation for the purpose of achieving the sociopolitical and economic program. It undergoes various stages of formalization: Democratic Front, National Front, National Unity Front, and changes its form during periods of preparing an election campaign for parliament.

The activities of the national front in postwar Poland, transformed into the National Unity Front [FJL], are well known to society. Many successful actions are associated with it, but also many pretensions are submitted under the name of the FJN. In evaluating the People's Poland period, it is necessary to bear in mind the complete change of the strategic goal by mass movements. During times of peace, the national front is based on strengthening the state. It plays the role of a catalyst, because the internal struggle over the choice of the most effective way does not cease.

The strategy of a modern massive movement is based on shaping the political consciousness of society. We will clarify this essential problem. Political consciousness is composed of a knowledge of the mechanisms of class dependence and the rules of political activity; that is to say, the way of fighting for authority. An enormous role is played by values, and the hierarchy of political values in the political consciousness of society. The activity of the national front should aim in the direction of scientific political consciousness which dislodges the so-called intellectual consciousness, or simply false consciousness based on ignorance. The FJN has not played any role in this matter or undertaken any activities for years.

#### PRON--An Open Movement

Several phases are foreseen in the development of PRON as a national front. The first one can be called organizational, lasting from the moment of the creation of initiating groups to the emergence of permanent leadership bodies at local and central levels. This phase cannot last overly long and

is a confirmation of the activity of political forces in the state. This phase will undoubtedly come to an end. The climactic chord will be the congress in Warsaw with the participation of all of the country's delegates.

The second program phase is based on working out the scope, tasks and nearest and farthest goals of activity on behalf of the state. This phase will determine whether PRON will secure credibility in the nation as a true sociopolitical movement of an appropriate degree of independence. A national front--and PRON indisputably will become one--without its own tasks and authority has no rationale for existence in a modern state. In my opinion, the development of a good program, primarily by permanent and democratically-elected PRON authorities at every level, will be most important, and will decide the future of this movement.

Finally, the third phase, political maturity, will depend on influence in the state in the political and social area, on equalizing the political influences of individual parties, and on exercising political supervision. It appears that the coming election campaign for the Sejm and for national councils will be an opportunity for verifying PRON's political maturity.

However, it is difficult today to determine the role that PRON will play in political life. Its organizational beginnings permit us to look optimistically at the future of this movement. Directed by autonomous hierarchical collective bodies, serving to safeguard the movement's rights, obligations and assignments, declaring a program appropriate to changing needs, being the result of the nation's aspirations, the movement can serve the realization of the socialist state's strategic goals by shaping society's political consciousness, creating a plane for elections to central and local organs of state authority, the political review of their operation, and by permanent assurance to citizens of decisive participation in public affairs.

PRON cannot be only an organized public opinion within the framework of a political system having an influence on the attitudes of the authorities and society. The task of such a general national front, is shaping political consciousness which has a fundamental influence on political culture.

No sociopolitical mass movement in a state appears in a political void. Also, PRON undertakes activity in a political situation that is ruled by certain habits. Their official specification still constantly requires wide and long-lasting discussion. Society's inquisitiveness in recognizing political, economic, or historical truth facilitates nationwide understanding that is based on mutual concessions, and comprehension of the political principles of a socialist state. PRON will be able to strengthen its credibility in society only through uncompromising service to truth.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ETHICS DISCUSSED

Boguslaw Morawski Party Ethics (1)

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 2-3-4 Apr 83 pp 1,3

[Article by Boguslaw Morawski: "Party Ethics (1)"; passages enclosed in slant-lines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /What is the morality of party members like? The public never was nor will be indifferent to the attitudes and behavior of the representatives of groups which markedly influence public life or its important domains. The greater that influence is, the greater the interest in the nature of the morality of members of a given group. Whether anyone likes it or not, people always have been, are and will be asking what kind of people are those who lead us? are they competent, industrious, truthful, honest? Can they be trusted? Are they better than we?/

Such questions will never be avoided by party members, particularly now that in the second half of 1980 society learned about many highly reprehensible attitudes of party secretaries as well as directors, chiefs, presidents, province governors and ministers appointed upon the party's recommendation. These individuals exploited their high posts for their own selfish interests and issued incomprehensible and unjust decisions--in a word, their deeds clashed with their pronouncements and the ideas they represented. It was they, who by their behavior abused the trust of the party in whose name they acted and held the highest posts, that defiled its good name and dishonored the dignity of honest communists.

In public awareness, which can never be ignored, there appeared for the first time an extremely simple mechanism: the identification of mistakes and crimes committed by individuals with the action of the entire party community. And although the party cleansed itself and got rid of unworthy members, there remained a deep distaste and a vexing doubt as to whether that cleansing has been complete and the settlement of accounts with the culprits performed equitably and satisfactorily throughout. This was real grind for the mills of the enemies of socialism, who did everything to perpetuate in public awareness the conviction that, for moral reasons, the party cannot be the leading force in society.

/What we need most at present to shape desired attitudes of party members is a party ethics as a system of knowledge that:

--/defines the actual attitudes and changes in behavior of party members along with positive and negative aspects of the morality of discrete party communities and the sources of these aspects; /

--/proposes specific values ensuing from the current and long-range goals of socialism, real values rather than abstract ones--values that are not mere wishful thinking and that are attractive, meaning that they deserve not only approbation but effort to translate them into reality; /

--/proposes principles and norms of behavior which must be adhered to on pain of appropriate moral penalty. /

/The norms from which ensue the moral obligations and rules of behavior of party members must be based on certain general assumptions or principles representing the foundations of party ethics. There are several of them. /

#### The Principle of the Commonalty of Views and Goals

Colloquially this principle is termed fidelity to the ideology of Marxism and Leninism and to party policy. Joining the party is an act of free and /conscious choice/ by the candidate.. This choice must be based on acceptance of both the party's program and its rationale, that is on acceptance of the whole of the political views of the party, as well as on acceptance of the party's statute as distinctive rules of behavior, and also on the acceptance of the means whereby the party attains its current and long-range goals. In other words, /by joining the party we consciously declare that we share its views and goals and voluntarily accept the obligation to adhere to the duties, principles and norms obligatory within the party/.

A mature person belongs to various communities: his family, his occupational or professional community, his friends and his religious community and he is linked to them all by various kinds of obligations. A conflict, and a drastic one at that, may arise between the party community of views and goals and belonging to another community. We experienced such a conflict in the fall of 1981 when thousands of party members were at the same time linked to the Solidarity community which at the time abruptly began to acquire rightist leanings until it tumbled into anti-socialist positions. A choice had to be made or, in an expression that had then gained currency, "self-definition had to be performed." In the course of that process more than 300,000 persons left the party.

A definite majority of these more than 300,000 had voluntarily resigned from membership in the PZPR. How many of them experienced truly dramatic conflicts, because despite their strong commitment to socialism and the party's causes, their doubts proved even stronger? How many of them quit the party because they had no longer personally shared its views and goals and so they conveniently thought up for themselves a "conflict"? How many of them now genuinely regret the decision to surrender their party card, after thinking it over and concluding that essentially there is no conflict between their private hierarchy of values and that of the party's? And lastly, how many still carry their party cards, belong to the PZPR out of inertia although they no longer share with it any views

or goals? These and other questions have to be exhaustively answered within the framework of party ethics. In such matters statistics alone cannot suffice.

It must be very strongly emphasized that it is precisely /from the principle of commonalty of views and goals that we infer such statutory moral obligations and duties of the party member as active participation in political life, in the activities and meetings of their party chapters; concern for ideological principles and political and organizational unity, without which the aims of the working class cannot be accomplished; assimilation and propagation of Marxism-Leninism and the party's program and policy; adherence to discipline, etc./

### The Principle of Responsibility

This principle is linked to the first principle: since my joining the party was a conscious, deliberate and free choice of views and goals, and since I am already linked with the other party members by shared ideals and values, I am doubly responsible. On the one hand, I am responsible for myself, for the work I contribute to the community which I have voluntarily joined. On the other, I also bear a particle of the responsibility for the entire community, for the entire party, for the manner in which the aims of the working class are implemented, for the nature, style and methods of the guidance and direction of society. It cannot be otherwise.

/The party must confront the problems authentically experienced by the society. These problems include that of responsibility as one of the most important aspects of present-day renewal./ In this domain the party's activity must provide an example and be creative. That it may become so, all the practices which have led to a deep erosion of responsibility must be broken with. Such practices were (were?) not few.

/The most frequent method of avoiding responsibility is hedging./ The hedger is not much concerned with the value of his work, with its immediate and remote consequences, and he does not compare its effects with social needs. His attention is focused on his superiors, on their opinion about him, and he essentially works "under them." The hedger adopts decisions "collectively," "democratically," on "consulting the proper persons" (just in case), and he is unusually astute in employing party and political phraseology. Essentially, hedging is an individualist attitude characterized by concern not for the public weal but for one's own interests. for the preservation of one's post or gaining promotion to a better post.

/Dodging is another form of lightening responsibility./ Dodging is the ability to participate in successes and avoid responsibility for failures. Dodgers are well-versed in the arts of inspection, reporting, etc. and always succeed in floating to the top when a project is not a failure. They always are co-authors of successes and are skillful at concealing the fact that it was they precisely who had prophesied failure.

/The principle of responsibility conflicts with all sorts of make-believe activity/ by which is meant the focusing of activity not on actual goals but on actions providing a specific alibi for a person holding a particular post--

actions that camouflage his ignorance, incompetence, etc. /It sometimes happens that entire collectives engage in make-believe work--everyone is doing something, performing some duties, and there is no one to be blamed, but the total effect of these activities is perplexing--it is simply nil./ Reports meetings at more than one POP [basic party organization] could serve as a good illustration of precisely such seeming work.

Recently we have been dealing (precisely within the party) with a practice that is highly harmful to the principle of real responsibility, namely the reduction of responsibility to a juridical question alone. Under this practice, anyone who has not become involved in an actual conflict with the law, or whose crime has not been demonstrated, is "all right." After all it is possible to act in an unworthy manner and still not violate the law. Attitudes such as arrogance associated with a high rank, bootlicking, conformism, careerism, hedging, untruthfulness, procrastination, dodging, indolence, etc. are not as a rule prohibited by the law, but at the same time they cannot be reconciled with a fundamental sense of decency. All the more so, they cannot be reconciled with party morality. /Reducing responsibility to narrowly legalistic terms is a reprehensible lowering of social and moral standards./ It represents at the same time a devaluation of responsibility itself.

/Responsibility as a principle of party ethics consists in rendering an account, before the competent collective, of the performance of one's consciously accepted duties as well as of the obligations contained in the party's ideological programs and plans of action whose performance is associated with membership in the PZPR, the position held. or the function exercised./

A thus interpreted principle of responsibility must be characterized by /egalitarianism,/ i.e. everyone should be subject to this principle and there can be no room for the practice of excluding certain spheres of action from responsibility.

### The Principle of Justice

In the system of socialist values social justice ranks supreme. /It is the most important component of the socialist social ideal./ If we consider all the postwar crises, including the present one as well, we find that the question of justice underlies them all. In the subjective conviction of working people this justice was absent in the distribution of goods, in access to social services, in evaluation of cadres, in the decisions adopted, etc.

In our society justice exists in two fundamental meanings: as a definite ideological-moral value (a yardstick for evaluating the decisions of the authorities and all policies of the state) and as a corpus of guidelines for behavior linked with socio-political practice. There is much to be done in this field.

In the practice so far, decisions on the social distribution of goods and obligations have been taken for various reasons and purposes and owing to various considerations, but very rarely on the basis of a clear and explicit concept of justice. Justice appeared later as an ideological ornament. It is perhaps only now that a tenacious but consistent pursuit of the social ideal of justice can be perceived in the resolutions of the party and decisions of the state. This ideal

may at present be defined as follows: the poorer, the more equitably treated. /It should be borne in mind that no declaration, resolution or decree in itself can introduce social justice. This requires an arduous and perhaps eternal confrontation of ideals with reality, a continuing evaluation of the decisions taken in relation to the existing conditions and possibilities. For this very reason the entire party, its echelons and basic elements as well as its individual members, must be in everyday practice bearers and reflectors of socialist social justice. This is the one and only chance for gaining public credibility./ It should be utilized. The attitude toward justice and its practical expression by party organizations and members should be the fundamental criterion for evaluating their moral attitude.

### The Principle of Criticism

When anyone demands that I explain the essence of Marxism, I answer: criticism. Criticism is an attitude toward the world and toward oneself. Without this attitude it is not possible to transform the social reality and correct one's own behavior. It is justly that in our society we attach a tremendous practical importance and moral value to the critical attitude.

The ability to critically analyze and assess the social surroundings, events and individuals and their decisions is a valuable human property. Its shaping is one of the aims of socialist upbringing. Criticism of the world, of people and of oneself requires strength of character, civil courage and knowledge. It involves the risk of conflict, of offending others and losing something, but it also is linked to the hope to reduce social evils and injustice in public life.

/In its practical activities the party lost somewhere en route one of the elements of criticism. We lost self-criticism, or the ability to perceive our own mistakes, admit them and infer conclusions for the future. It should not be forgotten that self-criticism as the ability to make a sober and objective appraisal of oneself provides the moral foundation for criticism of others. What one demands of others one must first demand of oneself./

The duty of accountability of the party members ensues from the ethical principle of criticism. Courage in making one's own judgments of the affairs and problems of everyday life and the duty to oppose evil and manifestations of injustice are based on the principle of criticism. /Criticism of what I find, criticism prompting the search for new solutions, is the basis of the party's ideology and practice. Without criticism there can be no socialism./

The attitudes of party members are formed neither in a vacuum nor according to public opinion, good or bad. They derive from deeper strata, namely, the foundations of the principle of party ethics, a deeply human ethics.

