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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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2 May 1983

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ABDYL BACKA REPORT AT ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

AU121121 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 12 Apr 83

["On the Implementation of the Directives of the 8th Congress of the PLA in the Field of Socialist Relations in Production and the Main Problems We Are Faced With"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 12 Apr (ATA)--One of the questions of principled importance of our socialist construction has been and is the strengthening and perfection in a revolutionary manner of the socialist relations in production, it is pointed out among others in the report read out by Abdyl Backa, old scientific co-worker. The theoretical thought of the party, the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and our historic reality are a valuable contribution in this field too in regard to the enriching of the theory and the practice of the construction of socialism and its defence from the danger of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration.

During all the period of the socialist construction in Albania our party has treated in a complex way and linked with each other both sides of the mode of production: the productive forces and relations in production. Our party as always, in the present stage too, instructs that the relations in production should suit in the best possible way the dynamic development of the productive forces in the 7th five year plan and in the future.

Further on Abdyl Backa pointed out that the unique general state plan is the widest field where economic relations are concretely reflected and implemented to open the way to the development of productive forces. Therefore, the work to draft and realize mobilizing plans and scientific remains the main front for the correct and full realization of these links.

Dealing with the problems of the common property, the report points out that in the domain of the relations of ownership, a striking feature of this five year plan is the acceleration of steps to strengthen the cooperativist order on the road of the rapprochement of the property of the group with the property of all the people. What the party has brought about in this field which is new is the interlacing of the relations of the property of the group with that of all the people. This process is an important aspect in narrowing the differentiations between the town and countryside, between agriculture and industry.

After speaking on some problems in the field of distribution it is stressed that life has shown that the growth of the real income, mainly through the employment of all the new able-bodied forces, the increase of the social consumption, the reduction of the retail sale prices, has been and is correct.

Concerning the administering of the economy, the report says further on, the present stage has brought to light the problem of a better coordination and cooperation of the works in production, distribution and consumption. Treating of the reciprocal links between the productive forces and the relations in production from the positions of the materialist dialectics, our party has drawn some conclusions of theoretical and practical importance: important is not to allow that the relations in production detach from the productive forces, not to allow the subjective manifestations by "improving" them when the proper conditions are not mature and by skipping the stages, etc.

The report says in conclusion that following this way, our party has shown a constant care so that the perfection of the relations in production strengthen always their socialist character, bar the way to red-tape and liberalism strengthen as a whole our social order on the road of the complete construction of the socialist society.

CSO: 2020/26

AGRICULTURE MINISTER SPEAKS AT ECONOMIC MEETING

AU121125 Tirana ATA in English 0940 GMT 12 Apr 83

["Further Intensification of Agriculture-Permanent and Main Road of the Development of Agricultural Production"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 12 Apr (ATA)--In Albania, within less than 4 decades, a developed, multi-branch and complex agriculture which marches on the road of the intensification and all-round progress, is created, Themie Thomai, minister of agriculture, points out in her report.

The PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha, she continued, have considered the intensification of agriculture as an objective necessity and have treated it scientifically, as a unity of the all-sided development of the productive forces and the socialist relations in production.

Giving priority to the intensification of agriculture in the plains, she pointed out, it is stressed the indispensability of the intensive development in the hilly and mountainous zones as well giving priority to the intensification of the state sector, measures have been taken to promote this intensification in the cooperativist sector attaching priority to the higher type agricultural cooperatives without neglecting the other cooperatives. Attaching priority to the bread grains, the work has continued at the same time for the intensive, complex and harmonious development of the agricultural production on a wide front.

Further on Themie Thomai mentioned some of the achievements of the last year in the agricultural and livestock production as well as some of the advanced agricultural cooperatives which are in the vanguard for their high yields. She dwelt on some tasks that the working people of agriculture are faced with to increase the fertility of the land, to improve the irrigation system, to use the organic and chemical fertilizers on more scientific basis, to use high-productivity seeds in production, to further increase the level of mechanization at work, etc.

The speaker defined some other tasks to further develop stock raising, laying the stress specially on a better harmonization of the different factors of production such as the climatic conditions, breeds, way of nourishment, reproduction, etc.

At the present stage of the intensification of agriculture, she continued further on, alongside the elements of management and organization, a special importance is attached to the further improvement of concentration, specialization, cooperation and rotation of agricultural crops, thus consolidating the basic cooperation between agriculture and livestock.

After mentioning some of the set tasks for the further development of agriculture and livestock in the hilly-mountainous zones, too, the speaker concluded putting forth as indispensable the further intensification of the scientific work and the application of its achievements in production, the increase of the effectiveness in production as an indispensable necessity for the intensification of agriculture, the rational use of the sources of work and of the material expenditure of production, the increase of the effectiveness of the capital investments, etc.

CSO: 2020/26

HEKURAN MARA ADDRESSES ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

AU121131 Tirana ATA in English 0950 GMT 12 Apr 83

["The Raising of the Efficiency of Economy--Factor of First-Rate Importance for the Fulfillment of the Planned Tasks and the Correct Development of Economic Processes"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 12 Apr (ATA)--Our many year long experience and the data gathered from it, Hekuran Mara pointed out in his report, have convinced us that the problem of the effectiveness of our socialist economy cannot be put forth and the less so to be solved correctly, detached from the aim of the social production. The ever better meeting of the needs of the entire society has been put at the foundation of the Marxist-Leninist concept on the effectiveness of our socialist economy.

One of the most important characteristics of the historic development of the productive forces in the epoch of the party, has been the constant increase at relative and absolute proportions of the general social production and the national income. This is one of the reasons why our socialist economy is freed from and does not know the chronic dilemmas of the crisis, stagnation, unemployment, inflation, price rise, the domestic and foreign debts, which are characteristic of the entire present-day capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist world.

The raising of the effectiveness of production, the report says further on, has been and remains an unalterable feature of our socialist economic system. This is one of the reasons why in the fundamental economic task endorsed by the 8th congress of the PLA regarding the 7th five year plan, the raising of the efficiency of the economy is considered as one of the most decisive links to successfully realize the tasks of this plan and to guarantee the correct development of the economic processes. The efficiency of our economy is a result of the complex fulfillment of the planned tasks, of the fulfillment of all its economic and financial indexes. That is why all the indexes of the first 2 years of the 7th five year plan show that all those branches and sectors of the economy, all those enterprises and cooperatives which have realized the tasks of the production plan in quantity and structure, which have realized the task of the productivity, the cost and the efficiency have realized at the same time a complex effectiveness.

The increase on the labor productivity he stressed, is the main factor to ensure the growth of the social production and the raising of its efficiency. The intensification of production, which is envisaged to be achieved during the 7th five year plan, must be accompanied and must certainly lead to the reduction of the work, the raw materials, any kind of energy and other material expenditure for every kind of production. The main way which guarantees the fulfillment of these objectives is that of the systematic reduction of the production cost of the products. Without fulfilling the plan of the cost, neither the planned fiscal accumulation, nor the planned efficiency can be guaranteed.

In our socialist economy, Hekuran Mara pointed out, the reduction of cost as well as the raising of the efficiency are directly connected with and determine the financial capabilities to increase accumulation. The nearly 4 decades long practice of the planned development of our socialist economy has proved that after a definite volume of accumulation is guaranteed, a very important problem of realization is its use with the highest possible economic efficiency and particularly the use of that part of the accumulation allocated for productive investments.

In conclusion, the speaker dwelt also on the efficiency of the foreign trade as one of the important directions of the efficiency of the economy in the improvement of the quality of our social production, etc.

CSO: 2020/26

PETRO DODE SPEAKS AT CONFERENCE ON ECONOMY

AU121120 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 12 Apr 83

["On the Implementation of the Orientations of the 8th Congress of the PLA for the Development of the Productive Forces and the Main Problems That Emerge"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 12 Apr (ATA)--Our country, Petro Dode pointed out, has made a great leap forward with regard to the development of productive forces during the 4 decades of the people's power.

The development of the productive forces in our country, he stressed, knows no anarchy and competition, it is not halted by the economic crisis and is not directed by the laws of the economy of the market and the capitalist profit, while the modern revisionists in the Soviet Union and other former socialist countries opened broad vistas to the operation of the economic laws of the capitalist mode of production through the "economic reforms" they concocted and implemented. Under these conditions, the aim of production and the physiognomy of economy changed in essence, the productive forces are always in stagnation or grow at low rates, their economy has been plunged into a profound and all-sided crisis. This crisis has shaken to the foundations the Yugoslav economy, too, something which expresses the full bankruptcy of the Titoite capitalist "self-administering" system.

In our country, he continued, the development of the social production has been and is based powerfully on the increase of investments and capital constructions, on the creation and expansion of the new branches of industry, the extension of the fronts of work in the town and countryside giving priority to the sphere of material production.

Further on the speaker mentioned some of the possibilities and ways to further intensify our people's economy such as through the reconstruction of the existing production objects, the construction of new projects and the improvement of the structure of capital investments and constructions. To this end, he stressed further on, development of the machine building industry and of the building material industry, is needed.

He also dwelt on the non-stop strengthening and efficient use of the energy basis and raw materials, on the extension of the range of the minerals, the scale of processing, and particularly on the efficient use of the mineral raw materials and the raw materials from agriculture.

Our party, Petro Dode stressed further on, is abided by the Marxist-Leninist thesis, according to which, the working man is the major productive force of the society. Over the years of the people's power population has grown at fast rates in our country. In the created structure the younger ages and an ever active population exist. About 1/3 of the population are bon, reared and educated within these 40 years. Its average age is about 26 years. Nearly 40,000 new able-bodied forces are added to the existing ones annually in the towns and countryside. This is of great importance for the growth of production and the carrying out of other social activities.

In conclusion the speaker stressed that in the epicenter of the economic policy of the PLA on the development of the productive forces has been and is the elevation of the well-being of the working masses. This has been and is done on the basis of the growth of production and the labor productivity, as permanent factors, implementing those forms that guarantee the employment of all the able-bodied population and the increase of the income of the working people, the stability of the retail sale prices and their reduction in accordance with the economic development of the country and the increase of the social fund of consumption.

The realization of the objectives of the 8th congress of the party for the development of the productive forces will further elevate the economic-social level of the country and will open up new vistas for the future, hence, our country resolutely marches towards the complete construction of the socialist society, on the Marxist-Leninist road the party leads us to illuminated by the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

CSO: 2020/26

NEW DISCIPLINARY REGULATION FOR MILITARY FORCES EXAMINED

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 23, Nov 82 pp 13-14

['Background' report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "New Disciplinary Regulation for National People's Army (NVA) Soldiers"]

[Text] As of 1 October 1982, a new disciplinary regulation has gone into effect in the GDR. In this executive decree, No 010/0/006 issued under the military service law, "Service in the disciplinary unit" which can last from 1 to 3 months, was introduced as "one of the most severe disciplinary punishments" in the National People's Army. The existing disciplinary regulation, whose new provisions were commented on recently in the NVA periodical AUSBILDER, was thereby adapted to the "new military service law" and other recently issued legal regulations. The new rule applies to members of the NVA and the GDR border guard.

"Military discipline as a duty of members of the army" was recently included in the "general principles" of the disciplinary regulation. According to the commentary, this definition serves "the observance fulfillment of the military service law in an area which is decisive for the fighting power and combat readiness of the National People's Army, that is, the tightening up of military discipline." For this reason it should be included by the officers as "a principle of training for army members."

The regulation was broadened to cover all cadet ranks including the rank of student cadet. In this connection NVA officers from division commander up received the right "to grant early promotions" up to the rank of superior staff cadet "as a reward" for cadets on active military duty.

In addition these officers were granted the right to apply the disciplinary punishment of "reduction in rank" by one or several steps from the rank superior staff cadet down. This punishment can also be coupled with a reduction in assignment.

In the new executive decree "the reward of early promotion" for army members in the military reserve service or for members of the NVA reserve is no longer included. This exclusion is based on the grounds that "no minimum time in grade for appointment and promotion has been established for members in these two categories."

With regard to the "duties of officers" which are addressed in the new military service law, a passage has been included in the disciplinary regulation according to which every officer "is required to preserve the honor and dignity of the army member when investigating the facts and taking disciplinary action for a punishable offense."

Disciplinary Punishment: Service in the Disciplinary Unit

The introduction of the new disciplinary punishment is given extensive space in the new regulation which is called "Service in the Disciplinary Unit" and the duration of which can last up to 3 months. It is pronounced by officers from regimental commanders up and is bound by "certain preconditions" which must be "strictly observed" by the officers. If these preconditions are not met--according to the AUSBILDER commentary--"the disciplinary punishment will be rescinded."

The new disciplinary punishment is directed "exclusively at soldiers and non-commissioned officers who repeatedly and stubbornly resist military discipline and have not learned a lesson from other disciplinary actions" or if they committed "disciplinary offenses repeatedly under the influence of alcohol."

Beyond that, in exceptional cases officers--from division commanders up--can impose sentence "in the event of a serious disciplinary violation, if military discipline and order are disrupted, to the extent that criminal law is not applicable."

It is noted as a matter of principle that female members of the army are exempted from this punishment.

All NVA officers, who are authorized to impose sentences, are advised by the commentary "to apply carefully and deliberately" a sentence of "confinement in the guardhouse"--which can be imposed by company commanders and above--since this punishment is a precondition for the application of the new disciplinary punishment. No mention is made in the announcement as to how many "disciplinary units" there are in the NVA and how they are organized.

In the new disciplinary regulation the extension of basic military service in the event of punishment is strictly regulated. It is thus established "that basic military service is extended by the duration of the sentence in cases involving loss of freedom and by the duration of the disciplinary punishment service in the disciplinary unit or in both cases to the extent necessary for complete fulfillment of basic military service."

For this reason the penalty "service in the disciplinary unit" can only be considered fulfilled if the corresponding extension of basic military service has been completed.

Otherwise basic military service is extended for a soldier by the number of days which he spent under "confinement in the guardhouse" and by the time of unauthorized absence over 6 hours. That applies, however, only in cases in which any current disciplinary punishment has not been fulfilled up to the time of release from military service.

NAVY CHIEF DISCUSSES 1983 TRAINING TASKS

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 2, 1983 (signed to press 3 Jan 83) p 3

[Article by Adm Dr Wilhelm Ehm, member of the SED Central Committee; deputy minister for national defense; chief of the People's Navy: "The People's Navy Resolutely Fulfills the Class Mission: In the New Training Year the Emphasis Is on the Best Possible Daily Contribution to Increase Combat Strength and Combat Readiness"]

[Text] Anyone who wants to persevere against an opponent who is equipped with modern equipment, who is well trained and highly manipulated by anti-communist propaganda, must be convinced of the historical justice and victoriousness of the socialist idea; he must have excellent mastery of his socialist soldier's profession and be prepared for all demands made by a possible war triggered by imperialism. This means that the main emphasis in the preparation for victory in armed combat is and continues to be combat training in conjunction with political education. Its level determines especially the combat strength and combat readiness with which members of the People's Navy will prove themselves in all tests in the class struggle as reliable comrades in class and in arms with the Baltic Red Banner Fleet and the Polish War Fleet.

The Fifth SED Central Committee meeting again had to base its discussion of the mission for the GDR's successful future development on the acute international situation. The secretary general of our Party's Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker, emphasized that it remains our most important political concern to work against the recklessness of the most aggressive circles in the United States and the other NATO nations, to avoid the danger of a nuclear war and to secure peace forever.

A special example of how members of the Navy react to this realistic estimation was given by the crew of the landing craft "Eisenhuettenstadt." It was the latest initiator of the navy's socialist competition, and VOLKSARMEE has had several reports on it.

The initiative of its crew, already copied by many collectives, is in accordance with the growing responsibility of the National Army [NVA], which has entrusted to us the class mission for the 1980s demanded by the Ninth Party Congress. Comrade Erich Honecker spoke of this before graduates of military

academies: "What is at stake is nothing less than the guarantee of peace in Europe and the prevention of a worldwide nuclear catastrophe. Peace is and remains of the utmost importance. Keeping and securing the peace are at the core of the hard, complicated struggle of the Soviet Union and her allies."

Military Conduct--Part of Our Peace Effort

Members and civilian employees of the People's Navy see themselves as participants in this bitter struggle and from this they have derived the deeper meaning of their military conduct, both at present and for the future. In the new training year our branch of service will make every possible effort, both independently and as part of the socialist Baltic Fleet, to assure that the imperialist enemy has no chance of military success in this region; peace and socialism will always be reliably protected on the sea borders of the Baltic socialist nations.

The People's Navy will concentrate especially on completing its combat training mission with the best possible results. This is based on the fact that in case of emergency, every combat mission must be fulfilled under conditions of constant air, mine, submarine and nuclear PT boat dangers, the use of means of mass destruction and of radio-electronic warfare. For example, in 1982 the Navy achieved excellent results in tactical training at sea. This was possible because our branch, too, has begun combat training aimed at high efficiency and quality. Its core is the intensive striving for optimal results in the increase of combat strength and combat readiness within a given time frame--a striving in which the unity between combat training and political education must be proven. The 12th Conference of SED Delegates has said, for example, that high achievements can be reached only by one who understands the purpose of high demands.

From Individual Achievement to Complex Cooperation

To stick with one example: harbor exercises represent one important element of complex and realistic tactical naval training. They represent a special climax, a test for commanders, staff officers and crews of ships, boats, helicopters and the rear services. Everything they have learned on an individual basis in terms of political and military, naval or flight training, must now be proven on the regiment and division level in complex coordination with units of various strength and jointly with the ground forces and the air force.

The role of the individual fighter and the small collectives has of course increased significantly today. But stable training results and the degree of political and military uniformity and reliability assert themselves in the ability to fulfill the mission in groups, in the fleet or in the coalition of allied socialist Baltic fleets.

Compared with the individual training of the crews, harbor exercises place higher demands on ship and boat collectives. They place higher demands on the political and military leadership of the commanders, headquarters, ship

officers, political organizations and all Party and Free German Youth organizations. During the preparation for and execution of such exercises, they are learning better and better how to turn the principle of unity between political and military leadership into a reality in assigning the mission. Often they are preceded by Party planning sessions, and the determinations immediately following are finalized in all collectives.