Boguslaw Morawski on Party Ethics (2)

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 9-10 Apr 83 pp 1,3

[Article by Boguslaw Morawski: "Party Ethics"]

[Text] The attitudes and behavior of party members, as well as their way of thinking and evaluating all that is happening around them--in the economy, in politics, in the performance of institutions and offices, in personal life and in the life of their community, are typical of the attitudes and behavior of /the entire society/. It cannot be otherwise, and there is no need to prove this. This determines the combination of economic and political conditions in which we live. /Economic contradictions that had remained unsolved for years, becoming intertwined with obvious political mistakes, have created conditions that are impossible to accept, abnormal and simply unhealthy. At present we are curing these conditions. A morbid life of society is bound to shape a morbid consciousness./ The answer to the question of the causes and sources of our moral troubles--inside and outside the party--has to be sought with the aid of this "equation."

It is certain that the changes occurring for more than 30 years in the sphere of economic, political and legal-institutional conditions, as well as the positive and negative aspects of these changes, have been producing specific good and bad effects in the moral sphere. They have been appearing and manifesting themselves in a distinctive form and they display varied characteristic features (e.g. until 1956, after 1956 and in the late 1960s, in the first and second halves of the 1970s, in the period between August 1980 and December 1981, and finally in the present period). At party meetings arguments and comments concerning those times, and the present as well, and ranging from morally positive to morally negative appraisals, are still boiling over. Unfortunately, to this day we have not yet elaborated an analysis of these transformations in categories of Marxist-Leninist ethics. Hence our knowledge of their effect on the attitudes and behavior of men is intuitive and incomplete. This is one of the white spots on the map of our theory.

It should be strongly emphasized that the economic-political-institutional changes occurring in the past and at present, along with instructive and educational measures, have resulted in indisputable positive transformations of consciousness toward the socialist world outlook. /Socialist values and ideals--of equality, democracy, justice, truth, human dignity--have become a definite ingredient of the social consciousness of nearly the entire society. They have been permanently "built in" into this consciousness, as it were, and now represent distinctive ways of responding to and evaluating real life in all of its dimensions./

The consequences are such that phenomena that had previously been regarded as morally indifferent or that had even gone unperceived (e.g. disregard of human rights) are becoming a source of universal and critical moral responses. This engenders many negative phenomena which, for simplicity, I will term "socialist idealism," consisting in the absolutization of the ideals of socialism and their ahistorical and abstract treatment, in the disregard of concrete and real existing restrictions:/ economic, political, technical, technological, organizational or cadre.

As a result /the minds of many people, including party members, are prone to treat of socialist ideals in shopworn terms,/ which--it must be admitted--is a consequence of both omissions in ideological-upbringing work and distortions in

social practice. These days this manifests itself with special acuteness at thousands of party meetings at which material, social and cultural differentiations that often are unrelated to blackmarketering or exploitation of man by man are regarded as manifestations of injustice and inequality, without considering that they might be justified by the individual's expenditure of labor or his scope of responsibilities if he is an allegedly privileged person. There is also no lack of people who claim that the prohibition against open proclamation of views that are particularly harmful socially and politically violates freedom and democracy.

It is this "socialist idealism" that can account for the "criticism" of measures of the authorities and the political apparatus as well as of the activities of echelons. It also can account for the claims that "the top ignores the grassroots and does not attend to proposals coming from the masses." In subjective conviction the attitudes of such claimants are regarded as an expression of concern for the ideals and universal values of socialism. "Socialist idealism" engenders a new type of moralizing--the moralizing of sterile condemnation and powerless warnings of menace. Many years of persistent effort will be needed to surmount such moralizing.

Another group of factors affecting the attitudes and behavior of party members are specific mechanisms of /contradictions/ which engender certain moral consequences and effects. Such contradictions may include /the contradiction between the theoretical and political vision of socialism, on the one hand, and its concrete subjective reflection, manifested in individual or group consciousness, on the other./

Each of us bears in his mind two images of socialism. One is a vision of the future of the system such as it should be according to the assumptions of theory and as it actually is imagined not just by oneself but by the intellectual elite linked to Marxism. The other image is a vision of the present; it is socialism as perceived through the prism of one's own experiences at work, at home, in the queue in front of a store--it is an image in which the lines and tints represent the sum total of sometimes bitter experiences in life, at work and in politics. When the difference between these two images becomes considerable--lack of faith in not only the possibility of building socialism but also in the meaningfulness of efforts to repair it makes its appearance. /As a consequence, this engenders attitudes of indifference, apathy, a distinctive social paralysis, proneness toward an exclusively introvert life--oriented toward oneself and one's nearest and dearest./

The mechanism facilitating the understanding of still other deviations from desirable moral attitudes and behavior of party members is provided by /the contradiction between the high expectations, requirements and even moral claims, on the one hand, and the low feeling of obligation and duty/ (toward the party collective, the work collective, the community, the society), on the other.

The superlative model of socialism upheld by the notorious "propaganda of success," "the second Poland," "a place in the pacesetting ten," and similar assurances and promises settled in the consciousness of the people. /At the same time no effective measures were taken to shape the conviction that, the higher

the aspirations and expectations are, the more one must give of oneself in terms of effort and genuinely effective work./ The failure to perform obligations and duties was bound to reduce their level and importance. /The elevated level of the demands for and expectations of the final advent of the blessings of socialism is not accompanied by an equally elevated level of duties and obligations toward building the new system of society./ In practice, this contradiction results in pretensions (regarding various fields, including wages), in the making of the most varied claims appealing to socialist principles and party resolutions, and in attitudes of embitterment and wrath against the sole culprit, namely, the abstractly conceived "authorities."

Still other types of moral attitudes and behavior of party members result from a number of other contradictions, e.g. the contradiction between belonging to the party community of shared views and goals and the obligations ensuing from belonging to other communities (e.g. artistic, religious, etc.); the contradictions due to lack of egalitarianism in the exercise of rules of responsibility; or too the contradiction between the principle of equality in the party statute and in law, on the one hand, and the until recently privileged position of certain party groups, especially professional political workers. They all require separate analysis and assessment. I mention these contradictions primarily because I wish to strongly emphasize that only their knowledge can help to elucidate meaningfully the genesis of proper and reprehensible attitudes of party members. An effective medicine can be recommended only if the cause of the disease is known.

/One of the phenomenons which we observe in the attitudes and behavior of the most varied circles and communities of our society is the lowering of moral standards. This manifests itself in shoddy work, tolerance of improper behavior so long as it does not explicitly violate the law, and the promotion and rewarding of misfits and mediocrities./ "Whether one is standing or lying down," "education for a diploma in state" already at the elementary-school level and similar actually existing attitudes could appear only in a society with minimal moral standards. /It is not precluded that this symptom may influence party morality, which after all should be characterized by moral maximalism. It cannot be otherwise since this concerns individuals who are members of the party--which guides and leads the society. This leadership should also be displayed in the moral sphere, but it must also, and perhaps above all as well, gain the moral approbation of the society. This approbation must be deserved./

#### Reactions to Party Ethics Articles

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 16-17 Apr 83 pp 1,3

[Article by Zofia Grzyb, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee: "Each Day, at Every Step" under the rubric "Party Ethics"]

[Text] Below we publish the first comment received in response to the article "Party Ethics" by Editor Boguslaw Morawski. Its author is comrade Zofia Grzyb, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee. We encourage our readers, public and political activists,-- regardless of what organization they belong to--

to discuss problems of moral attitudes, civic attitudes, party ethics and morality.

The morality of party members can be commented upon from many points of view. For example, the problem may be considered from the viewpoint of a postulated morality, i.e. morality as it should be, or also from the viewpoint of morality as it actually is. The very concept of morality, which in the discussions is interpreted as human behavior in categories of "good" and "evil," is so broad that its interpretation quite often depends precisely on the point of departure assumed in such reasoning. Hence also I pose the caveat that my reflections on this topic will be subjective in nature and largely personal.

The social cost, past and present, of its mistakes to the party, and especially the cost of the deviation of many people from party ethics and morality, is sufficient cause for broaching, discussing, clarifying and interpreting this topic. This was surely the reason why the editors of SLOWO LUDU have published the two-part article "Party Ethics" in the last two issues of its MAGAZYN.

The criticism, just and unjust, addressed toward the party and its members following August 1980 has in many cases pertained precisely to the moral attitudes of individual comrades. It is useful and necessary to consider against this background why is it that when two persons, one a party member and the other not, have the same attitudes and defects, the others are more demanding and critical toward the party member? In a nutshell, this is because the party bases its program on socialist ideals, including the ideal of social justice, and for this very reason the public generally expects of us party members paradigmatic attitudes at the highest moral level.

For while we are at present attempting, often in an atmosphere of sharp discussions, to gain acceptance for the legal-political principle of the leading and guiding role of the party in the life of our nation, the success of these attempts hinges primarily on our daily attitudes as party members who are being watchfully observed and rigorously appraised by the public. From this fact ensues the necessity--which, I believe, unfortunately, not all the comrades grasp clearly--of being conscious of the huge responsibility being shouldered by party members.

Does the party have the right to require such responsibility of its members?

The answer in this case can be unequivocal. Yes. Why? Because /the party is a political organization of voluntarily associated people. The exercise of free will in deciding to sign the declaration to join the PZPR implies that the new member by the same token freely decides to accept all the principles and norms which the party requires of its members. The corpus of such norms for every party member is represented by the rights and duties specified in the PZPR statute./

Without interpreting in detail various provisions of that statute, which space does not permit, let me say that I consider it expedient to emphasize a task important from the standpoint of party morality, namely, the solid assimilation of the text of these provisions by every PZPR member and the application of these

provisions in daily life. /From the principle of free choice of belonging to the party ensues the responsibility I mentioned above./

The next question arising in these reflections is: responsibility---for what?

Well, primarily responsibility for harmony between words and deeds. This means in everyday life the extent to which our personal and party-work behavior meshes with or diverges from the party program and the centrally formulated tasks of the party. This is surely not a new formulation, but it is important and that is why I present it.

It may happen that at party meetings and conferences generally everyone acknowledges these tasks and duties as just and necessary. But it also happens that, outside the meeting, among friends or relatives, we experience many doubts. Each day there occur still so many negative events and occurrences which we look on indifferently, but which should not be indifferent to us from the standpoint of party norms---norms which after all we freely acknowledged. Is this moral?

But it also happens that, although we live in harmony with a community which is not always friendly to us as party members, behind our shoulders it is being said: what kind of a party man is he, or what kind of communist is he, if he does and says something different from what is officially proclaimed by the party? And so it turns out that even the seeming accord between our behavior and current public opinion is actually regarded as amoral by the latter.

It should be firmly emphasized that the principle of shared views and goals, which was voluntarily accepted at the moment of joining the party, is becoming the chief criterion of our attitude and morality not only within the party but within the community in which we live and work.

/In everyday life, particularly now when many people have a hard life, in a life full of worries and troubles, the problems of social justice and honesty accompany human feelings and human sensitivity./

For this very reason, and perhaps primarily for this reason, we must guide ourselves by an unambiguously moral compass of behavior. To achieve this condition it often is necessary to resolve---and not only in words but also in practical deeds at that---various conflicts and contradictions producing moral consequences and effects, at least such as humility versus arrogance, self-sacrificial versus make-believe work, courage versus cowardice, rights versus privileges, and many, many others.

I believe that /at each step we should give proofs of acceptance of the positive behavior and attitudes of our comrades while at the same time expressing disapproval of reprehensible behavior that deserves criticism and severe condemnation. This is how party morality should in practice be introduced in our life. Care should be taken, as Lenin has taught, that not a single instance of improper behavior should pass unperceived by us./

## Party Ethics in Practice

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 23-24 Apr 83 pp 1,3

[Articles by Karol Modzelewski, deputy member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the POLMO-SHL FSS [Factory, expansion unknown] and Boguslaw Jasinski, member of the Executive Board of the Kielce City PZPR Committee: "'Party Ethics'...in Practice"]

[Text] First Evaluate Yourself [by Karol Modzelewski]

The article by B. Morawski, "Party Ethics," demands careful reading. It contains many views and motifs that prompt self-reflection. Above all, it touches upon matters which in the past were mentioned with embarrassment or not mentioned at all. The times have brought a new style of life and customs which percolated to the party. After a while we perceived that they are irreconcilable with both the Leninist model of the party and the Leninist principles of intra-party life.

This has happened owing to two reasons, at least. First, the core of ideologists within the party has become less visible and less capable of ideological guidance as large numbers of new members had joined the party. When the collective is large, the ideals become blurred as it were. Within a great human mass it is not easy to maintain uniformity of ideological-moral views and attitudes. Under such conditions there appear the most varied interest groups and the interests of the preponderant groups, various parochial interests, overshadow ideological values. Secondly, during a certain period we neglected work on the world outlook of the party member. I mean world outlook in the broadest meaning of the expression. This exactly is why the personal attributes of the party member, the attributes of the communist, lost their distinctness. The matters ultimately went so far that we have to ask ourselves what does it mean, in the final analysis, to be a party member? At one time this question elicited no doubts or moral and intellectual vacillations.