The People's Navy Reliably on Course in 1983

The success of the harbor exercises is founded on the solid results of the political as well as military training and education in the everyday performance of the sailor in the harbor, in cabinets, in ship training. And the success of the harbor exercises in turn is the prerequisite for proving oneself on a higher level, for example, when all naval forces come together and when working in the coordinated combined efforts of the allied socialist Baltic fleets--be it in everyday service, during joint exercises or in joint squadrons.

The results and experiences--when correctly analyzed--can only be the basis for the further fulfillment of resolutions by the 12th SED Delegate Conference based on our Party's documents. In the interest of highly intensive training, we are oriented toward the goal that commanders at all levels take full responsibility. This refers to the actual political and military training of their crews, the conduct of maneuvers under the most realistic combat conditions possible, the high degree of organization and varied execution, the consistent observance of economic aspects and, above all, the rapid compliance with all forms and methods of the new competitive order.

In this spirit, the People's Navy will also stay reliably on course during Training Year 1983.

9328

CSO: 2300/174

IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION URGED FOR CHILDREN

Potsdam MAERKISCHE VOLKSSTIMME in German 25 Feb 83 p 6

[Article by Lothar Waide: "Political Questions To Be Answered Candidly--
Developing a Firm Class Principle Even With Children"]

[Text] Our society rightfully attributes immense significance to the political education of our children, because it is our society which is to help the children go on the right, relatively uncomplicated (but not necessarily straight) road to develop a socialist personality. It can be expressed in considerably simpler terms: our child is to be a happy, creative child and is not to be torn back and forth because of ambiguous attitudes, which could perhaps only cause indifference in him.

Already Old At Age 21, When Life Has No Purpose

The 43-year old U.S. movie star Jane Fonda, since 1978 corresponding member of the GDR Academy of Arts, confesses: "I think, to be truly creative, my whole life must have meaning...for a long time I have lived only for glitter and glory...I was very naive...I began to dry up like a prune. It is possible to be very old and empty inside at age 21 when one has no reason to be alive. The decisive change came probably when I was no longer against something (meant is the War of Aggression by the United States in Vietnam), but when I became somebody who supported the other side."

It follows that in the education of our children, too, we must be clearly for everything progressive and its honest and unconditional support, and that not only in the social educational institutions, but also in the family.

The role of communists in the building up of socialism in our Republic is well known and for that reason our children in all of our Republic's educational institutions are educated to respect the progressive work of communists and all other workers at their side.

That requires taking a position. For that reason, children must be trained as early as possible to be ready and able to decide in favor of socialism, peace, solidarity and friendship with other nations.

Who would not want that from his children? Ambiguity has a repressing effect, unambiguity advances. The latter makes the child's decisions more assured, which will lead to significant successes in children.

Progressive political clarity or unambiguity is the most important prerequisite for correct decisions in many areas of life. Surely many adults have experienced this. Progressive unambiguity is connected with uncompromising honesty in political questions. Part of this is, among other things, that the children are told clearly and unmistakably who their enemies are, how they act and why they act that way, how they feel, e.g. about peace, which is to be preserved for the development of the child's political view of life because it is the foundation for the child's ability to deal independently with the false, lying opinions of the enemies of peace. Critical evaluation and even confrontation with such opinions ultimately solidify the child's political convictions.

Children, of course, also ask questions, on occasion uncomfortable ones. Answer them honestly! Even when the answers must contain some contradictions as a reflection of our real life. Children must also know what contradictions still await them in our social life, so that they can later help work out solutions to them in a goal-directed manner.

Vivid and Impressive

V.I. Lenin has said that politics is "science and art." When O.W. Kuusinen (Soviet politician, 1881-1964) explained this theory once, he pointed out that in politics, "one must not only have knowledge, but also ability." "Art comes from ability," we sometimes say jokingly. Lenin himself once gave a valuable answer to the question of what is art in political education: "Art...consists of influencing a given circle of listeners in the best way, by portraying a certain truth in such a way that it becomes as convincing as possible to that circle of listeners, that they can easily accept it, that it is as vivid and impressive for them as possible." (1911) Now, does this not also apply to our children? Without a doubt.

But we must seriously search for the manner in which it is to be done. The more thoroughly parents and educators know their children, and the more they have worked on the difficult formation of their own political world view (say class principle), the easier this is. The latter is especially important because all true political education is based primarily on the human wealth of the educator's personality, in which the word and the deed are one and the same.

9328

CSO: 2300/189

BERECZ ON HISTORICAL HONESTY TO HEAL SOCIAL WOUNDS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Apr 83 p 17

[Article by Janos Berecz, Editor-in-Chief of NEPSZABADSAG, member of MSZMP Central Committee: "Supplementing the Don Riverbend Chronicle"]

[Text] In the history of every people there are tragic events the contradictory memories of which trouble posterity over decades and even centuries. Such memories are linked to struggles waged in the interest of good and bad causes alike. The examples of inspiring resolution, of great battles fought for a just cause, of freedom struggles, heroic but defeated, of significant sacrifices made for the homeland live on in the memory of a nation. These are mixed with the bitter reverberation that the superior strength of the internal and external reaction defeated them, mistreated the resolute heroes, persecuted them and wanted their names forgotten.

Heavier and more burdensome is the memory of when the cause was false, the suffering of the people was indeed terrible, and in the end the destruction affected virtually every family. The pain which piles up then is difficult to disperse and doubt and torment remain for a long time the companions of working people, of the relatives who survived.

There are enough examples of both in the history of the Hungarian people. Tragic events when they bled for a national cause; and events when they suffered for the selfish interests of the ruling class. The Hungarians have taken part in many battles, a good many times their victories were temporary; and the living felt their consequences--defeat and loss and wounds--for a long time, bore their effects for a long time.

To make matters worse, let us only remember that prudishly handled interdependency which can be discovered in the decisions made about Hungary after the first and second world wars. That as one defeated we had no determining say in the decision. The Hungarian Republic of Councils of 1919 was an event of not only national but of universal significance, because in addition to serving national independence and the social liberation of the workers it expressed the new chief direction of world development then unfolding and contributed to strengthening the socialist world revolutionary process. At the same time it was a contribution to the defense of the Soviet revolution, because it split and for a long time tied down the counterrevolutionary forces of international

imperialism. The decision of the imperialist powers had a bourgeois class character; they defeated the Hungarian proletarian revolution and loosed the counterrevolutionary white terror on the Hungarian people. And then their earlier ideas were realized in the Trianon peace treaty.

The gentry Hungary which was helped to victory gave thanks for the aid of the entente powers by basing its entire system on an anti-Soviet policy. In its blind irredentist chauvinism it completely denied the common fate of the peoples of Central-Eastern Europe. It chained the country first to Mussolini fascism and then to Hitler's Germany. Germany was rushing into war and open aggression followed open aggression. From the viewpoint of the final result it is entirely indifferent that the Horthyist policy allegedly "followed reluctantly," that the Hungarian general staff "proceeded cautiously" 2,000 kilometers beyond the Hungarian border into the territory of the Soviet Union. The indisputable fact is the crucial thing--Hungary participated in the war on the side of Hitler, the Hungarian nation was carried to the brink of destruction. The ruling class, completely isolated from historical reality, was incapable of grasping the last opportunity, and the attempt to get out in October 1944 proved a pathetic attempt. The country was again made to sit on the side of the losers at the new peace conference and the nation paid for the sins of the lords.

And yet it became the determining factor for our future that as a result of the liberating struggles of the Soviet Union the foundations were laid for the national liberation of the country and the social liberation of the people. After hard political struggles, tests, losing the way and anguish we attained that path of socialist development on which we have been deliberately progressing for more than a quarter century. The bitter experiences demand that we set them in order and if possible preserve them cleanly in the storehouse of national memory.

To face history sincerely without constantly calculating, to recall the events and evaluate them truthfully, is a historic task in itself. Carrying out this task requires a nation with a strong spirit, people with an internationalist view and national responsibility. It is not possible to recall distorted events in a distorted way with impunity. When recalling facts with evil consequences one should not commit the error which was committed already at the time of the events.

The Hungarian people is "finally setting our common things in order"--in the spirit of the thought of Attila Jozsef. In the interest of pure friendship and cooperation it is capable and ready to face its own history, the common history. Let us think only of the novel by Tibor Cseres, "Cold Days," or of the film of Andras Kovacs based on it. This was national self-criticism based on a serious self-examination, with the hoped for relief. The conscience of our people became tougher and cleaner by being able to face the crimes committed in the South. It is an aspiration of our scientists and artists worthy of respect that they are clarifying the half-truths of our history so that we will leave behind us less ambiguity in the awareness that half-truths are also half-lies, if the evaluation is not complete.

And let us not forget that in the course of a complex development facing up to cold reality, the historical facts, has not developed in the same way for different peoples. The value system and methods of self-examination may be different also. An understandable increase in national self-confidence is not accompanied everywhere immediately by creative tolerance and openness toward other peoples. At such times the burden of history and the consequences of earlier national intolerance dissolve with difficulty and reach their proper place slowly.

The Second World War left especially deep marks in our area. There is increasing opportunity and readiness for a fuller evaluation of the events of that time, for taking account of the supporting characters and their roles. But nothing can change the facts. Today we can deal even in detail with the fate of the Second Hungarian Army, which was destroyed in the great battle in the Don Riverbend which began in January 1943. But this does not change the fundamental fact that this army was destroyed 2,000 kilometers from the Hungarian border, on Soviet land, in an aggressive war being fought for a bad cause, for cursed goals. There is now a powerful tool for memory, Hungarian Television has joined in also with a film series dealing with the fate of the Second Hungarian Army.

The film of Sandor Sara shown on Hungarian Television, the continuing Chronical series, has had a great affect and aroused social interest. The survivors have had a say, contemporaries and their descendents alike have taken up the pen. The daily papers are dealing with the theme, the journals are analyzing this period of the Second World War and the Hungarian Historical Society has arranged a professional debate about it. Many letters and statements prove that we must talk in detail about the tragedy laden events of our history.

As a result of the film many are remembering the sad fate of lost sons, husbands and fathers. Many died there for a bad cause, out of a wicked calculation, even more mourned them and still recall their fate. Many are relieved to hear the memories of the survivors. In the first place the letters express gratitude, because the film helps to recall those sacrifices, those whose fate it not only surveys but makes it possible to understand. The film makes it clear that it is not those who were forced to serve, not those who were thrown there, who are responsible for the tragedy of the nation. The special personal tragedy of the majority of them consists of the fact that they were driven, deluded, that others decided for them--that they should die in a foreign land as participants to an aggression.

Those who made the film did not undertake the laudable facing of the facts without antecedents. The memoirs of Istvan Kossa, Sandor Nogradi, Gyorgy Fazekas, Elemer Salli and others had spoken already about the soldiers and labor troops dragged into the war against their will, despite their better convictions. The book of documents of Miklos Horvath and the book by Istvan Nemeskurty served this also. What is new in this film is not that it discovers and states the fact but rather that it has the members of this army say how they lived through this period. The film documents the fact that the time has come when the majority, the "average" participant, can take account himself on the basis of personal experiences and memories. What is having a great

effect now is that thanks to television the remembering is taking place before the public of the entire country.

In the film the participants speak. By the nature of things those who speak survived the tragedy and the tests of history as well. Although there was one who said that "with better weapons things would have gone differently" and another hoped for local victories "if he had gotten reserves"--these voices stand out by contrast from the chorus of rememberers who felt themselves to be tools of a bad cause, and thus its victims. That is what the soldiers and reservist officers were--excepting a minority bereft of their human nature--victims.

The great majority of the soldiers had no stake in the whole thing, recoiled from it, but--with a few exceptions--they did not have the strength to turn against the war, although they behaved with antipathy toward the German fascists and the Hungarian bloodhounds. They did not dare to say it but they felt that the war was against them too. The great majority of the statements gave expression to a schizophrenic state of mind--the Hungarian soldiers fell on the Soviet people as occupiers while feeling persecuted themselves, not only did they fear what was on the other side of the front, they were terrified of their own superiors and of the military police. With the exception of rare moments they did not undertake conscious solidarity with the Soviet population; if they say differently, it was not true. But for the most part the army was not suitable for what the fascist military leadership and its Horthyist commanders intended it, primarily because the strength of the Soviet army defending the homeland was decisive, and frustrated the plans of the conquerors. This is authenticated by the notorious daily order of Gusztav Jany in which he summarily condemned the personnel, saying: "The Second Hungarian Army lost its honor because with the exception of a few--faithful to their vow and obligation--it did not carry out what all could with justice expect," "the dispirited, headless, cowardly flight was an infamy...for which the allied German army and the homeland now profoundly despise us. They have every reason to do so."

The obvious goal of the film is to show the reality of the war, and with an authenticity with which only the participants can speak. We can almost see in the faces of the draftees the freezing of the hope that they might return home soon and whole. The interviews disclose not only how the robber war ruined and destroyed lives and values but also how it distorted souls, what inner torture it caused with its horrors and inhuman, humiliating violence. This can be heard also from the response of young people talking about the film; by virtue of the personal credibility and detailed descriptions of those remembering they experience more profoundly what they knew about more or less in general. In the course of this they hate war more, honor peace, understand the meaning of the struggle for peace and what a catastrophe this unjust war was for the nation pulled and forced into it.

It is another question how it speaks to the nation and people attacked, fighting in their own burned out homeland; for more happened in the Don Riverbend than the destruction of the Second Hungarian Army. Behind it unfolded an even greater tragedy, that which fell on the Soviet people and about which we must speak--and certainly know--to get to some extent a full picture of the events.

There is no denying that the Chronicle series thus far has satisfied this need only now and then and very indirectly. Compassion for the populace fallen victim to aggression and fascist barbarism can be felt from time to time, but the film hardly shows how the Soviet people, the Soviet soldiers--fighting for their just cause--turned from being victims into victorious heroes. But both--the justice of their cause and that they were finally victorious--are most closely connected to the theme of the film. The tragedy of our people was not only that they bled and fell in the Ukraine but also that they were taken into battle for a bad cause, for shameful and base goals.

How different the fate and memory of those Hungarian soldiers who, a quarter century earlier, spilled their blood together with the Russian Bolsheviks in the battles against the Russian Whites in just those same regions--defending the living chamber of Soviet Russia, the heart of the revolution, against the interventionist troops. They brought glory to the Hungarian name. On that side on which they stood, on the side of the revolution, a legendary reputation still surrounds them--the red Hungarians, the "krasniye Magyari." In how short a time can history make a tragic turn, that the descendent, just as oppressed, tormented and exploited as his Hungarian father earlier, before becoming red, should fight on the same land on the other side. Yet the pain of destruction is the same. He also would have land, would take it from the lords, from those who carried him into a war so that he should be destroyed rather than take his own fate into his own hands and divide up the great estates of the landlords. And yet the great battle was decided to his benefit.

If the young people of today are to comprehend what was going on inside the common soldiers of the Second Hungarian Army more should be said about what filled the souls of those on the other side, what ideals and emotions lived within them. All the more so, because only this will make clear that the defeat of the Hungarians--as members of an army on the side of the Nazis--became, with the liberation, a raising up of the sons of the Hungarian people also, liberating them from their true enemies, from the reactionary system, from the German and Hungarian fascists, from the burdens of a backward, semifeudal capitalism. When the war ended it could be seen that the friends of our people stood on the other side of the front. Those against whom--as occupiers of their homeland--we lost 150,000 men sacrificed almost as many of their men on Hungarian soil for the liberation of our country--for the new homeland of the masses seizing the land, the factories and the people's power. That documentation which leaves this side of the truth in the dark is not complete and thus cannot be faithful.

For, in all probability, this was the greatest and the most lasting lesson provided by what happened at the Don Riverbend. If we want to do justice by those Hungarians who died out there as victims of fascism then we should expect a long film made up of many parts to show that the brighter and more radiant the heroism of those struggling for the just cause the more clearly we might see the senselessness of the tragedy of our people and the less ambiguous the never to be forgotten lesson speaking to posterity and today.

We must free ourselves of the burdens of the past. This is a cause for us all. It is also a requirement of responsibility toward our Soviet friends and the cause of the Hungarian nation. In this way the chronicle of the Don Riverbend can be understood together, from so many sides.

KATOWICE PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

1981-1983 Party Organization

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 21 Feb 83 pp 1, 3

[Text] Today in Katowice, the Voivodship Reports-Program Conference of the Polish United Workers Party is being held. It will assess a half-year of work of the voivodship party organization and will outline new tasks that answer current needs. The verification of the program passed at the Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference is indispensable. The conditions and possibilities for action are different today than they were in 1981. The party's experiences and goals differ today as well. There is another kind of atmosphere surrounding today's campaign. The debate that preceded the Ninth Extraordinary Congress took place in a somewhat stormy atmosphere. It was filled largely with procedural quarrels and the settling of accounts. There was not always enough time to outline major tasks thoroughly and precisely, and there were also the whims of delegates to various-level conferences, at which decisions were made sometimes that did not correspond to the program line prepared at the Ninth Congress. Hence the need to return to the programs of action, coordinating them with the needs of the present and enriching them with elements that must be taken into consideration if the process of our emergence from the crisis is to conclude with any measure of speed and with total success.

An enormous amount of work awaits the party in coming years. Many issues of extreme importance both to the party and the entire country have not been resolved successfully and conclusively. We should point out very emphatically, however, that what the party has achieved since the Ninth Congress is worthy of attention and recognition. With the aid of its armed forces, it averted the fall of the socialist state. It was a decisive element in the defeat of our political adversaries. It found within itself forces that were healthy enough to settle accounts with those who wanted to split it from within. It purged its ranks of casual members, overt careerists and people who broke the party's ideological-moral principles and made decisions that were detrimental both to the party and the country. The great process of purging the party was not without consequences. The party sustained considerable bloodshed, which did not bypass our voivodship organization. Hundreds of thousands of people found themselves outside the party. At the same time, many delegates elected to conferences a half-year ago lost their mandates.