I fully agree with Editor Morawski when he says that the principle of shared views and goals is the most important principle of party ethics. What links the party members is the commonly professed ideals of socialism and the current and future goals of implementing socialist ideals and values. The attitude toward them and the manner in which they are translated into reality, the struggle for ideals, must be the paramount criterion of party morality. It is precisely from the standpoint of this principle that the attitudes and behavior of the comrades should be evaluated. /Ethical principles and moral norms obligate every person. But within the party, which is the leading and guiding force of the society, morality must be at a higher level,/ and that is why the party can tolerate neither a two-faced attitude nor the so-called "force of persistence" as particular attitudes of existential and moral scoundrelism. Nor can it tolerate a difference in public and private attitudes.

/The roads toward building the socialist state differ. But there is only one road toward building the party: the Leninist road,/ which leads through adherence to the principles of party, Leninist ethics, which are inviolable. Deviations from these principles are the source of all other mistakes, including a mistaken political line.

It would be good if the discussion of "Party Ethics" extended not only to the theses presented in that article but also to the practical side of this important problem. Briefly, this concerns the question of /how can and should individual party elements in practice attend to the party ethics and morality of the comrades?/

/I believe that one should begin with oneself./ One cannot be a party secretary, regardless of at what level, a member of an executive board, or a political worker for an echelon, without being at the same time in accord with the principles of party ethics, without accepting them and struggling for them in his everyday work--this is the first condition. /Secondly, one should pose the highest requirements toward oneself and regard them as the basis for being highly demanding toward others. Thirdly, and lastly, individuals and situations should be evaluated justly and unambiguously in moral and political terms./ One should provide a personal example in action. Providing an example teaches, whether for good or bad. The occurrence of demoralizing elements in the party can never again be allowed to happen.

In the concern for a proper moral attitude of our comrades, we strongly emphasize attitudes of self-criticism and ability to evaluate oneself in the work of our plant party echelon. If you have pretensions--fine, but first evaluate yourself to see whether you are clean! This seems to be the point of departure for opposing importuning attitudes and heavy demands which are not accompanied by awareness of obligations. /Party morality should be built by tenacious effort in everyday work with people, every hour, every minute./

After reading the article "Party Ethics" I also felt some dissatisfaction, because it lacks reflections on the theme of the personal role model. In any moral system, personal role models are a major factor. I believe that this problem, too, should be analyzed in that discussion and that at any rate an answer should be sought to the fundamental question: /why have we en route mislaid the role model of the pacesetter in socialist work, and why do we recall real role models from history only occasionally when their anniversaries fall due?/

Responsibility Should Not be Blurred [by Boguslaw Jasinski]

I reread the article "Party Ethics" several times. Comrade Morawski touched in it upon many painful and important matters. Matters important to the party have to be discussed. Reticence is impermissible. Whoever is silent when it is time to speak, acts immorally. All my life I have been faithful to this principle and that is why I am raising my voice in the discussion of party ethics.

I am neither a scholar nor a publicist. But what I know about the party is quite a lot, because I am in it and have been working for it for more than 41 years so far. I deliberately wrote "I am in it and have been working for it" instead of writing that I "belong" to the party. Too many people merely /belong/ to the party and that is why these days we have problems with party ethics and morality.

Out of the rich variety of topics broached in the article by comrade Morawski I wish to express my position on just one: the /principle of responsibility/ as the fundamental principle of party ethics. It is a pity that the author ranked it second rather than first.

/The problems with the moral attitudes of the people in the party began when we began to blur responsibility./ There exist concrete rules for responsibility and they may not be skirted. /It is always a particular individual who is responsible for a particular deed or for failure to take a particular action. He should have been and should be made accountable for it./

But what did we actually do? When something goes wrong we blame the shop or the plant or we say "the executive board did not fulfill," "the presidium committed mistakes"--what does it mean? The initial approach should instead be to identify the person responsible for losses in a shop or plant or the person who failed to attend to a particular matter at the executive board or who is permitted to botch the work of the presidium for months or even years! Using presidiums, executive boards, plant departments and other collectives as a shield provides a smokescreen for all sorts of do-nothings, ignoramuses and artful dodgers and hedgers. Unless we put an end to this, things never will be good./ And it is possible to put an end to this, because this is a barnacle, a malignant tumor which has after some time appeared in the party organism. In the past, in the PPR [Polish Workers Party] and in the early stage of the PZPR nothing like that had existed.

In the past people joined the party out of idealism, out of the wish to accomplish noble and necessary things, out of socialist motives. They had also joined the party in the awareness that membership in it might cost quite a few lives, in the awareness that tasks requiring great toughness and self-denial would have to be accomplished. It was not just anyone who could meet such firm and unequivocal criteria. They had shaped in the party member an attitude of authentic and real responsibility.

/What is one to say about the present-day requirements, considering that, as ensues from the practice of many basic party elements, the most important requirements include attendance of meetings and payment of dues? They include hardly any party tasks requiring toil and effort. There is a shortage of supervision over their implementation and party work has been formalized and bureaucratized. This is no longer lowering the standard of moral requirements. This is demoralization./

Today we talk a lot about /renewal/--in the state and within the party. It should be clearly and explicitly stated that /at present we are dealing only with the preconditions for achieving the renewal. The renewal requires struggle./ Too many people have an interest in keeping the waters muddy, so that they would not reflect their images. It is they who are delaying the process of renewal. A party member should not indifferently pass by such people and the situations they create. These days party morality manifests itself in the manner in which we are renewing, in a socialist spirit, life in this country. /It is not enough to declare oneself in favor of the renewal. One must work hard and even take risks for its sake./

Belonging to the party is voluntary. But whoever has joined the PZPR and wishes to remain its member, must shoulder a greater burden than the non-party citizen, must bear greater responsibility. The non-party citizen has the duty of not doing evil. /The party member must oppose evil. If he saw and sees what is happening but fails to oppose evil and instead stays silent, tolerates evil and remains passive, he must be drawn to party responsibility for his immoral attitude./

/The party statute authorizes combatting all forms of social evil. It is an important duty of the party member to avail himself of his statutory rights. It is his important right to exercise these duties./

#### Peoples' Complaints Concerning Party

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 23-24 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Kazimierz Kolodziej: "People Send in Complaints: On Letters to the Party"]

[Text] We call a room in the editorial offices "The Wailing Wall." This is the room where we receive applicants coming bringing the most varied grievances and where letters from our readers drop on the editor's desk. About 15 or so letters daily./

Not far from the editorial offices, in the edifice housing the PZPR Province Committee, there is another such room that also could be called "The Wailing Wall." This is the Bureau of Letters and Inspections under the Province Committee. A couple of days ago I looked in on that room./

Three applicants were waiting in a queue to offer their grievances. Nearby I found the department director engaged in reading letters. This first reading--to employ parliamentary terminology--is highly important. The director must sometimes wade through a stream of words and a litany of extraneous facts in order to grasp the nature of the complaint, the responsible party or circumstance, the identity of the person who is to examine the complaint and try to attend to it. I use the word 'try,' because after all not every Gordian knot--and the complaints are chiefly of this kind--can be untied.

The persons who bring their grievances to the Bureau of Letters under the Province Committee are most often those who doubt that their problem can be attended to by the office, institution or enterprise about which they are complaining. It is just this that makes it so saddening. Much could be pondered and pronounced on this topic, and the concerned parties could be instructed how to proceed. But since this is not so, let us forget this imperative since it is largely unrealistic anyway. What we have, we have: the fairly difficult living conditions and, what goes with them, various annoyances--to put it euphemistically--such as the shortage of housing, the shortages of consumer goods and the resulting blackmarketeering, the corruption and bribe-taking, the indolent and incompetent people who cannot resolve simple matters. We also have people who, having put on various vestments of authority, stare disdainfully at the so-called

ordinary citizen. And lastly we have all sorts of wheelers and dealers who waltz through life and to whom exploiting or harming someone weaker means as little as treading on a bug; we have various big and little cliques which subordinate everything to their selfish interests. The arrogance, ignorance, indolence and rascality or impudence of some are the breeding grounds of injustice to others--and the causes of the grievances.

The mistrust of the citizenry, its belief that if it complains about one official to another, he will be punished, is causing an avalanche of complaints to the Province Committee and other party echelons. The influx of these complaints and complainants has grown still greater in the second half of last year after the press, radio and television publicized the resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee concerning letters and complaints submitted to party echelons and organizations. That resolution defines the operating procedure throughout the party with regard to letters, complaints and signals from the population, and it also defines the political-organizational duties of the party. It places party echelons and organizations under the obligation of periodically evaluating the matters mentioned in letters and complaints of the population and analyzing their sources and causes as well as ways of eliminating irregularities.

Implementing these decisions, the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee has at its recent session evaluated the manner in which party echelons attend to complaints of the citizenry. The report of the Commission for Complaints contained so many interesting facts that, although the deliberations were in their seventh hour, the participants listened to it with interest and engaged in very lively discussion concerning it.

Several of the facts cited caused a stir in the conference room. Here they are: Exploiting his official position, the secretary of the former Main Board of Agricultural Workers obtained a job for his daughter at the "Golden Ear of Grain" Rest Home in Sopot. A Province Committee team established that the director of that home--submitting to pressures--had illegally hired the daughter of the trade-union secretary as a receptionist. In that rest home she lives in an apartment whose annual maintenance fee is 160,000 zlotys and she does not pay for her rent, meals and electricity.

Another example: The secretary of the Citizens' Committee for National Salvation [OKON] in Wrzeszcz complained about a supermarket on Karl Marx Street. But was it only about that store? His complaint also states that on the occasion of the coming visit of a certain foreign guest and a certain province dignitary to that store, it was "restocked as in old times. The goods were displayed for the sake of the coming visit. People were outraged and made derisive jokes. The reaction of the buyers was exceptionally critical. This case undermines the authority of the authorities."

And here is still another instance. The City Hall in Gdansk assigned to one of its employees an apartment whose owner was deceased, treating it as a registered vacant apartment although the deceased woman's son had even earlier been applying for it. Decisions in this matter followed at a lightning pace in order to render any intervention impossible. The Province Office reprimanded this action which

violates the provisions of the housing law, but the City Hall did not rectify its mistaken decision.

This bouquet is sufficient; it is sufficiently eloquent.

A total of 4,461 of these and similar complaints was received last year by the Bureau of Letters under the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee--nearly 11 percent more than last year. But altogether, all the party echelons, editorial offices, the procurature and the militia in the province received a grand total of more than 23,000 letters last year, and in addition they interviewed 35,000 complainants. This is a frightening statistic, pointing to excessively large domains of illegality in our social life.

At the plenum it was justly pointed out that --as signaled in a majority of the letters and complaints--the irregularities in the performance of the administration, institutions and the responsible services at work establishments, the manifestations of bureaucracy and the occasional soulless treatment of human problems would have been much fewer and much less severe had the provisions of the Code of Administrative Proceeding been followed, had official duties been performed more conscientiously, and had there been greater responsibility for the social consequences of the decisions taken, along with sensitivity to human needs and a feeling of social justice. This concerns both rank-and-file officials and chiefs, mayors and enterprise and institution directors--in a word, all who perform their duties in a formalist manner and do not exploit fully their power to influence socio-economic and moral progress.

From the analysis of the contents of letters and complaints it ensues that to a large extent they derive from material shortages or various irregularities in the operation of offices and institutions, from their treatment of human problems, their indifference to the needs of citizens and from ordinary illwill and incapacity to attend to human needs.

As the chairman of the commission for letters under the Province Committee has stated, behind every complaint stands a particular individual who feels that he was treated unjustly but also hopes that he will meet with warm understanding and assistance from the party. We always view a case positively, but we also tell the truth when the complainant's grievance is groundless or when there are no objective possibilities for a positive settlement of his complaint. This concerns especially the currently difficult housing problems.

The actions of the party echelons and organizations are chiefly of an inspirational and monitoring nature. They create a definite climate and provide political guarantees of adherence to legality, and they see to it that particular problems and cases reported by citizens be equitably adjudicated by the competent offices, institutions and authorities. Our party task consists chiefly in monitoring the manner in which human problems are resolved, identifying the causes of any evil, and inspiring measures intended to eliminate the causes of irregularities and social discontent.

In the discussion, reflections on this topic were made by Stanislaw Kalkus, member of the Politburo, who was present at the Gdansk plenum. As a worker at

the CEGIELSKI [Locomotive Plant] he senses better what his fellow workers feel and think.

He stated: "Discontent arises not only when someone deals unjustly with someone else. The sources of this discontent can be eliminated by repairing the injustice. But it is worse when a poor atmosphere is the cause of poor exercise of power, of arrogance of power which is reappearing in some places, of inconsistency and a gap between words and deeds. Such manifestations should be resolutely combatted by the party. It would be best if the party organizations themselves were to attend to this. There is no better way for them to gain authority and trust among the working class than through credibility, through adherence to principles of social justice, through a bold and courageous branding of all who abuse the party norms.

"The resolution of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum concerning letters and complaints submitted to the party authorities has met with complete social approbation. But the resolution in itself still does not resolve anything, for in the past we adopted many justified resolutions which remained a dead letter. After all, it is human beings who implement each party resolution. Thus mere periodic bursts of activity for statistical purposes should be replaced with consistent action enriched by practical experience." Stanislaw Kalkus further stated: "Success in implementing the resolution will chiefly hinge on the ability of echelons, and especially POPs [basic party organizations] to handle these matters in a consistent and merit-based manner. Human problems should be evaluated and analyzed once every three months at POP meetings. The manner and promptness of attendance to these problems should be linked to the evaluation of attitudes of the leading cadres, with party sanctions to be applied against those who neglect or ignore human problems. In this way the POPs will not only directly clarify and examine the complaints arising within its sphere of action but also exercise monitoring and initiating functions with the object of alleviating the life of the society."