Thus, the party emerged from an extremely difficult trial numerically weakened but qualitatively strengthened, seasoned in the long struggle that still goes on. It relied on those who remained faithful to its ideals and expressed the unbroken desire to rectify the errors made in the past, to bring the country out of the crisis and to eliminate the evils of party life and the life of the country.

Other positive changes that have been made in the party are also apparent. It regained control and discretionary power over its members; intraparty discipline was strengthened. Protests against resolutions of the Central Committee [CC], the Politburo and voivodship and city committees and the like vanished. The Basic Party Organizations' [POP] habit of failing to implement their own resolutions was broken. The wave of cheap demagoguery and the veritable flood of claims to party leadership subsided. The unhealthy division into us (rank-and-file party members) and them (those holding positions in the party) disappeared. The line of understanding joined the "bottom" with the "top" and member masses with the party apparatus. Leadership bodies alone are no longer faulted for errors and distortions, but one looks for the causes of evil around himself. Something more is sought as well--a way to make reparations for this evil, to bring us out of the crisis. The initiative demonstrated in this field by numerous party organizations, particularly large organizations, has enabled them once again to have an impact on employee workforces, to develop plant life and to inspire the resolution of important problems in the areas of management, the implementation of the reform and the creation of trade unions and employee self-governments. It has enabled them to regain the trust of the people who often approach party echelons convinced that this is the only place they will find justice or receive the needed support.

Of course, the growth of confidence in the party does not mean that the ventures it has undertaken are approved universally, or that the party's adversaries have laid down their arms. This is not so, and there are many examples that confirm this thesis. Nor can the improvement in the work of numerous party elements be treated as an achievement of a totally satisfactory situation in this area. It is always necessary that we improve our style of work. Activists at work in the field inform us at various times of the often unwarranted complacency that exists, as well as the excessive number of silent meetings, the resurgence of habits of bureaucratic management of party organizations, the sometimes unnecessary consultations, the inconsistency in the implementation of party resolutions and the lack of activism, especially in small organizations. Such phenomena are disturbing. They show how far we still must go to attain the leading role that the party wants to play and should play in all fields of sociopolitical life.

The resolution of some problems will be especially difficult when the party will have to solve things on its own, without the help of its armed units. That is why it must strengthen its organizational and ideological unity all the more rapidly, deepen organizational ties of all levels with the party apparatus, ensure the efficient operation of the economy, build structures guaranteeing the effective work of enterprises and be still more effective in battling its adversaries and all manifestations of evil, uneconomical

management, waste, bureaucracy, speculation, inaccessibility, the sometime reappearance of arrogance and at times even of sheer stupidity.

Both the achievements and shortcomings of party work since the Ninth Congress certainly await thorough and critical analysis during today's PZPR Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference in Katowice. May your deliberations be fruitful, Comrade Delegates.

* * *

The 2 years that have passed since the 17th Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference have ushered in a series of changes for the voivodship party organization that are associated with a reevaluation of Polish political-economic life. Four periods may be distinguished here. The first period, that preceding the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress, brought about the activation of PZPR members and the casting off of poor work methods; at the same time, ideological frustration set in and intraparty discipline weakened. The second period, that of the implementation of Ninth Congress resolutions, evoked a wave of attacks from our adversaries. The third period, the period of the sharpening political struggle, was the attempt of our political opponents to come to a confrontation and to take over the authority. The fourth period, commencing with the imposition of martial law, began the party's rebirth.

People

As of 1 January 1983, the party in the Katowice voivodship numbered 283,944 members and candidate-members. Of this, 52.2 percent are workers, 34.2 percent are intelligentsia members and 5 percent are peasants. During the entire reports period, the phenomenon of a reduction in party members accompanied the process of consolidation. A total of 106,254 members left the party. Among those stricken from the rolls, 62 percent were members and candidate-members under the age of 39, who had been party members for less than 10 years. A total of 760 new members were accepted; 80 percent of these began their candidacy during the martial law period. Sixty percent of the new members, or more than the voivodship average, are workers. Withdrawals from the party stopped in March 1982. The greatest decline in party ranks occurred in Jastrzebie, Tychy and Dabrowa Gornicza. The organizations in Czeladz, Bedzin, Zabrze, Sosnowiec and Wolbrom have been the most stable. An assessment of political attitudes caused decisions to be made about 14.2 percent of the members of party authorities. In the making of cadre changes, the Politburo order on party direction under conditions of the announced state of danger to state security was used in 31 percent of the dismissals from and only 1.5 percent of the appointments to party functions.

The Reports Campaign

The reports campaign has enabled us to make a thorough assessment of the situation in party ranks, to reanalyze the road we have traveled and to outline tasks aimed at the further consolidation of party organizations and party

members around the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and subsequent plenary meetings of the PZPR CC. Local, plant and institutional problems dominated reports speeches and the discussion. A major element of the discussion was the complex of economic reform issues and our emergence from the crisis of building a front of national understanding. The need was pointed out to step up our political-ideological offensive. Recommendations enriching the material that outlines the further directions of party work were adopted at meetings and conferences. Delegate attendance was high, averaging 90 percent at plant conferences.

Ideology

Society's dissatisfaction with social-living conditions, neglect in party propaganda and ideological work and the false notion of the moral-political unity of the Polish nation have allowed the ideological diversion of our class adversary to fall on fertile soil in many milieus. After the imposition of martial law, the party's ideological work was directed toward driving out incorrect content from the social consciousness. New forms of disseminating Marxist-Leninist knowledge among party members were introduced, especially in the process of ideological training. During the period of attacks made on the party by the mass media, groups of people emerged that supported party policy unequivocally. The "days without a paper" ended in failure, as did the attempts at a radio and television strike. After 13 December 1981, journalist cadres were verified. Of 700 party members--people of culture, 64 turned in their party memberships. Thanks to the active work of POP's in the cultural community and to the good sense of most artistic people, the cultural life of the voivodship did not stop. There was practically no fear of a boycott. The most urgent task facing the voivodship party organization in the strengthening of ideological unity is the consistent observance of the Ninth Congress and Seventh CC Plenum resolutions, based on the specific nature and needs of particular communities. The process of purging the party of those who act in opposition to its program and the setting of high requirements for new members must be continued.

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]

PRON is still in the developmental and organizational stage. Its creation was set in motion by the Initiatives Group of the Movement for the Creation of Committees of National Salvation. On 24 May 1982, the OKON [Citizens' Committees of National Salvation] Voivodship Coordinating Committee arose. The elements of the movement arose primarily out of the initiatives of PZPR members. In September 1982, the PRON Voivodship Committee was opened. The movement mainly undertakes projects that concern local issues that are of extreme importance to local communities. PRON, which has received the support of the party voivodship organization since its inception, has 15,500 members in 410 elements.

Working Together

Working together means going beyond the intraparty work into which we were being pushed during this last period. Our impact on independents is growing gradually. Meetings of party authorities with workforces have increased. The regaining of society's approval of the work of party echelons determines the party's power and its position in society. The cooperation of PZPR, ZSL [United Peasant Party] and SD [Democratic Party] elements has entered into everyday practice. It is based on mutual trust, objectivity and responsibility. The activism of ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy], the League of Polish Women, the Polish Economic Society and the Society for the Popularization of Knowledge has grown thanks to the behavior of PZPR members in social organizations.

Among Young People and with Young People

The party's work among youth is based upon Ninth Congress and Ninth PZPR CC Plenum resolutions. The work of political adversaries has had a marked impact upon the attitudes of youth. Young people have been particularly susceptible to oppositionist slogans and alien personal examples. An assessment of the implementation of tasks emanating from the CC resolution on our tasks regarding youth and the directions of action in this area were discussed at a plenary meeting of the PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee]. Youth organizations are allying themselves with the party on an increasingly broader scale. Much has already been done to implement the Ninth CC Plenum resolution at the central, the voivodship and the municipal levels; young people are waiting for this resolution to be translated into concrete tasks in all places of work.

Science, Education, Upbringing

The KW Executive Board has approved the "Major Directions of the Work of Party Echelons in Higher Schools, Institutions and Education." The basis of their implementation is the appointment of 14 teachers' committees, which have been granted equal rights with Plant Committees. A survey has been made of the cadre in the teaching and scientific community. A series of meetings has been held with the party aktiv of schools, colleges and institutes. Given the existence of a broad network of night and correspondence schools, it was decided that special studies programs for leading industrial employees and leading factory workers should be discontinued. An analysis was made of the work of scientific-research institutes. Cooperation between science and industry was cemented.

The Economy and Reform

Economic reform has created new kinds of problems to be solved by party organizations in plants. The party has embarked on a propaganda campaign to disseminate reform principles, at the same time inspiring their implementation. On the initiative of plant party organizations, plant programs for overcoming difficulties and attaining better economic results than those achieved last year have been set up from within. The KW's operating schedule for the implementation of tasks following the Eighth and Tenth CC Plenums has been

very helpful in directing and organizing party work in the economic sphere. It has yielded a definite improvement in economic results. Since May 1982, the sale of production in socialized industry has exceeded monthly levels for the same months in 1981. The total value of industrial sales in the Katowice Voivodship in 1982 exceeded the previous year's level by 4 percent. Workforces attained this result with a 5.9 percent increase in productivity and a 1.9 percent reduction in employment. The solid work of miners enabled us to cover in full the domestic requirement for coal.

Health

With the help of the SD and the ZSL aktiws, the PZPR KW Health Commission conducted consultations and arrived at the conclusion that it is better to reform the health service in its existing form than to create a new model. It was pointed out that basic medical care ought to be increased and new principles of training physicians for their initial contact with patients ought to be introduced. Care of the handicapped and of those in their post-productive years (of whom there are 600,000 in the voivodship) was evaluated. Work on a long range program of environmental protection and development in the Katowice Voivodship continues. Definite progress has been attained in building a force of health service party organization influence and consolidation, but this situation is still not satisfactory.

In Rural Areas

The Guidelines of the PZPR CC Politburo and the ZSL NK [Supreme Committee] Presidium announcing the speedy and concrete settlement of a series of rural socioeconomic issues have ushered in an atmosphere of calm and deliberation. With only a few sporadic exceptions, there have been no organized forms of attack against the authorities. Most farmers, however, lack confidence in the stabilization of farm policy. This is due to the shortage of many means of production, frequent changes in procurement prices and the sometimes improper ratios between procurement prices and the prices of the means of production. The continuation of our joint work with the ZSL to implement farm policy is an indispensable condition for stimulating rural production activity.

Trade Unions and Self-governments

During the stormy year of 1981, it was impossible to achieve an understanding with the leaders of the then NSZZ [Independent Self-governing Trade Union] Solidarity region. None of the attempts at talks and negotiations yielded any results--they were torpedoed. Many of the self-governments that arose at that time let themselves be carried away by emotion. They lost sight of the issues that were the most crucial for the work of enterprises and for their production results. Then, social commissions partly replaced the trade unions that were first suspended and then expanded. Twenty thousand people, including 10,000 PZPR members, worked on these social commissions. The trade union movement is being rebuilt slowly. By 31 January 1982, the Voivodship Court had registered 500 trade unions. Founding committees are in operation in 1,500 plants. The political struggle continues over the proper form to be assumed by the union movement. The process of reactivating workforce

self-governments is taking place slowly. Two hundred-fifty self-governments have received approval to start working and 120 have begun substantive work.

Recommendations

From December 1980 to June 1981, 2,102 recommendations were submitted to the Congress Commission. For the most part, these concerned the restoration of the Leninist principles of party operation in the party, intraparty democracy and the consistent settling of accounts with those who were responsible for making errors. Recommendations teams operating at the voivodship, city and gmina levels conducted registration and gave answers both to interested party members, the members of other political parties and independents alike. The recommendations made during the current reports campaign refer primarily to the local authorities. They are realistic and critical.

Correspondence, Complaints and Grievances

The honest and thorough examination of correspondence, complaints and requests reaching echelons is an important element of building confidence in the party and of deepening the party's ties with society. Most of the requests for intervention concerned housing issues, interpersonal relations at work places, the health service, ZUS [Social Security Agency], the post office, PZU [State Insurance Bureau], the POLMOZBYT Technical-Commercial Automobile Center and trade centers. Guided by the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the 3,27 letters and the 2,187 requests for intervention that reached the PZPR KW in 1982, the KW Secretariat streamlined the reception and the examination of correspondence and requests for intervention. This was discussed at a recent KW Plenum.

Justice, Discipline, Law and Order

The imposition of martial law enabled us to battle more effectively the negative phenomena of social life, including crime. In consequence of the political, preventive and repressive actions that were taken, the increase in political crime declined very significantly. This does not mean that we can become less vigilant, however. The number of criminal actions has declined considerably. The crucial element of party work was the creation of such attitudes among officials of the militia, the Security Service, ORMO [Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia], prosecutors and judges as would motivate them to enforce respect for the law among all citizens, thus gaining society's support. The prosecution of bribetaking, speculation, parasitism and the unwarranted attainment of income must be improved. The battling of some crimes, especially economic crimes, cannot be the domain of the militia alone.

Cadres

The systematic assessment of skills and attitudes and the optimum use of these traits in one's position has a fundamental impact on activating cadres. An extensive search was made for candidates for all leadership positions in the state and economic administration. The first experiences in competitive cadre

selection are behind us. During the reports period, workers of the party apparatus were rotated systematically. Sixty-eight percent of the workers were accepted for political work after August 1980. A total of 714 people are employed in the Katowice Voivodship party apparatus. Of these, 44.1 percent have a higher education.

Reports-Programs Party Conference Deliberations

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 22 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] Three hundred ninety-eight delegates, representing over 280,000 members of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR organization, deliberated yesterday [21 February 1983] at the Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference. During the plenary meeting and in issues groups, 88 discussants spoke of the issues affecting the voivodship party organization during its stormy past, those that it is dealing with currently and those that it must deal with in the future.

PZPR CC [Central Committee] first secretary, PRL [Polish People's Republic] premier, chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON], Comrade Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, who took part in the conference, noted the industrial-working class character of our region, saying: "That is why here I choose to emphasize very strongly the decisive role of workers in People's Poland." The deeply working-class character of the conference, reflected in the number of worker-discussants and in the priority given their issues in conference content, corroborates his words. The resolution adopted by the delegates assesses party work thus far and outlines work for the future--in the implementation of the strategies of struggle and understanding outlined at the Ninth Congress and made more concrete at subsequent plenary meetings of the PZPR CC.

The conference passed a resolution protesting against the revisionist statements of FRG minister of internal affairs F. Zimmermann.

CC Politburo member, PZPR KW first secretary in Katowice Comrade Zbigniew Messner chaired the conference. Also in attendance were: PZPR CC Politburo member, miner from the Siemianowice mine Comrade Jerzy Romanik, PZPR CC secretary Comrade Manfred Gorywoda, deputy premier Comrade Zbigniew Szalajda, director of the PZPR CC Organizational Department Comrade Kazimierz Cypryniak and the following ministers: minister of mining and the power industry Comrade Maj Gen Czeslaw Piotrowski, minister of construction and construction materials management Comrade Stanislaw Kukuryka, minister of transportation Comrade Janusz Kaminski and chief quartermaster of the WP [Polish Army], deputy minister of national defense, Comrade Gen of Arms Mieczyslaw Obiedzinski. Among the invited guests were: chairman of the ZSL WK [Voivodship Committee] Marian Karasek, chairman of the SD WK Jerzy Jozwiak, veterans of the workers movement and representatives of social and youth organizations.

Three hundred ninety-eight delegates participated in the deliberations of the total of 422 male and female comrades that retained their important mandates.

After approving the order of deliberations and the agenda, which were consulted upon during regional meetings of delegates, Comrade Zbigniew Messner gave the report of the PZPR KW to conference participants.

The report contained a comprehensive analysis of the political and social processes that occurred during the past 18 months in the Katowice voivodship party organization, as well as of the most important party tasks in the particular fields of social and economic life in various milieus, especially those in which the situation requires decisive action. The party, implementing the line of struggle and understanding laid down during the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, must conduct an offensive against our political adversary, who is weakened but constantly present. At the same time, it must continue to seek ways of understanding with all political forces that accept the socialist makeup of our fatherland. The strengthening and broadening of the PRON social base is a strategic task for PZPR members.

Next Voivodship Review Commission [WKR] chairman Comrade Waldemar Poltorak presented a report on its work. He stated that after the Ninth PZPR Congress, the functions of party control organs increased significantly. The checks and analyses being done are aiding the work of party echelons and organizations. The WKR and local review commissions have been interested above all in the implementation of party resolutions and in action taken on suggestions and demands voiced at party meetings. In the near future, there will be still greater emphasis placed on the content of party meetings, the way they are conducted and the use of party tasks in the work of echelons with the POP and OOP [Branch Party Organization].

Chairman of the Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP] Comrade Eugeniusz Kotas reported on the work undertaken by the WKKP during the last, difficult period and on plans for the future. He emphasized that the systematic control of party member implementation of the principles contained in the PZPR Statute must become an ongoing process strengthening the consolidation and ideological-organizational unity of party ranks. Concern over the attitudes of PZPR members and over intraparty discipline must always be found at the center of attention of party organizations as the basis of the regular operation of the principle of democratic centralism. This is related to the greater responsibility of all comrades, since when a disciplinary decision is made, it should be final. Our principle is that a party penalty ought to straighten out a person, not break him. It is in this spirit that the most important WKKP and local and plant KKP [Party Control Commission] tasks through the end of the term were defined in the address.

Substantive, Concrete Discussion

Worker speeches dominated the plenary discussion. Specific party organizations and plants in the Katowice Voivodship were given as examples of the fact that the party's organizational cohesiveness is being rebuilt and that it is being strengthened. In Jastrzebie, where the myth of the nation's political-moral unity was first woven--said Comrade Ryszard Korzeniewski from the BORYNIA mine--the party suffered the greatest losses numerically; on the other hand, the city organization there now has the greatest working class character

of all voivodship organizations. We have succeeded in verifying the views of a significant part of workforces, and we know how to verify and defend the principles of social justice. Trade unions have arisen in all Jastrzebie mines. However, it is not only organizational unity that determines the nature of the party, but its program--concise, written in simple language and comprehensible to all. The Ideological-Program Declaration "What we are fighting for, where we are aiming" can fulfill these conditions.