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CSO: 2600/819

WLOCLAWEK PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Assessment, Results of Countryside Party Work

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 10 Feb 83 p 3

[Article by Ryszard Buczek: "Discussion With the Editors"]

[Text] The voivodship PZPR conference will end the reports campaign in the Wroclaw Voivodship party organization on Saturday [12 February]. This will be the last voivodship conference in our region. It will answer questions about the status of the party and progress in the implementation of tasks resulting from the program of the Ninth PZPR Congress, and it will define motions regarding party work in the second part of the present term of the voivodship authorities.

Evaluations and motions regarding party work in the countryside--the Wroclaw Voivodship farmers are among the best in the country--were the subject of a discussion with our editors which took place on the initiative of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Wloclawek. The following took part in the discussion: Wojciech Ledwochowski, the KW secretary, Henryk Stawicki, farmer from Lubraniec Gmina, the KW executive board member Roman Szczerbiak, the KG PZPR first secretary in Topolka, Michal Uwarzynski, the KZ PZPR first secretary in the State Livestock Breeding Center in Oswieciny, and Mieczyslaw Waraksa, from the KW PZPR Socio-Agricultural Section. GAZETA was represented in the discussion by Editor-in-Chief Zefiryn Jedrzynski, and head of the party section, Ryszard Buczek.

Below are large segments of the discussion:

GAZETA: During the recent joint session of the PZPR Central Committee and the Supreme Committee of the ZSL a resolution was adopted in which we read, among other things, that "The CC of the PZPR and the NK ZSL recommend that their members actively participate in the work of rural self-management, in development of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth, in the inspiration of actions activizing socioeconomic life, propagating the understanding of the needs and capabilities of progressive reforms in our

country, raising the effectiveness of management and improving living conditions in the countryside." During the same session the CC member Artur Kwiatkowski, farmer from the Wloclawek Voivodship, on the basis of his own experiences talked about the need for intensifying party work in the countryside, and the need for organizing people in order to change the political and economic image of the countryside. What are your achievements and weaknesses in this area and to what extent is the party close to the countryside and farmers' affairs?

W. Ledwochowski: The situation in the countryside must be considered in the context of everything that has been happening there in the past two years. An intense political struggle has been taking place there. In the Kujawy region the political adversary tried to put himself in the farmers' unions, resulting in sharp divisions. In this situation the influence of rural party organizations was weakened too.

Our voivodship organization now includes 6134 farmers; nearly every fifth farmer is in the party. In the past year 1,057 farmers left the party. Not all of these departures can be attributed to the political struggle, often they were a result of straightening out the ranks and getting rid of the "dead souls." There were only 17 dismissals.

M. Uwarzynski: The farmers' quitings were often the result not of personal convictions but of bitterness over bad supplies, for example.

W. Ledwochowski: The weakness of our activity in the countryside often results from the diffusion of party forces. We have 641 organizations in the countryside, but as many as 245 of them have only 6 to 10 members and some are even smaller. We cannot talk today about the speedy expansion of the party ranks, rather we must pay attention to party attitudes and the consolidation of ranks.

All in all we have considerable forces at our disposal in the countryside. POPs [Basic Party Organizations] in the countryside and in institutions servicing agriculture have numerous representatives among the voivodship party authorities, thus there is a strong bond between the organization and its basic cells.

I believe however that the strength of our influence in the countryside weakened somewhat during the transformations period. The situation demands that POPs give farmers aid and to a greater degree represent social interests in institutions servicing agriculture, in cooperative farming, and in the union movement--all of which are growing in independence. Positive collaboration is also necessary in the countryside between POP and ZSL [United Peasant Party] circles.

GAZETA: You are saying that the party in the countryside has considerable strength at its disposal. It seems to me however that this strength is dispersed and that teachers can, for example, play a much greater role in the activities of rural POPs and that the GS [Gmina Farming Cooperative]

party organization knows very little about problems of the village party cell. And finally, are the suggestions forwarded by rural POP appreciated and correctly implemented, thus raising the stature of POP in the eyes of the rural community? In letters to the editor complaints are often expressed that motions presented at the rural party meetings are not followed up on and no one responds to them.

R. Szczerbiak: The course of the reports campaign allows one to contend that the party is much stronger in the countryside. People who were in it for opportunistic reasons have left, as such attitudes were quickly discovered in the village milieu.

The style of our party work in gmina organizations has changed too. No longer do rural POP meetings take place without the participation of gmina organization representatives. We meet for the KG [Gmina Committee] executive board sessions in the rural POPs three times in every quarter of the year. Open POP meetings often take place with the participation of the gmina chief, GS chairman, SKR director and representatives of other institutions. In each village administrative office such an all-village meeting called by the party organization takes place at least once a year.

The farmers' motions must reach their addressees. The POP must also be informed whether a motion presented at a meeting is implementable and whether it will be realized. It is wrong when a competent person does not take a stand on the motion already at the meeting.

We must take more energetic action regarding the problems of village youth and the need to create conditions favorable to the youth's remaining in the countryside. For example, home construction must be facilitated and the services of the SKR and GS must be developed toward this end; more attention must also be paid to agricultural services.

Many of these problems can be tackled only under the condition that not only the POP and institutions servicing agriculture, but also councils and self-management organizations become more active. There were already good beginnings last year. Circles of farm women and other agricultural organizations are regaining their former vitality and there is a chance for good rural self-management; the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is finding increasing support from citizens, for which rural POPs and ZSL circles can also take credit.

The fact that young people are increasingly more visible in these endeavors testifies to our success.

M. Uwarzynski: I agree with the view that the party has become stronger in the countryside. It has strengthened itself thanks to the aktiv's "getting its act together," nevertheless the aktiv is still too small for one to say that the rural POPs are already sufficiently strong and capable of solving the problems of their environment.

The collaboration of the PZPR and the ZSL on the voivodship level is good in the majority of gminas, but on the village level things vary. I am even inclined to say that there is no collaboration of POP and ZSL circles at the village level. In many villages there is not even a place to meet to talk about common matters. We meet in private homes and in these conditions it is difficult to have all-village meetings.

R. Szczerbiak: Our task is also to make people aware of how much depends on farmers and their activity. When for example the question of peasants' social and trade organizations came up, farmers were afraid that someone else wanted to take over again, wanted to cheat them again. They had to be persuaded that the only guarantee for correct functioning of these organizations would be the peasants' personal attitudes and who they would elect to the leadership of the organizations. They had to be persuaded to take action on their own.

M. Waraksa: Election of the right people to self-management bodies is not enough to make them function well. Self-management must also have clearly defined powers, and funds to realize the undertaken initiatives. In the past years self-management bodies too easily accepted the loss of many of their powers and financial means. Thus we must demand conditions for the creation of rural self-management.

GAZETA: The comrades are talking here mostly about the duties of the rural POP, of farmer comrades. If rural comrades are to carry out their duties they need support from the outside, from all party organizations. What kind of support can the rural POP expect today?

W. Ledwochowski: Farmers most often need support in their supply-production difficulties. We must secure a just distribution of our means of production. A peasant very often has difficulties in getting simple farming problems solved, in overcoming bureaucratic obstacles and sometimes he doesn't even know about regulations and rights. We have not learned yet how to undertake peasant issues or help peasants. Sometimes honest information, pointing out the right way to solve a problem, would suffice. The POP first secretaries ought to be more sensitive to it and comrades from the gmina offices and institutions servicing agriculture ought to help in solving such problems.

Very often comrades from the POP office treat a farmer comrade's problem in a bureaucratic way. Also lacking is an honest mutual evaluation of problems brought up at meetings. Were it not so, how many problems could be solved right away? Why was it possible to do so when the army operational groups intervened? Because an army group did not look for negative arguments, as bureaucrats often do. It is necessary then for the POP to utilize the methods used by the army operational groups.

By using such methods the gmina and rural POP can help farmers.

M. Uwarzynski: Much depends on the gmina organization as far as improving the treatment of a farmer in the GS [gmina cooperative], SKR [agricultural circles cooperative] and other offices. The POP ought to signal the shortcomings. If the farmer receives better service, he will have more time to become involved in village community life, in solving its problems.

The administration and some institutions servicing agriculture sometimes work truly badly. For example, the lack of respect for the farmer's time is astonishing and no efforts are made to attend to his needs quickly. Peasants often show great patience although they should only have to take care of their farms.

R. Szczerbiak: It happens because the POP in offices and institutions servicing agriculture are weak and unable to look critically at the work of the employees among whom they operate, and at their own work.

H. Stawicki: The rural POP in the post-August period became--in my opinion--weaker only as far as membership was concerned, but at the same time they got rid of people who were members for opportunistic reasons and never cared much for rural problems. The small membership of many rural cells is [nevertheless] the weak side of many rural party organizations.

At the present time the essential reason for the weakness of our organizations and their limited opportunities for influencing opinion stems from deep divisions in the countryside. There exists considerable stratification in the countryside and a conflict of interests among farmers. In some villages there are also remnants of post-August disputes.

In the countryside there is a big gap between very rich farmers and the majority of peasants who are less affluent, even though they are good farmers. Large fortunes are frequently amassed through cunning, mistaken agricultural policy of past years, and frequently, ties of the rich with the cost of other farmers for whom machinery, building materials and the means of agricultural production were lacking.

The farmers who are in the party are on the whole not very affluent although usually they are good farmers who care for their land. As a principle in past years the party neglected them, did not defend their interests--although theirs was the interest of the majority of village inhabitants. How then are they, who feel somewhat disappointed, to become totally involved in party activity? The boom for wheeler-dealers continues. An honest, medium well-off farmer certainly will sell his grain to the state and not on the open market. A rich wheeler-dealer will sell on the market for a price twice as high as the state price, without paying a tax on the actual profit.

W. Ledwochowski: Indeed, although the agricultural policy is correct, we still cannot put in motion such mechanisms which would promote the development of medium and small farms and investments in those farms. This creates an unfavorable atmosphere in the countryside.

I think that some of the obstacles can be overcome if the worker-peasant alliance will have its expression in our daily social life. Today workers and peasants know little about their mutual problems. We must take care about the cooperation of gminas with work enterprises, particularly those producing for agriculture. We must enrich the form of contracts already made, as for example those of the Lubraniec gmina and AZOTY in Wloclawek, Brzesc Kujawski and DRUMET in Wloclawek.

GAZETA: Let us go back to the issues raised by comrade Stawicki. We hear more and more often from farmers that the problem of farm hands is making a comeback in the countryside...

H. Stawicki: This problem already exists and will continue to grow. Today a small and medium-size farmer sometimes becomes a farm-hand. If this farmer does not get services from a socialized enterprise (and often he does not receive them because there are too few of these enterprises and the existing ones are bureaucratized and inefficient), he must turn for help to a rich farmer who has the machinery. The latter, of course, will provide service only for a so called "workout" [odrobek], or manual labor on the most arduous farm work.

We must remember that a large number of farmers today are the elderly, who do not have and never will have a full set of farming machines. For them the shortage of agricultural services is a great obstacle to good farming. In the next few years the countryside will not become miraculously rejuvenated, the development of services is therefore a necessity. Here begins what can be called class politics in the countryside.

M. Uwarzynski: We can gain peasants' trust only through a stable policy. The farmer must know whether a certain investment, a certain productional direction will yield profits for years to come. Only rich farmers can afford yearly changes of the production profile or a chancy investment, and they, after all, are not representative of the countryside.

Agricultural policy must stick to the real interests of the countryside, and thus the party must be among the people, must listen carefully to the peasants, and express their interests. It is, after all, in the interest of all of us, because the effects of this policy are felt on the country's food market.

M. Waraksa: Unfortunately, there is evidence that we continue to promote the stratification of the countryside. The village chief today allots machinery to rich farmers who run multiproduct farms. They, in their turn, continue to take new machines and sell their old ones, often at very high prices, to farmers who cannot get the allotment because they have "only" 7-hectare farms.

We forget that it is these small farmers who feed us. The party must take notice of this, must remember about its class obligations.

GAZETA: Indeed! Should not rural self-management protect the peasants' interests and take care of such "7-hectare" farmers?

R. Szczerbiak: When machinery was in the farmer's agricultural circle, he felt secure that no one would swindle him. Unfortunately, in the seventies we began to create machinery centers and later--farming circle cooperatives, which very quickly forgot about the interests of the medium-size farm owners. Some of them even began to occupy themselves with transport, and so on.

It was indeed the joint plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee and the NK ZSL, which opened up the possibility of returning to such circles with machines which the peasants want. We have now before us a chance to utilize this possibility. I think that it is up to the rural POP to undertake this matter, through the gmina organization. Let the SKR [cooperative agricultural circles] have their heavy machinery, and let the light machines stay in farming circles, closer to the peasant.

H. Stawicki: We must undertake and solve these problems because in the countryside they become the subject of political struggle. We must take the side of the medium and small-farm owners, because attempts are made to draw them away from the party and from socialism. They are even being told that the agricultural policy is directed against the medium and small farm owners and favors the rich ones. Our aktiv is too small to stand up effectively against the spreading of such theories. We should be getting more help from the rural intelligentsia...

GAZETA: ...which, as we have already said, often shuts itself off in its POP. On the other hand, in many gminas the POP to which teachers and employees of institutions servicing agriculture belong, have passed their test.

H. Stawicki: Existence of such rural POPs is possible. After all, we have common interests with teachers, workers, intelligentsia employed in offices, GS and other institutions.