Comrade Norbert Muzykant, a miner from the MAKOSZOWA mine, said that it is worrisome and painful that the positive effects of party work are not the result of the efforts of all basic organizations. Some of our comrades still stand on the sidelines and, although they spend hours discussing economic issues, they are loathe to broach ideological subjects. Hence the need to step up ideological training, for the mine supervisors as well. It was also emphasized during discussion that when we evaluate plant management cadres, we must give equal consideration to their abilities, their professional skills and their ideological commitment--not as professed, but as manifested in direct action, in the way they react to provocations that threaten the interests of the socialist state. The consistent implementation of the process of socialist renewal and the program of leading the country out of the crisis require the constant deepening of knowledge of and familiarity with ideology, said Comrade Boguslaw Kabala, director of the Fourth Liberal Arts High School in Sosnowiec. Ideological work should not be limited to the work of professionals alone, since properly executed work in one's vocational area is the most crucial element in the development of awareness. Comrade Stanislaw Smardzewski, miner from the SOSNICA mine, also stressed this idea in his address. He said that every party member that works honestly at his chosen trade must give an example to others, at the same time reacting to all manifestations of evil.

The community of miners is concerned greatly over political and international problems. This was demonstrated in their speeches, as they brought up questions of recent revisionist speeches directed against Poland. Comrade Norbert Muzykant made a motion that conference participants pass a resolution censuring these remarks.

The implementation of economic reform is our guarantee that we will emerge from the economic crisis. However, many elements of the program of its implementation, as outlined by the Ninth Congress, are still relegated to the sphere of expectations, said Comrade Wieslaw Konior from the PGR [State Farms] in Dabrowa Gornicza. Often plant profits are the only result of an improper price policy, while the need to reduce material costs, to conserve and to increase labor productivity is forgotten. Nor are the plant commissions on costs and prices fulfilling party expectations, since their members themselves are interested in attaining higher plant profits. The dissemination of knowledge on the reform is still lacking, and the implementation of the reform is being hampered by such phenomena as the failure to approve the operation of a self-government, the abuse of powers by association management and the resistance of plant administrations to the inspirational, advisory and control activities of plant party organizations. Meanwhile, the burden of our emergence from the crisis is distributed unequally among the

various socioprofessional groups, the difference in pay scales is increasing and the excessive, sudden acquisition of wealth by private enterprises is causing harm. Comrade Konior made a motion that antispeculation activities be stepped up.

Discussants made many remarks about the problems of protecting the natural environment. Comrade Wladyslaw Major, a miner and cutter-loaderman from the ROZBARK mine, spoke on this topic, saying that this problem must be resolved comprehensively on the national level, while the plants that are causing the damage to the environment must take part in eliminating these dangers through concrete technological undertakings and not merely by designating a certain amount of funds for this purpose. Comrade Anna Marciniak, head of the gmina of Pietrowice Wielkie, also spoke on this problem in the context of the situation of farming in the Katowice Voivodship.

Delegates listened with attention to the detailed report of the first deputy voivodship governor of Katowice, Comrade Tadeusz Wnuk, on the subject of the achievements made thus far and the aims of the socioeconomic plan of the voivodship administration. In concluding his speech, Comrade Wnuk stressed the service role played by the administration with regard to society and the party.

Others taking the floor during the discussion were: Comrade Andrzej Tomczewski, subforeman from the KATOWICE Steelworks, Bronislaw Wilk, senior foreman from the Katowice Construction Works and Tadeusz Chmielniak, professor at Slask Polytechnic.

Next the discussion began in issues groups.

In Issues Groups

Group I: intraparty life. The strengthening and consolidation of party ranks. Work with youth. The role of PZPR members in people's councils. Cadre policy.

Problems of the creation of cadre policy dominated the discussion. It was emphasized that we must abide by the Leninist principles of cadre selection, according to which the professional, political and moral qualifications of a particular candidate must all be high. This is of special importance under conditions of political struggle. The need for improving the effectiveness of the mechanisms of party recommendation and the skillful, well thought out creation of a cadre reserve were brought up. It was pointed out that today the management cadre frequently deals with professional problems alone, and its upbringing role and duty to represent party and governmental policy have disappeared.

In speaking of intraparty problems, discussants stressed the subject of work with the aktiv. We must aim to further rebuild the aktiv and to develop the skill of implementing party resolutions.

In the opinion of group members, a basic issue in intraparty work in the near future must be the reactivation and strengthening of the work of party groups and concern over the proper assignment and accounting of party tasks.

Comrades taking part in the discussion were: Jerzy Blaszak--deputy director of a department in the BATORY Steelworks, Edward Guzial--secretary of the KZ [Plant Committee] at the ZMP [expansion unknown] mine, Andrzej Krowiak--chief specialist at FSM [expansion unknown] in Tychy, Boleslaw Szarek--first secretary of the Zawierc KM [City Committee], Czeslaw Skupien--first secretary of the TOP [expansion unknown] in Sosnowiec-Porabka, Andrzej Bielowski--first secretary of the KM in Wodzislaw, Eugeniusz Bula--member of the WKR, Jan Witt--first secretary of the KZ at the JAWORZNO mine, Kazimierz Skwara--overman at the ZIEMOWIT mine, Wieslaw Jedrusik--first secretary of the KM in Bedzin, Stanislaw Mazur--first secretary of the KM in Poreba, Boleslaw Skotnicki--first secretary of the KM in Bytom, Comrade Tomasz Banbula--secretary of the KM in Sosnowiec included his speech in the minutes. KW secretary, Comrade Marian Rauszer conducted the deliberations.

Group II: the rebuilding of ideological unity, the activation of party members in the process of the ongoing political struggle. The improvement of the impact of the mass media. The building of the planes of PRON.

We must implement unanimously what we have resolved; as party members we are all responsible for its work--stated one of the discussants. This task set the tone of the discussion. As was stressed, the crisis has left a deep imprint upon the nation's psyche.

At the same time, the consolidation of party organizations has taken place in the thick of the struggle. The role of ideological training was noted. We must rebuild the work of Plant Centers for Ideological Training and train teachers and agitators who are able to relate theoretical problems to the practices of daily life. In speaking of the mass media, delegates noted the need to raise the level of their work, to popularize party policy in an attractive way and to use arguments that are close to consumers.

It was emphasized that PRON is open to all. There will be no understanding, however, with the enemies of the socialist fatherland.

Those comrades taking part in the discussion included: Adam Markowski--an economist from the Railroad Machinery Plant in Raciborz; Jerzy Smentek--director of the Regional Center for Party Work in Zawierc, Stanislaw Lowicki--WPK [Voivodship Transportation Enterprise] motorman in Bytom; Michal Rosciszewski--scientific employee at Slask Polytechnic, Danuta Grzywaczewska--chemical engineer from Tarnowskie Gory; Ludwik Kromer--worker at DRKP [expansion unknown] in Gliwice; Aleksander Cwiakala--first secretary of the KMG [City-Gmina Committee] in Pszczyna; Wieslaw Nowicki--chairman of the PRON WK; Norbert Sznajder--head miner at the POLSKA mine in Swietochlowice, Jan Lazar--reporter for the newspaper SPORT; Krzysztof Judycki--secretary for ideological affairs of the Jastrzebie KM. Comrade Zygmunt Brach--electrician at the FLORIAN Works in Swietochlowice, included his speech in the minutes.

KW secretary, Comrade Jan Zielinski led the deliberations.

Group III: problems of political work aimed at hastening the process of the implementation of economic reform, rebuilding the union movement and revitalizing autonomy in the voivodship economy.

While the modification of reform principles is necessary, we must never undermine or weaken the motivational function of wages. This statement was included in nearly every speech. As practice shows, however, this is one of the most difficult elements to implement. It requires not only that a system be set up, but also that psychological barriers and habits be broken down. If we say that it is building individual incentive, then in turn a cohesive tax system fulfills this role with regard to the larger groups that production teams are.

Party organizations must be, and usually are, the coorganizers of the dissemination of comprehensive knowledge about the reform to every work station, said Comrade Jan Przegrada, first secretary of the KZ at the NITRON-ERG Plastics Plant in Krupski Mlyn.

Other participants in the discussion included: Comrade Franciszek Jeziorek, CC member, DRKP employee, Comrade Zdzislaw Iwanik from the Coal Electrode Plant in Raciborz, Comrades Boguslaw Masior--director of the CHELMEK Southern Leather Industry Plant in Bedzin, Kazimierz Konieczko from the KATOWICE Works, Janusz Markowicz from the Zagłębie KB [expansion unknown] and Comrades Stanislaw Kuznik from the PRODRYN Production Application Enterprise in Wodzislaw, Jozef Zimnicki, CC member, employee of the BOBREK Works, Jan Rataj--retiree, Antoni Styczysz from the BATORY Works and Andrzej Ukorski--KM secretary in Gliwice. Discussants also brought up problems related to employment, materials supply and investments. Ministers Janusz Kaminski and Stanislaw Kukuryka addressed particular problems.