M. Uwarzynski: More! I see a need for greater involvement of the voivodship party and economic aktivs in the life of the rural POP. Some interests in the gmina are divergent and cause conflicts. I think that both the countryside and the voivodship authorities would gain. The party and by the same token all its activists must be as close to the people as possible, including the countryside people.

M. Waraksa: Regional centers of party work also should serve this reapprochement to an increasing degree.

## Reports Conference Deliberations

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 14 Feb 83 pp 1, 2, 5

[Article by R. Buczek, J. Slominska, and M. Trzebiatowski: "The Party Must be Equal to the Tasks of the Future"]

[Text] On Saturday, under the slogan "We have been equal to the hour of national trial, we will be equal to the tasks of the future," the voivodship reports-program conference of the PZPR deliberated in Wloclawek. Two hundred and forty-seven delegates representing the voivodship party organization, which numbers 33,600 members and candidates, participated in the conference. They evaluated the organization's output in the past 20 months, its contribution to the realization of the Ninth Congress, and they defined tasks for work in the later part of the term. Krystian Luczak, first secretary of the KW PZPR, led the deliberations.

Representatives of the central authorities participated in the conference, among them: Politburo member, minister of foreign affairs, Stefan Olszowski; director of the Bureau for Sejm Affairs, Edward Szymanski; minister for chemical and light industry, Edward Grzywa; deputy minister of the construction and construction materials industry, Janusz Prokopiak. Among the guests of the conference were: the KOK plenipotentiary, Col Sergiusz Cielez, the WK ZSL, chairman Roman Pstrong, the WK SD director, Ryszard Tomczewski, the WRN director, Henryk Pychynski, the Wroclaw governor Tadeusz Gembicki, and the director of the PRON Temporary Voivodship Council, Ewelina Szyszko. Representatives of the voivodship social and youth organizations, of the MO, and a large group of workers movement veterans also participated in the conference.

The KW first secretary Krystian Luczak presented the reports-program paper of the PZPR Voivodship Committee. Before the conference the delegates received reports of the KW PZPR, the Voivodship Audit Commission and the Voivodship Party Control Commission as well as information about the realization of the motions from the reports-election conference and the realization of the program of overcoming the crisis in the Wloclawek voivodship in 1982. The governor, Tadeusz Gembicki, presented the voivodship's economic situation to the delegates.

### The KW First Secretary's Pronouncement

Comrade Krystian Luczak began his pronouncement by describing the situation in the party and the voivodship in the 20-month period which passed since the voivodship reports-election conference. The conference deliberated in a very complex social and political situation against a background of destructive activity by the enemies of socialism.

The citizen's attitude of the majority...[text missing]

We can observe on the part of the leadership cadres a desire to stand aside. Many problems have arisen from the departure of a considerable segment of the experienced aktiv. Many of the comrades who have been charged for the first time with responsible functions, have not yet mastered the skill of organizing party work.

K. Luczak then extensively discussed the efforts undertaken with the purpose of activizing the voivodship party organization. We are trying, he said, to direct the organization's daily activity toward frequent and close contacts with the POP members. With growing frequency our meetings take place directly at work enterprises in the cities and gminas. We precede them with working contacts, with meeting the work crews in the framework of the so called "Citizen's Tribune." Representatives of all party links will be hearing grievances and complaints directly at work enterprises or in villages.

The work of basic party cells is of crucial significance. They decide about the party's influence on the work crew and the milieu. The POP should undertake actions guaranteeing the realization of the party program. The point is that each cell ought to express its attitude toward the situation in the country, the voivodship and the milieu and that it should also influence its milieu. In the POP the fight against the evil, the fight for people's problems ought to be undertaken. And an active dialog of party members with their work colleagues ought to be the basic method of party work.

We see serious weaknesses in the political work of many party organizations in the countryside. The effectiveness of party activity among farmers and in institutions servicing the countryside and agriculture gives reason for concern.

In turn the KW first secretary point out, among other things, the need for more active work with the youth. Restoring the patriotic education of the youth to its proper place is an important task now. We must teach the youth practically from the basics, love for their motherland and respect for progressive national traditions. We ought to make the youth aware of the fact that the history of People's Poland does not consist of errors and distortions alone. Real, and not just rhetorical creation of possibilities for social, professional and cultural advancement of the young, will allow for the rebirth of the party's ties with this generation and winning it over to the ideals of socialism. In cadre policy we must make high demands on people recommended for responsible positions. Youthfulness cannot be an obstacle to a promotion, as it no longer is an obstacle in the party. Positive reevaluations are taking place too slowly in education-upbringing institutions. Socialist schools cannot lose the educational role that is due them.

In the latter part of his pronouncement, Krystian Luczak referred to the social and economic situation of the voivodship and pointed out the party's obligations in these areas. He said that people are the most aggravated by mistakes made by the administration: wastefulness, mismanagement, nepotism and cliquishness, as well as lack of respect for the principles of social justice. Frequently people's problems are dealt with mechanically, from behind the desk, and some offices and institutions still remain inaccessible "temples of authority." The POP and party organizations ought to react to these questions quickly and decisively. In this respect we must draw on the experience of the army commissars and the regional operational groups. Our voice and activity must not be missing in any sphere of social and economic life.

The following things will be decisive in the realization of the line of understanding: the activity of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth links, the workers self-management bodies which are being reborn, and labor unions; the decline of tensions and conflicts at work places, schools and in the countryside; the growth of the constructive activity of youth, women's and other social organizations. New forms of activity are gaining an increasingly wider acceptance in the voivodship. Our presence in the self-management bodies, the independent and self-governing labor movement, and the PRON ought to help them to become important, strong and creative links of socialist democracy.

#### The Governor on the Economic Situation

The Wroclaw governor, Tadeusz Gembicki, gave a description of the voivodship's economic situation in his statement. From August 1982 a slowing down of the decline of industrial production and a slight growth of productivity have taken place. At the same time, however, negative trends are occurring in many branches of local industry and building, whose previous year results were 8 percent lower than in 1981. Good results, on the other hand, were obtained by the agriculture sector of Kujawy and the Dobrzyn region, which sold to the state in 1982 62,000 tons of grain, 29,000 tons of slaughter livestock and 201 million liters of milk; it was much more than in 1981. Not much improvement could be recorded in health services, municipal economy, transport and road-building.

"The year 1982," emphasized the Wroclaw voivode, "was a turning point in overcoming the economic crisis."

The main task in the current year is to create conditions for the realization of basic goals of the 3-year plan for the voivodship for the years 1983-1985. These are: feeding society, growth of housing construction and improvement in supplying the population with the indispensable articles of daily use. Priority will be given to the problems of agriculture, housing construction, and the implementation of the economic reform, which is the condition for intensifying industrial production. "The country's present socioeconomic situation," emphasized

voivode T. Gembicki, "does not allow meeting fully the growing needs of the voivodship's population because the basic material tasks of the current year, although higher than in 1982, do not allow reaching a level higher than before the crisis."

#### Description of the Discussion

After the voivode's pronouncement, a discussion began, in which the following participants took the floor: comrade Jan Witczak from Wloclawek's CELULOZA; Henryk Filipiak from SHRO Kazanie; Jan Szymczak from the URSUS Machine Works; Jan Gawrysiak, farmer from Wloclawek Gmina; Stanislaw Wyrebski from the POHZ Osiecina; Col Sergiusz Cielesz, the KOK plenipotentiary for the Wroclaw voivodship; Wladyslaw Tomczak, teacher in the Vocational Schools Complex in Wloclawek; Barbara Krzeminska from the KG PZPR Topolka; Col Onufry Suchomski, commander of the voivodship MO; Aleksander Bajraszewski from the Wloclawek HYDROBUDOWA; Jerzy Kaminski, veteran from Lipno; Jan Jankowski, farmer from Kikolo; Wieslawa Wolf, teacher from Ciechocinek; Artur Kwiatkowski, the PZPR Central Committee member, farmer from the village of Cetki in the Rypin gmina; Krzysztof Grzadziek, first secretary of the KZ in CERAMIKA; Bronislaw Czarnecki, the PBRol in Rypin; Bogumil Kodymowski, physician from Wloclawek; Henryk Nieweglowski, from the RSP in Radziejow; Stanislaw Reczyk, first secretary of the KZ in the Nitrogen Works; Miroslaw Orlinski, first secretary of the KG PZPR in Chocen; Antoni Lipka, farmer from Luban; Jaroslaw Narczewski from the WLOSKOR cooperative in Lipno; Henryk Frateczak, chairman of the GS in Izbica Kujawska. Pronouncements by 16 discussion participants were entered into the protocol.

In the course of the conference the following other participants took the floor: Roman Pstrong, the WK ZSL chairman; Ryszard Tomczewski, director of the WK SD; Ewelina Szszo, director of the TRW PRON, Wladyslaw Kubiak, director of the ZW ZSMP; Jadwiga Sniegowska, commander of the Wloclawek ZHP [Polish Scouts Union] Troop; and Wojciech Warkocki, director of the ZW ZMW.

Many participants in the discussion referred in their pronouncements to the events of the past 20 months. They paid particular attention to the realization of the voivodship reports-election campaign in the POP and the workplace party organizations. Comrade Jan Witczak spoke about it, recalling the instability of his organization's members' attitudes in the months preceding the imposition of martial law, the destructive influence of the so-called horizontal structures concept on party unity, and describing the realization and effectiveness of the KZ PZPR tasks for the party organization, formulated after the imposition of martial law. There was a need to raise the level of the ideological-educational work in the OOP [regional party organization] (by changing the system of party training), activating the attitude of every party member, which found its expression in the verification carried out (4 expulsions, 85 dismissals), caring for the workers' interests (interest in the creation and activity of the social-living commission and later the creation of labor unions), shared responsibility for the functioning of the enterprises (interest in the renewing of the activity of workers' self-management).

The delegates emphasized that the proper climate for labor union activity has already been created in many of the voivodship's production enterprises. Comrade Jaroslaw Narczewski, among others, presented examples of party members inspiring the process of creating labor organizations and by the same token protection of workers' interests. Among the 14 enterprises in Lipno, union commissions are already functioning in 10. The party's task now is to guarantee the unions activity independent from the administration.

Comrade Krzysztof Grzadziel considered as most important the problem of broad participation of the members of enterprise organizations in consultations and resolving of the problems crucial to the enterprise. The PZPR members in CERAMIKA are also initiators of actions aimed at the socialization of management (through workers self-management) and express and genuine concern for the day to day interests of the workforce through the activity of the labor union already functioning in their enterprise. The ideological activity of the PZPR Gmina Committees in Topolka and Chocen was presented by comrades Barbara Krzeminska and Miroslaw Orlinski. The best KG activists are sent to work there with the barely active POP, traveling sessions of the KG executive are arranged in rural POPs. Comrade Artur Kwiatkowski spoke about the party's growing authority in the countryside and about its increasing effectiveness in that milieu. "It was," he said, "the effect of favorable changes which have taken place in the recent period in the whole voivodship party organization, thus the achievements of political, organizational and ideological unity in the PZPR ranks." "We have stopped discussing in villages only the coal and fertilizer supplies," said comrade Jan Jankowski, "and now the time has come to discuss the organization's internal matters. It is a significant step in party work."

The discussion confirmed the party's considerable contribution to the solving of the Wloclawek Voivodship's most important economic problems. This applies both to industrial and to agricultural productions. Problems in them needing solution were successively pointed out. Comrade Henryk Filipiak spoke about the economic consequences of farms deprived of investments. The newly established orchard of the SHRO Kanzanie will start producing fruit in two years, yet lacks storage, a cooling plant, access roads, and employee housing. This will send future harvests for processing in the alcohol distillery rather than to the needy domestic fruit market. Comrade Jan Szymczak signaled the need for aid from departmental and voivodship authorities, so that the successive deadline for activating the Ferguson investment could be kept. Help for the PBP [Industrial Building Enterprise] KUJAWY (which is building an URSUS plant in Wloclawek) is indispensable for completing on time the factory facility and the main drain for purifying wastes, and the aid of the Wloclawek governor in getting together a highly qualified work crew and guaranteeing them apartments (due to the manpower deficiencies on the Wloclawek labor market, it is necessary to bring in people from neighboring voivodships). Without the aid of the central authorities the second stage of building the Nitrogen Works

in Wloclawek will not be completed. This was brought up by Stanislaw Reczyk. "As party members we cannot allow," he stressed, "a lack of a small financial sum to make a speedy exploitation of the polyvinyl chloride complex, in which billions of zlotys have already been invested, impossible."

Comrade Jan Gawrysiak spoke about the decline in economic results for private farms due to the lack of inseminators, bad organization of receiving slaughter livestock, and lack of spare parts for agricultural machines, although costly junkyards can be found above all in the SKR. Comrade Stanislaw Wyrebski appealed for the intervention of state administration organs to prevent unnecessary losses (spoiling of quality grain, more energetic grain procurement, and so on). Comrade Aleksander Bajraszewski informed participants about the bad organization of ventilation equipment repairs, and disparity of wages in the same employee groups.

The conference speakers condemned the negative phenomena accompanying the economic reform which evokes social repercussions. The aforementioned comrade Bajraszewski postulated a need for a more effective tax system, as the present one causes unjustified differences in incomes; comrade Wladyslaw Tomczak pointed out the growth of wages in some enterprises (sometimes by 40 percent) unjustified by economic results (low productivity, non-fulfillment of production plans). Comrade Stanislaw Wyrebski denied the rumors about subsidies for socialized farms and "astronomic" earnings of farm workers.

In many of the pronouncements the need for consistent resolution of housing problems was emphasized. "There cannot be fictional actions," said comrade Bronislaw Czarnecki, "the programs must be followed by concrete allotments of materials and financial means. In this field greater activity is expected from youth organizations. They must be the advocate for young people's interests, not only by postulating and demanding new living quarters, but in concrete solutions to the problem, for example, by creating housing cooperatives, adapting attics, laundry rooms, and so on."

"Without creating proper conditions for medical care in Wloclawek Voivodship," said comrade Bogumil Kodymowski, "we cannot talk about a radical improvement in health protection. Yet, in Wloclawek alone, the historical, 150-year old hospital on Turunska Street can be utilized only until the end of the current year. Thus the voivodship is threatened with a lack of 140 specialized [hospital] beds. The problem can be solved only by erecting a voivodship hospital in Wloclawek-Michelin. This investment was however halted for lack of central funds and the impossibility of building it within the framework of the regional plan."

Some of the speakers in the discussion criticized the treatment of citizens in offices. Comrade Col Sergiusz Cielesz spoke on this subject and suggested that the rich documentary material gathered as result of the inspection by army operational groups, be utilized.

The set of problems associated with bringing up the young generation was a separate topic of discussion. These problems were outlined particularly sharply in the pronouncement of the MO voivodship commander, Col Onufry Suchomski, who presented data regarding security and public order in Wloclawek Voivodship, economic crime, social discipline, and parasitism. Comrade Wladyslaw Tomczak spoke about educational problems in Wloclawek Voivodship and signaled the lack of qualified teaching personnel (conclusion: considering the necessity of hiring high school [Liceum Ogolnoksztalcace] graduates as teachers, teachers' high schools [Liceum Pedagogiczne], presently abolished, should be reinstituted; lack of teaching aids (postulate: to utilize the potential of work enterprises and the voivodship's vocational schools); and the necessity to build before the end of the WRN's [Voivodship City Council] term 95 kilometers of hard pavement access roads to 32 schools in the voivodship. The personnel problems of educational facilities were also presented by comrade Wieslawa Wolf, who postulated the necessity for extemporaneous solutions, organizing pedagogical courses for people with high school education, among others. In referring to the school educational program she said that the program itself was not a guarantee for good nurturing. That must come from the home, school, social institutions and the actions of the milieu.

In many of the pronouncements the activities of the Socialist Union of Polish Youth [ZSMP] were critically evaluated. Its cells did not display enough energy, particularly at work places, did not utilize the possibility of participating in the process of co-management of the work place, or feebly accented its presence in the regional self-management cells. Thus the task of enterprise party organizations is to provide continuous inspiration and aid to the ZSMP cells.

#### Conference Guests' Pronouncements

Minister Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, minister Edward Grzywa, and Deputy Minister Janusz Prokopiak, took the floor in the course of the conference, in many cases referring to the delegates' pronouncements.

S. Olszowski, addressing the delegates, said among other things: "Your organization in the past dozen or so months has gone over a difficult road--beginning with the memorable voivodship reports-election conference. The forces of anarchy have been defeated. Nevertheless, the year 1981 when they submerged our country in crisis will stay in our memory. Since that conference the process of consolidating your organization has considerably moved forward, and today further unification of views of the tasks facing you has taken place.

A difficult stage is behind us; the party has been left by people for whom errors overshadowed the indubitable achievements of the party and the country. The time will come when the party will be growing, developing again. We must be careful then not to make the mistake of accepting opportunists in it.

Further on, comrade S. Olszowski pointed out that in the 1970's Wloclawek and Wloclawek Voivodship were strongly invested in, and that presently there are many investments which ought to be completed. It is time that they repay the country, that the production capacities of the AZOTY, the house factory and the Paint Works be fully utilized. Help should be sought not only from the reform but also from initiatives from the bottom. Production should be "set in motion" in the same way.

In the later part of his pronouncement, Stafan Olszowski made a statement on foreign policy matters, which we are publishing separately.

Deputy Minister Janusz Prokopiak stated that after consultations with the voivodship authorities decisions were undertaken which guarantee prompt and adequate financial means and materials necessary for the construction of a hospital in Lipno (so as to turn it over to health services in June of the current year), and providing heating this year for the infectious diseases hospital pavilion in Wloclawek. Material supplies for the planned tasks in the housing construction industry were also agreed upon (the plan foresees building 1,547 apartments this year). The realization of this year's tasks is feasible providing that Wloclawek Voivodship builders will realize the plan in the first quarter of the year by 20 percent.

Minister Edward Grzywa said that difficulties with supplies of many light industrial products, fertilizers and other means of agricultural production, including pesticides, will continue for the reason that chemical and light industry enterprises are not utilizing presently their productional capacities.

In this industry, productivity has been falling continuously since 1979. The productivity of its employees in 1982 amounted to barely 72.6 percent of its 1978 level. Productivity and production are declining, yet wages are growing--in this industry's Wloclawek enterprises as well. In the CERAMIKA, productivity amounted to 97.7 percent (in 1982, in comparison to 1981), production to 93 percent, and wages to over 120 percent; in the AZOTY--productivity--95 percent, production--96 percent, and wages--132 percent; in the Paint Works--productivity--91 percent, production--84 percent, and wages also have increased considerably. If production capacities are not utilized, there will be no production--and the market will be badly supplied, thus unwinding the inflational spiral. Tying wages to productivity is necessary, mechanisms forcing the growth of production and improvement of its quality must begin to function. Enterprises which so far have not been supplying the market must begin to undertake such production. In order to entice them to do it, tax reliefs are necessary.

#### Adoption of Resolution

At the conclusion of the deliberations, the conference adopted a resolution in which, among other things, tasks corresponding to the needs of Wloclawek Voivodship's socioeconomic development were defined, and

the Voivodship Committee was obliged to improve the style of work of all the links of the voivodship organization. Also emphasized in the resolution were tasks which are to serve the consolidation of party ranks, regaining social trust by the party, and the strengthening of the patriotic movement of national rebirth, workers self-management, and labor unions.

At the conclusion of the conference, the KW first secretary, Krystian Luczak, took the floor and emphasized that the conference fulfilled its tasks--the verification of the party work program, evaluation of the state of the economy and social issues of the Wloclawek Voivodship. In the discussion many motions were put forward which will serve the realization of the most important political and economic tasks--increasing production and productivity, and improving management. The conference pointed out the road to the stabilization of the social and economic situation in the Wloclawek Voivodship; now we must win over the whole voivodship's population to our program.

12270

CSO: 2600/511

PROVINCIAL ACTIVITIES AGAINST WORK SHIRKERS

Registration Required for Nonworking Persons

Krakow ECHO KRAKOWA in Polish 7 Apr 83 p 2

[Article by (ag): "Registration of Nonworking Persons Begun"]

[Text] As of 1 January 1983 the decree "on treatment of persons who shirk work" has become effective. It provides that males 18 to 45 years old who remain unemployed (or have interrupted their studies) for more than 3 months are obligated to register at the department for nonworking persons. Yesterday we visited that department, which is housed in the neighborhood of the employment department on 9 Sebastian Street.

The registration actually began several days ago, because the decree explicitly stated that persons not working for 3 months are subject to the duty of registering. The reckoning of time must begin from the day the decree became effective, that is, from 1 January.

So far, the department for nonworking persons has registered 49 individuals. But they are not the persons whom the creators of the decree had meant. Those registering are persons who have not worked for several months after their return from abroad but who do not at all intend to be work shirkers. As for the real parasites, they are in no hurry to come to the department, and hence invitations have begun to be mailed to persons long known to the employment department. Specifically, this concerns more than 320 persons liable to compulsory employment in December 1981. But the problem is how to identify the remaining several hundred individuals and prompt them to register. Perhaps the families of those "born on a Sunday" could persuade them to go to Sebastian Street? The registration does not mean that sanctions will be applied. Rather, help will be provided in finding a job which will not discourage the delinquent after a couple of weeks.

Registration Enforced on Unemployed Shirkers

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 7 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Report by (PAP): "Registration of Nonworking and Nonstudying Males Continues"]

[Text] As we previously reported, the registration of males affected by the degree on treatment of persons shirking work is continuing. Reports from local PAP correspondents indicate that nonworking and nonstudying males are still registering at employment departments and gmina and city-quarter offices.

In Bialystok persons reporting to the employment departments and submitting credible explanations that their unemployed or nonstudying status is due to state of health or personal or family conditions are allowed--pursuant to the provisions of the decree--to delay registration. At the same time, they are given a deadline for informing the office that they have undertaken to work or study. A survey by the Bialystok employment department indicates that in that city about 710 persons live on incomes whose sources are not closely known. In Torun during the martial law era 500 notorious work shirkers have been registered. Some of them had taken on jobs following the suspension of the martial law, but they mostly have since quit their jobs. Persons who do not work or study for a period longer than 3 months are being currently registered. When there is no social justification for remaining unemployed any longer, the concerned person is assigned to an industrial plant or an institution reporting job vacancies. Or he is assisted in starting studies or advancing or changing his/her occupational skills. For the time being--as examples illustrate--those registering are mostly relatively unskilled persons who work only for short periods of time or frequently change their "work places." And yet there is a nearly universal surplus of job vacancies. Even a person with only basic skills can find a permanent job and advance his skills.

In Katowice Province nearly 900 hitherto nonworking males have reported to local province offices. Most were assigned to specific production plants which, in that province, have about 44,000 job vacancies. It is apposite here to recall that a registered person may be summoned, even several times, to explain why he remains unemployed or nonstudying. Failure to appear for the summons carries, let us add, the penalty of imprisonment or a fine.

#### Attempts to Control Antiwork Parasites

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 9-10 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Unsigned article: "Against Parasites: Registration of Nonworking Persons Continues"]

[Text] /(OWN INFORMATION.) As we already reported, 1 April [1983] was a major date in the enforcement of the decree of 26 October 1982 concerning treatment of work shirkers. The decree imposed the duty of reporting on their own, to the appropriate offices, on all males 18 to 45 years old who have not held a job for at least 3 months and have not so far registered at unemployment departments. A chance has finally arisen for actually assessing the social scope of parasitism./

Are nonworking persons fulfilling this duty? We asked this question of representatives of the departments for employment and social services at municipal offices in our region. Roman Luczak, the director of the Department of Employment and Social Services in Lublin, answered:

"The waiting period for the official summons is over for all nonworking persons still unknown to the administration and who in many cases failed to register in the hope that they might be overlooked. Our superior agency had recommended to us that we register all parasites as early as beginning on 1 January [1983]. Since then we have registered 143 persons. They are males who used to hold one

job or another but rapidly quit it. Most of them were summoned by our department. They are chiefly unskilled persons 20 to 36 years old. Since 1 April 18 persons came on their own to register. We offered them jobs in construction, transport and trade as well as in the Iron Foundry of the Truck Factory [FSC] and in the Lublin Vase Factory. They were assigned jobs and we will monitor their adherence to this duty."

Mieczyslaw Basa, director of the Department of Employment under the Chelm Municipal Office, declared:

"Very few people have come to register. This duty was complied with by only 11 persons, although we know that there should have been 10 or 15 times as many. Most are elementary school graduates, although a few come from basic vocational schools as well. They used to have jobs but they threw them up rapidly. We assign them all to work chiefly at the Cement Combine, the AGROMET Agricultural Machinery Factory, the Municipal Enterprises of Communal Economy [MPGK], the Fruit and Vegetable Processing Plant [ZPOW] and the Polish State Railroads [PKP]. They are familiar with the decree and ask about wages. I believe, though, that unless the Militia applies some persuasion, many parasites will remain in Chelm."

Alicja Karauda, director of employment at the Municipal Office in Krasnystaw, declared:

"So far only 10 persons have registered, although according to the information I have we should register more than 60 males who do not work anywhere. Eight have already taken on jobs. We directed them to the Public Roads Administration, the GROBLA Construction and Repair Cooperative, the Ceramics Works of the Lubus Industrial Construction Enterprise [LPBP], and the Construction Repair Works under the Health Care Team [ZOZ]. We are awaiting further mandatory registrations.

#### Over 268,000 Nonworkers, So-Called Bluebirds

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 21 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by Wieslaw Rogala: "More Than a Quarter-Million Idlers: They Do Not Toil But Live Well"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] So far the bluebirds a.k.a. parasites have been rather like UFOs. We all knew that they were circling somewhere but as a rule they slipped from the grasp. They toiled not but they lived well.

It was only after the decree on the treatment of persons shirking work that these individuals became more noticeable, as it were. /They are, as defined in the decree, persons who have not worked or studied for a period of at least 3 months who are from 18 to 45 years old and whose sources of income are inconsonant with the principles of social intercourse and often derive directly from crime. It is estimated that they account for about 268,000 out of 20 million of people of ablebodied age, but judging from what we see around us, they are much more numerous./

In 1982 every fourth crime was committed by persons of this kind. But in some crime categories this indicator was higher. For example, it amounted to 49 percent for robberies and forcible extortions; 40 percent for burglaries of

private homes; and 35 percent for burglaries of socialized facilities. Of the 472 homicides recorded in the previous year 129 or 36 percent were committed by nonworking and nonstudying persons.

The "bluebirds" also include work-absentees and so-called persons "born on a Sunday." They find state jobs a bother, but for them the going is good in the bazaars, outside "Pewex" [expansion unknown]. They enjoy buying and selling alcohol, manufactured goods, foreign currency and even passenger cars on private car selling lots.

/For these persons the decree has introduced the duty of reporting to the nearest municipal or gmina office in their place of residence with the object of explaining the reasons why they do not work or study./

Although the decree is effective since 1 January of this yer, it was only recently that the offices were informed that the three-month period specified by the decree is reckoned separately for every person concerned rather than generally from the date the decree became effective. In such a situation--as ensues from preliminary assumptions--"only" 21,000 such persons could be registered across the nation.

/Persons failing to register are liable to the application of educational methods by both the organs of the Militia and those of the state administration. First, the concerned individual is advised of the duty of reporting as specified in the decree and informed of the deadline for voluntary reporting. If this "contract" is ignored, the organs of the Militia submit a recommendation for punishment to the collegium for infractions. Altogether, in January and February 267 such recommendations were submitted nationwide./

/In the event of doubtful credibility of the explanation provided by the summoned individual, special investigative proceedings are instituted. The persons summoned also are given a medical examination and psychological tests to determine their health status and occupational aptitude as well as helped to find work or study. If--despite the help given--the individual continues to refrain from work or study, he is registered on the list of stubborn work shirkers. The decision on such listing may be appealed before the Supreme Administrative Court. Only after this decision is legally validated--after meeting certain requirements--can compulsory work be required of the persons remaining on the list.

/The purpose of the new decree is to restore demoralized individuals to society./ It should be stated, however that it is difficult to turn a "genuine parasite" into an honest man. Persons of this type have long ago mapped out for themselves precisely this mode of life. They value "easy money" and do not intend to relinquish it.

/Hence the results will largely depend on the success of the economic reform and a resolute enforcement of the decree's provisions./

1386

CSO: 2600/831

INTRODUCTION OF CRUISE, PERSHING MISSILES POSES 'INCREASED DANGER'

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 25 Apr 83 p 5

[Interview with Col (Dr Habilitatus) Julian Kaczmarek by Jolanta Liczbinska:  
"Will Cruise and Pershing Missiles Bypass Poland?"]

[Text] [Question] Professor, our society, like the societies of many European countries, is living in an ever-increasing awareness of danger related to the planned deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in West Europe...

[Answer] This awareness of an increased danger is fully justified. Since the end of the 1970s, the West has constantly initiated actions aimed at attaining military superiority over the Warsaw Pact countries. At present we are faced with a successive technological leap in nuclear missile technology. As we all know, the United States intends to deploy in West Europe 572 strategic medium-range nuclear missiles of the Pershing II and Cruise type. These are so-called second-generation missiles. Their deployment would facilitate increasing the number of targets; it would considerably increase the danger of a surprise attack and, moreover, it would force the socialist countries and, above all, the Soviet Union, to commit appropriate financial resources in order to equalize the strategic nuclear potentials. This costly qualitative increase in the weaponry of the NATO forces, if implemented, would undoubtedly shape the forms and methods of armed struggle on our continent in the near future.

From the above we should conclude that with the introduction of Pershing II and automatically-controlled cruise missiles into Europe the danger of provoking a war on our continent would increase. Also, it might be well to mention that the intention of the U.S. is to remove [the danger of] war away from its own territory.

[Question] At times we may encounter views that--as can be concluded from graphs presented in western periodicals--Poland is not threatened by an attack employing cruise and Pershing missiles, because they allegedly are supposed to fly over our territory. What is the truth?

[Answer] I have not encountered such reasoning, but that may be caused by the fact that I work with people who know the adversary's possibilities and assumptions. Delusions about the possibility that such missiles will bypass the territory of the Polish People's Republic have no real basis. Both the previous concepts of NATO (among others, the so-called concept of "forward defense"), and the present concept of "deep strike," anticipate striking at targets which are located on Polish territory. This is largely a consequence of the location and the military importance of our country. And this, among other things, is involved in assignment of tasks precisely to Pershing and cruise-type missiles. Likewise, we should not delude ourselves that their small size and the fact that they carry smaller-yield nuclear payloads may cause less destruction. The use of smaller-yield payloads means merely the elimination of excessive [nuclear] yield.

[Question] Professor, there is much talk about the need to preserve the arms balance. What does it mean to preserve the [arms] balance? What margin [of superiority] can be tolerated by the Warsaw Pact, to which our country belongs?

[Answer] There exists a law that states that the nature, course, and results of every war depend on the relation between the war potentials of the opposing sides. Thus, logic tells us that the most difficult period to start a war is one during which there is a balance of war potentials, because then the nature, course, and results of a war represent a great unknown. In other words, to preserve a state of balance is to maintain peace. What role, then, in view of mankind's striving for peace, is played by a country which from the very end of World War II has consistently initiated the introduction of new types of weapons? If we take a close look at a comparison of dates of introduction of new types of weapons which have had a basic impact on the conduct of military operations, then in each case--with the exception of the launching of the first intercontinental ballistic missile (which was caused by the need to balance the delivery systems for nuclear weapons)--the United States has been the initiator, and the Soviet Union has been the side that has attempted to match its adversary. Initiation of this action on the part of the Soviet Union was necessary precisely to preserve the balance and, consequently, to preserve peace. The price of passiveness would be too high. Concerning this subject, General W. Jaruzelski said most justifiedly: "Maintaining peace is very costly, but the cost of war, in comparison with it, is immeasurably higher."

[Arms] balance does not at all mean that it is necessary for both sides to have precisely the same number of identical delivery systems. The Warsaw Pact bases its assessment of balance on its own defense needs. We speak about balance, if in relation our adversary's new delivery systems we have sufficiently effective counter-delivery systems.

[Question] The plan to construct an antimissile system, recently advanced by President Reagan, is assessed as a successive attempt to alter this balance. What are the principles of operation of the proposed antimissile laser barrier and destructive radiation emission systems?

[Answer] This concept is by no means new. However, it is worth noting that in the second half of the 1980s the U.S. intends to supplement their weaponry with a successive generation of strategic delivery systems, which at that time will have a global range. The U.S. Congress has approved construction of 100 MX missiles (range 12,000 kms; 10 nuclear payloads on each warhead, with a payload yield of 100-400 kilotons). Moreover, plans are being made to arm atomic submarines with missiles of the Trident II type (range 7,500 km; 8 nuclear payloads on each warhead; an inertial-guided missile with partial flight correlation), and to equip the Air Force with B-1 bombers and "Stealth" strategic bombers. The latter are distinguished by their ability to escape detection by present radar stations.

Returning to your question, I should like to state that there has been much progress in research on laser weapons as well as on, as they are sometimes called, "cluster" weapons (based on the enormous energy of moving elementary particles). In 1985 at the latest, as B. Wozniecki informs in his book, "NATO of the 1980s," the Americans want to place in earth orbit their first "wonder weapon"--a laser gun, whose task, as they assert, would be to "knock out" enemy satellites as well as to neutralize enemy intercontinental ballistic missiles shortly after their launching. In the first stage, they anticipate the utilization of a laser with a yield of 5 megawatts (MW), and then the construction of first space stations, equipped with higher-yield laser guns (15-25 MW).

I do not think that it is necessary to explain what would be the consequences if the United States possessed this type of weapon. Likewise, there is no need to prove that development of this type of weapons necessitates allocation of considerable [industrial] power and financial resources to their production. Therefore, it is no wonder that during next 5 years the U.S. [defense] budget will double (214 billion dollars in 1982, and 401 billion dollars in 1987). Also, it is absurd to assert that a laser gun is a defensive-type weapon, because, as every gun does, it can be used both for defense and for offense. For example, is firing a "laser shot" at a flying transportation or communications satellite an offensive or a defensive action?

The Americans, simply, expect an economic and technological "decomposition" of the socialist countries, and particularly of the USSR. These expectations have proven fruitless so far, and they will continue to be fruitless. The Soviet Union, as its leaders have asserted, has the capability to accept the challenge. Yuri Andropov, assessing Reagan's concept as the opening of the gates for an uncontrollable race of all kinds of strategic weapons, stated that a balance will be preserved as before, despite the price which is related to this endeavor. This will be the price of peace, because in addition to the ever-increasing protest of all of the world's nations, the maintenance of a balance is a condition which has to be met if peace is to be maintained.

[Question] Some U.S. strategists believe that a nuclear war can be won. What do you think of these opinions?

[Answer] There are different opinions about this subject, depending on the plane in which the problems is examined. In the area of science we have to deal with an enormous diversity of views about the nature of an eventual modern war. Among them, two extreme views can be mentioned. The first view is that a war will begin and end with the first nuclear strike and that it will not be possible to attain any political goals through a nuclear war. On the other hand, the second view is that because of the double-edgeness of nuclear weapons an eventual future war will be fought with conventional weapons. In addition to these extreme views, there are a great many intermediate ones. Their nature is usually represented in relation with axioms which were accepted as basic by the authors of the views.

For example, the Americans distinguish four kinds of wars: the first is a global nuclear war; the second is a nuclear war in a specific so-called theater of war (e.g., in Europe); the third is a conventional war in the above-mentioned theater of war; and the fourth is a conventional war in a limited region (a local war). For understandable reasons, the Americans are most interested in waging war in our European theater. It is well known that in such a war the Soviet Union would feel its effects analoically to the remaining European countries, while "their home would remain on the periphery." Hence their focusing of attention on Europe, and hence the Pershing and cruise missiles. However, the result of the application of this theory in practice would corroborate a recent statement by Marshal Ustinov [USSR Defense Minister], who asserted: "There cannot be any limited nuclear war. A nuclear war in Europe will be also a nuclear war in the [United] States. After all, the consent of both opposing sides is necessary in order to limit the area of a nuclear war.

And what would this war actually be like, if it were started by the West? Everybody can have his own image of it. However, it would be better not to evoke this image at all.

9577

CSO: 2600/815

BISHOP SPEAKS ON EPISCOPATE COMMISSION FOR FARMERS

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 19, 8 May 83 p 1

/Interview with Bishop Jan Gurda, chairman of the Polish Episcopate Commission for Ministry to Farmers, by Maciej Kozlowski; place and date not given/

/Text/ /Question/ Your Excellency, a few months ago a new commission for ministry was appointed. In contrast, however, to "specialist" ministries functioning until now, which included clearly separate and relatively small groups, such as academic youth, and sick or handicapped people, the commission directed by Your Excellency is to encompass up to 15 million of the faithful, for that many Poles live in the countryside. Or, if we are able to be literal about terminology, then at least close to 8 million, since according to statistics, that many people practice the profession of farmer. Whence, then, has the idea sprung of appointing a "specialist" ministry for such an enormous mass of the faithful, for the countryside where, after all, such a ministry has always existed and where it has been producing, as one would think, fruits attested to by the unshakable fidelity of the rural population to the faith and the Church?

/Answer/ The initiative for appointing this commission came as a result of increasingly louder appeals "from the bottom," most frequently from already existing parish communities, from particular priests, and from informal groups forming in rural centers. In a similar manner the Commission for Ministry to Workers, headed by Bishop Herbert Bednorz from Katowice was created eighth months earlier than ours. It was precisely the creation of the commission for workers that gave an additional impetus to the appointment of an analogous Commission for Ministry to Farmers. This question presented itself with particular clarity before the Episcopal Conference and after the big pilgrimage of farmers to Jasna Gora in September of last year, when Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk delivered his wonderful sermon. Following that pilgrimage, search for a candidate to head the new commission began. Finally on 23 February of the current year, the Episcopate Plenary Conference put my candidacy forward. I resisted, because the task presented to me was very difficult. I argued that it would perhaps be better if the commission were led by someone from a region where the tradition of a peasant social movement is stronger than in the Kielce region: Galicia /former Austrian Poland/ or the Grand Duchy of Poznan /former German Poland/, for example. Nevertheless I was convinced and, well, I began working.

/Question/ Starting with what?

/Answer/ With looking around, first of all, among those clergy and lay people who had been involved in this kind of work for a longer while. I invited them to a meeting in Kielce and on 24 March we again met in Warsaw. Together we decided that on 25 April, the first official meeting of representatives from all the dioceses would take place. I asked all the ordinary bishops to delegate to that meeting one or two priests who carried out this work within their dioceses.

Representatives of nearly all the dioceses arrived. Three papers were read at the meeting. The first was from Father Boguslaw Bijak of the Warsaw archdiocese. Its title was: "The Need to Create a Ministry for Farmers," The second speaker was Mr Gabriel Janowski, a farmer and scientific worker who is particularly active in social work in the countryside. He presented "The Ideological Assumptions of the Movement for Ministry to Farming Communities." The third speaker was Father Tadeusz Huk, who had been leading such farming communities for a long time. He discussed certain proposals connected with the visit of the Holy Father as well as with the September pilgrimage to Jasna Gora. All the participants received materials prepared earlier describing the already existing parish communities, as well as the most important documents presenting the Church's social teaching in the questions of the countryside and agriculture. We also established the date for the next meeting which will take place on 28 June in Warsaw.

/Question/ We are thus currently informed, and even know ahead of time, of the organizational status of the commission's work, whose creation, as Your Excellency stated, was an initiative "from the bottom." Nevertheless the Polish Church as an entity had to have important reasons to undertake this initiative and begin the organization of such a particular ministry.

/Answer/ The reasons were numerous and the first and most important one was the special nature of working on the land. This work requires not only proper qualifications but often a true dedication. In order to till the land, one cannot treat it with indifference but must love it and be devoted to it. This kind of devotion to one's work place and the love of the land which is, after all, a part of our motherland, are values which the Church desires to uphold and develop. These values are particularly important for the whole of society and currently they are in particular danger in the countryside, where as a result of an erroneous policy, the process of fleeing the villages for the city continues. Farming is hard work which cannot be faked or covered up.

Such an attitude toward work also constitutes a greatly precious value, particularly nowadays, when the attitude toward work is not always the right one. Respect for work also creates respect for its products. It was, after all, in the countryside where the beautiful Polish tradition of respecting every crumb of bread originated. Finally, we must remember that the farmer is particularly dependent in his work on the forces of nature, and this to him points straight to God. He appears to be closer to God on a daily basis and hence the deep devotion of the country people to the faith and church.

/Question/ This devotion is often termed "folk religiosity" as opposed to the concept of religiosity "in general." What, in your opinion, Your Excellency, is this religiosity?

/Answer/ It seems to me that it consists above all in cultivating old Polish religious traditions which in the countryside have been preserved over centuries. It is precisely in this aspect of preserving tradition that the countryside is conservative, yet it was thanks to this conservatism that we maintained our national identity throughout captivity. What's more, thanks to the preservation of this tradition, our independence was salvaged because the countryside maintained the Polish language and customs intact. Anyway, the countryside today also plays the role of treasury of values. Let us, for example, take such customs as breaking the wafer, Saint Nicholas, the Christmas tree--all these are, after all, signs of religiosity which form a certain custom, and because they are so strongly rooted in religion, they do not become empty forms.

/Question/ Today, however, the dramatic truth is that the rural population is getting older with increasing speed. The outflow of the most valuable youth to the cities continues. And even in the countryside itself, many disturbing phenomena can be observed, such as recently increasing drunkenness, chasing profit at all costs, insensitivity to the needs of others.

/Answer/ The Church is aware of all this and one of the aims of the ministry to farmers will be to counteract this kind of phenomena. We know how many young people leave the villages never to return, particularly girls. We know what tragedies take place when a young farmer cannot find a partner for life. Our goal is to try to make the countryside a place where life would be as good as in the city, for the farmer's work to be appreciated and respected, and for him to receive decent pay for his work.

(...) (Statute of 31 July 1981 on publications and entertainment control, art. 2, point 2 (DZIENNIK USTAW nr. 20, pos. 99)).

/Question/ To conclude, let me ask a personal question. Why were you, Your Excellency, appointed to head this task?

/Answer/ Well, I guess you should ask this of those who appointed me, namely, the Episcopate Plenary Conference. The fact that I myself come from a village, Ksiąznice Wielkie near Koszyce, from a peasant family, had something to do with it, I think. My brother still has a farm there. Previously I headed a ministry for working youth, both in the city and in the countryside, so in a way it was similar work. I left that other job to younger people and I took on the new task. I hope that if those true "witnesses of grace and truth" help us, our work will bring effects.

/Question/ Thank you sincerely for the conversation and I wish that parish communities will be able to fill in the social vacuum so painfully felt today in the countryside in the spirit of truth and love.

## PROMINENT NARCOTICS SPECIALIST ASSESSES DRUG ADDICTION

Warsaw LAD in Polish No 11, 13 Mar 83 p 3

/Interview with Father Czeshaw Cekiera, Ph.D., by Karol Jackowski; date and place not specified/

/Text/ Father Czeshaw Cekiera, Ph.D., has been conducting systematic studies of drug addicts in Poland for more than 10 years, and is one of the most prominent Polish specialists in the field of drug addiction.

/Question/ Father Cekiera, public opinion is now sufficiently alarmed about the extent of drug addiction and the quickness with which it is spreading in our country. However, the general interest in this phenomenon, which is still new in Poland, has not been accompanied by an increase in real knowledge about it. This knowledge is minimal and based largely on myths and half-truths; consequently, that interest turns into morbid fascination or into total denial connected with paralyzing fear. I therefore suggest that today, instead of frightening the readers, who are frightened enough as it is, we should give them some concrete information based on empirical research. I see that you agree, so let's begin, say, with the motives that impel people to use drugs.

/Answer/ The most frequent one is simple curiosity, which was mentioned by more than 30 percent of the drug addicts studied. The other motives, in descending order of frequency, are the desire to conform to fashion, peer pressure, the desire to experience euphoria, and the urge to experiment. It should be noted that the motives of first-time users are somewhat different from those of addicts. Certain motives are connected with the state of health or with personal problems--low self-esteem, depression, fatigue, physical suffering and the desire to escape from it. Many people have been driven into addiction by conflicts in the family, in school or at work; drugs were supposed to alleviate their conflicts or help them to forget about them. In relatively few cases the motive was a conscious desire to expand consciousness, to undergo metaphysical experiences and to explore the innermost recesses of the soul.

/Question/ Depression, low self-esteem and troubles plague all of us, but only relatively few people become addicts for that reason. Why then? Are they fated or predestined somehow?

/Answer/ It's not any form of innate predisposition. Nonetheless, as a result of many years' research, I have succeeded in isolating a number of factors that, insofar as they occur in childhood or early adolescence, increase to a certain degree the risk of drug addiction.

These factors fall into environmental and psychological categories. In the first category I rate family problems as the major causative factor; when the family is broken or torn by conflicts, and the parents have different ideas on how to raise children. Such problems can also occur when the family size is small and the parents spend a great deal of time in professional and social activities outside the home. Or, when there is an absence of strong figures and positive models in the family, a low level of social and cultural interests, religious indifferentism, and tolerance toward the use of alcohol, tobacco and medicine. Developmental disturbances (of speech or locomotion), traumas and shocks can have great significance, as can childhood illnesses, mental and physical abuse by the parents, excessive curtailment of freedom, and repression in the school. All the above factors cause anxiety and stress, which at a certain moment, under the right circumstances, may result in drug dependency.

Among the psychological factors, I would include an incapacity for sustained effort and an inability to solve problems; a feeling of resentment and of being threatened; a lack of a clear-cut value system; a diminished sense of self-worth, which is usually connected with a strong need for self-actualization and an unfulfilled desire to belong to a group no matter what kind--it could even be a group of drug addicts; and a personal orientation based on the pleasure principle rather than on a feeling of realism. Lately, the milieu of drug-addicted friends and easy access to drugs are a tremendous encouragement and create pressure to make the first contact.

To avoid misunderstandings, I want to repeat once more: in themselves, the above factors do not predetermine anything. I can point out hundreds of young people who meet not one or two but all of these conditions, and yet the thought of using drugs has never even entered their minds, and if it has, it stayed there a very short time. What is true is that these factors and their consequences, combined with the emotional instability, hypersensitivity and distorted view of the world that are characteristic of adolescence, may well facilitate this first time, but they don't lead to anything inevitably.

✓ /Question/ A moment ago you used the word "adolescence"...

/Answer/ Yes, adolescents are the chief victims of drug addiction. Lately, they are getting younger and younger. One third of the drug addicts I studied encountered drugs for the first time when they were less than 15 years old. However, the 16-17 age period is definitely the most favorable for initiation. The percentage of those who begin later is much lower. It is extremely rare for individuals more than 20 years old to begin using drugs, and the reasons for this are usually completely from those we talked about a moment ago.

Thus, the earlier one starts, the more quickly and easily one succumbs. The most important thing is to get through the most dangerous age.

/Question/ What does that first time usually look like?

/Answer/ Quite prosaic, and not at all as romantic as many beginners imagine. The most common places of initiation are a bathroom during a teen-age dance party, a restroom in a discotheque, a cellar or attic, an arbor in a garden plot, an abandoned shack, a gateway, or even an open field in the summer when hitch-hiking. Everything is done furtively, hurriedly and nervously. It's curious that the most dangerous spreaders of drug addiction are girls who in discotheques inject the first dose in fellows they met just a little while before. They usually accompany this with a promise of unforgettable impressions and sexual favors as a reward for courage. Tremendous will power is needed to resist such temptation. Unfortunately, at that age will power is most often lacking.

/Question/ How can one tell when drug use has become an addiction?

/Answer/ The basic symptom is a physical compulsion to take the next dose. This is a sign that the chemical compounds contained in the regularly taken doses of the drug have become assimilated in the body's metabolic system. For the body to function normally, it must receive these doses regularly. If it does not receive the essential dose, narcotic hunger begins, which results in the so-called withdrawal syndrome. This is characterized by a number of very unpleasant symptoms, trembling, pains in the bones, sweating, constipation or diarrhea. Addicts say these pains are excruciating and unbearable beyond all comparison. When a person is suffering from them, he does everything to stop them in the only way possible--with the next dose.

In the earlier stage of dependency, there is a physical compulsion, which comes before the physical one. It is a strong, irresistible urge to take the drug, but for the time being it isn't followed by physical symptoms.

/Question/ Thus we've partially touched on the effects of drug addiction in its victims. Let's take a closer look at them.

/Answer/ The effects of drug use can be divided into 3 basic groups: psychological, physical and interpersonal. These effects are so pronounced that 82 percent of the addicts admitted they had noticed changes in their character and mental state, and 75 percent had noticed changes in their physical condition.

As far as the psychological consequences are concerned, these include:

--disturbances of memory, attention span and perception, hallucinations and delusions;

--nervousness, irritability and explosive temper;

--anxiety, depression, indifference, constant fatigue;

--stupor, apathy, insomnia, speech disturbances;

--loss of the higher emotions.

These consequences may lead the addict to regard suicide as the only way out of his situation (75 percent of those studied believe this). This means that the aggressiveness of these people has been turned not outward, but inward against the self. Faced with an obstacle, they attack not it but themselves. Many drug addicts (63 percent) question the meaning of life, feel an existential void, and are adrift in the world.

/Question/ And the physical effects?

/Answer/ Those are particularly alarming. Nearly all of the several hundred addicts with whom I had close contact had gravely impaired health and were physical wrecks. I had no opportunity to examine their internal organs, but many serious disorders and symptoms were visible enough to the naked eye. The addicts themselves told about others. Thus in general they were weakened and emaciated. They suffered from constant headaches and pains in the joints and muscles, and grew tired quickly. Their legs and hands shook, and their hair was falling out. They felt pain around the heart, kidneys and liver, and had poor vision. They were tormented by poor appetite, vomiting and t embling. Their sexual activity has diminished considerably; many were even impotent.

Their interpersonal relationships present a more complicated picture.

Some addicts report positive changes--greater tolerance toward the world and other people, improvement in social intercourse, and ease in making worthwhile acquaintances, which lifts their spirits and gives them more vitality. These beneficial feelings primarily characterize the initial phase of dependency. In the next phase there is increased susceptibility to suggestion, isolation, avoidance of people, and a feeling of loneliness and bewilderment.

/Question/ Does drug addiction in Poland differ in any respect from that in other countries?

/Answer/ Only a year or two ago it was believed that addicts in Poland mainly used "fruit salads," /a mixture of various kinds of drugs/ decoctions, and compounds prepared at home from plants and chemical agents available in this country. Substances produced in secret laboratories still play a major role in our drug market, but there is more and more use of the pure, classic "hard" drugs such as opium derivatives--morphine, heroin, codeine--and others: LSD and hemp derivatives. Until recently these were known here only from heresay; lately despite tightened security measures, they are entering the country more and more often, whether by smuggling or other illegal means. I could mention at least several of these other means, but they are not secret to the police, so I prefer not to talk about them. Why mention them to people who might use them later on to their own ruin? In this regard our separateness is decreasing, and unfortunately we are coming to resemble the West.

What is characteristic of Poland, however, is polytoxicomania--the use of many different drugs simultaneously. Among the addicts I studied, there were some who had tried over 30 toxic substances. Many of them had experimented independently, mainly to heighten the effect, but also to undergo qualitatively new experiences.

If I were to describe drug addiction in Polish with a graphic metaphor, I would refer to the "Polish school" of drinking. As we know, our countrymen drink a great deal, in knockout quantities on an empty stomach, until they pass out. Similarly with drugs; usually they are powerful and are put into the body in the most violent way: through injection, not through inhalation or swallowing (tablets). The doses are large and are taken quite frequently.

/Question/ What is the extent of drug addiction in Poland today?

/Answer/ Estimates of the number of drug addicts usually range from 220,000 to 500,000 people. According to my analysis, these figures are too high. I believe that there are about 120-1250,000 addicts in Poland today. I don't mean that this is a small number. On the contrary, drug addiction is spreading rapidly and the number of substance abusers keeps growing. In 1981, there were 80 drug-related deaths in our country. I don't have complete data yet for the past year, but I'm afraid there won't be fewer of them. Today in Warsaw, one can easily buy drugs so powerful that a single dose is sufficient to induce dependency. One injection, that's all. There is no return.

/Question/ Is it possible to be cured of drug addiction?

/Answer/ I must express here a view that may be controversial, but it is well documented and, I firmly believe, correct. On the basis of empirical research, I state categorically that drug addiction is in a certain sense incurable. Incurable in the sense that anyone who breaks the body's natural barrier of biological immunity through substance abuse can no longer fully regain this immunity. Therefore, a drug addict can only be partially cured; nothing but total abstinence can save him. Each repeated exposure to addictive substances causes an immediate, violent reaction leading to still further dependency, from which it becomes harder and harder to return. The mechanism of addiction is based on this. Because of his physical and psychological dependency, a drug addict is unable to take a substance in a moderate, controlled manner. I consider this finding extremely important in the whole process of psychotherapy--if it is to be effective, of course.

/Question/ Then what percent of drug addicts can be helped?

/Answer/ Six to ten percent, which, I emphasize, does not mean a complete cure. Only strict abstinence can guarantee absolute guarantee. Surely it's best not to begin at all.

/Question/ Thank you for the interview, Father Cakiera.