CC secretary Comrade Manfred Gorywoda concluded his speech by making reference to suggestions made during the discussion, saying that the reform solutions ought to be stable but moderately so. This allows us to be guided by parameters without changing reform principles.

KW secretary, Comrade Bogumil Ferensztajn chaired deliberations. CC Politburo member, PZPR KW first secretary in Katowice Comrade Zbigniew Messner participated in the work of the group.

Group IV: problems of political work aimed at hastening the process of implementation of economic reform and rebuilding the union movement and autonomy in mining and the power industry.

The discussion centered around the most crucial economic and sociopolitical problems of mine and electrical power plant workforces.

The implementation of economic reform in these enterprises was determined above all by their special nature. The process was initiated by the introduction of a new economic-financial system, after which structural changes began to be made. Deputy minister Marian Gustek said, we have implemented the reform to make it easier for us to eliminate obstacles and to

strengthen factors that foster good work. We viewed the reform as a means and not an end. In addressing this problem, comrades cited a number of examples confirming the validity of the direction suggested in deliberations.

The following spoke during the discussion: Comrades Tadeusz Marklowski--first secretary of the PZPR KZ at the POKOJ mine, Jerzy Widuch--first secretary of the PZPR KZ at the LAZISKA electrical power plant, Marian Aksamski--director of the SIEMIANOWICE mine, Marian Twardecki--miner at the ZABRZE mine, Boguslaw Cholewka--steel mill foreman at the ZAWIERCIE Works, Ryszard Heyda--deputy chief engineer of the PW [Coal Industry] Assembly-Installation Enterprise in Bytom, Tadeusz Lakomy--first secretary of the PZPR KZ at the PKP [Polish State Railroads] junction in Bytom, Jacek Franiel--chief mechanic of the Rail Construction Enterprise in Bytom, Adam Zawisz--director for employee affairs at FMG [FAMUR Mining Machinery Factory], Feliks Rozanski--overman at the PSTROWSKI mine, Marian Cieslik--chief fitter at the MARCEL mine. Minister of mining and the power industry Comrade Maj Gen Czeslaw Piotrowski also spoke during the discussion.

PZPR KW secretary Comrade Col Piotr Gebka led deliberations. CC Politburo member, chairman of the PZPR CC Mining Commission, miner at the SIEMIANOWICE mine Comrade Jerzy Romanik took part in the deliberations as well.

Group V: problems of the living conditions of working people, health care and the protection of the natural environment. The development of crop and animal production and domestic market supply. The operation of trade and services.

In speaking of the problems of health care, discussants noted the enormous needs that continue in the investments sphere and in the cadre sphere and the unsatisfactory nature of many organizational solutions thus far. Comprehensive and concrete actions in the area of protecting the natural environment must accompany actions in the sphere of health protection.

Questions related to issues of feeding the nation were brought up not only by those who are professionally involved in agriculture. Discussants pointed out the significant shortage of manufactured goods and stated that the market supply of food products has improved. Producers still determine the shape of the market situation.

Discussants included: Comrades Krystian Wloka--first secretary of the PZPR KG in Zbrosławice, Jerzy Fudzinski--director of the GORNIK Health Resort in Jastrzebie-Zdroj; Joanna Skrzypczak--employee of the Mine Supply Enterprise; Wlodzimierz Perzynski--employee of the Dzierzynski Works in Dabrowa Gornicza; Pawel Plackowski--director of the Refrigeration Industry Enterprise in Bedzin; Arkadiusz Suchobokow--veterinary technician; Jozef Wileczelek--private farmer in the gmina of Krzyzanowice; Norbert Zadow--employee of the Katowice PW Repair Plant; Tadeusz Czapla--director of the PGR Association in Katowice, Witold Kolaska--director of POM [State (Agricultural) Machine Stations] in Jawiszowice, Piotr Kowalczyk--meritorious activist of the workers movement from Zawiercie; Jozef Luzar--private farmer from Krzanowice; Mieczyslaw Brachman--chairman of the Gmina Cooperative in Lubomia and Janusz Sek--first secretary of the PZPR KG in Gieraltowice.

KZ secretary Comrade Jan Rachwalik chaired the deliberations.

Group VI: problems of the development of science, socialist culture and art and of the training and upbringing of the younger generation.

It was noted that the Ninth Congress resolutions specified education as a progressive factor, enabling the equal start of young people in school. Meanwhile, as the examples given from Jastrzebie show, the situation in this regard needs improvement.

Teachers are leaving the profession, schools are lacking and those schools that are in operation are working under conditions that are far from the basic requirements that they ought to fulfill. The lack of teaching aids, textbooks, source preparations and maps continues to be sorely felt. The level of teaching cadres is declining. This must be averted as quickly as possible. It is important for the school to have a partner in education--the home above all. Youth organizations should also join in this process. The school likewise ought to maintain ties with work places; the new union movement can do much in this regard.

In discussing issues related to culture, participants expressed the need to deepen ideological work in party organizations that represent this sphere of operation. These organizations have the special responsibility of having the proper influence upon the consciousness of particular people and even on entire communities. The signs from the field tell us that cultural centers are greatly lacking and that regional associations are having problems. The issue of rebuilding the Slask Museum was also raised.

Discussants included: Comrades Anna Musiolik--director of the LO [General High School] in Jastrzebie; Janusz Wozniak--commander of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] group; Krystian Tomiczek--deputy inspector for education and upbringing in Rybnik; Czeslaw Cadczynski--teacher at the first LO in Bedzin; Zbyszko Mikolajski--member of the PZPR KW Cultural Commission; Henryk Jarzynski--director of the UM [City Office] Department of Culture in Jastrzebie; Michal Rosciszewski--scientific employee at Slask Polytechnic; Lt Col Henryk Frydryczak--plenipotentiary for the KW first secretary in Tarnowskie Gory; Stanislaw Horak--chairman of the PZPR KW Cultural Commission. KW secretary, Comrade Witold Nawrocki led the deliberations.

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During the second part of plenary deliberations, Comrade Franciszek Banko, first secretary of the PZPR KZ at the BARBARA-CHORZOW mine, took the floor. Acting upon the authorization of the members of the central authorities from the Katowice Voivodship area, he presented delegates with a report on the work of this group, both within the central authorities and throughout the voivodship. He asked that party echelons make greater use in their work of the assistance of CC members and candidate members from their area.

The next speaker, Comrade Gen Jan Lazarczyk, chief of the Voivodship Military Staff, reported on the work of the military under martial law. He emphasized

the complexity of the current international situation and the danger of American imperialism. He pointed out that the military, in addition to performing its function of defending our borders, will continue to fulfill its duties aimed at eliminating the phenomena of social pathology and to be concerned over calm and security within Poland.

Next Comrade Andrzej Schmidt from Siemianowice read the proposed text of a resolution protesting against the revisionist speech of the FRG minister of internal affairs F. Zimmermann. Those assembled approved the resolution unanimously. (The text of the resolution is published on p 1).

Most Important Tasks

Next PZPR CC first secretary, Comrade Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski took the floor. We must ask ourselves the question: Where are we, at what stage of the building of socialism? We are following the path of the Ninth PZPR Congress with consistency, the path of struggle and understanding. There is no returning to pre-August ills or to the pre-December attempts to demolish the socialist state--said the CC first secretary.

PZPR KW secretary Comrade Jan Rachwalik presented the draft of a conference resolution in the name of the Resolutions and Motions Commission. The resolution states that the materials submitted to delegates contain in full the content of actions undertaken by the voivodship party organization. The imposition of martial law paralyzed antisocialist activity, the resolution states, enabling us to begin strengthening party elements. The resolution outlines the directions of activity for the rest of the term of party authorities. These directions are laid out by the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress and those of subsequent plenary meetings of the PZPR CC. The Resolutions and Motions Commission is enjoined to prepare the detailed recommendations presented during the deliberations in groups and to present them for approval by the PZPR KW Plenum. The KW leadership will divide the resolution into concrete tasks and will assign these for implementation by particular echelons. The resolution was approved unanimously.

In closing the deliberations, Comrade Zbigniew Messner stated that during the campaign, reports meetings took place in 15,000 party elements. Several tens of thousands of male and female comrades took part in the discussion. The campaign was an opportunity to reflect upon party achievements and shortcomings. Much depends upon our critical look at party work. The resolution that has been passed contains detailed tasks that will enable us to implement the general social, political and economic goals of the PZPR in the Katowice Voivodship with still greater effectiveness.

The conference closed with the singing of the Internationale.

1st Secretary Zbigniew Messner's Speech

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 22 Feb 83 pp 4, 5

[Speech by Comrade Zbigniew Messner, CC Politburo member, first secretary of the PZPR KW in Katowice, at Katowice PZPR Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference; date not given; material enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Honored Comrades!

We have a difficult duty to perform today: we must analyze the road traveled by the Katowice voivodship party organization during the past 2 years and, through critical reflection, determine the quality of our experiences in order to formulate together the major directions of future work.

/The realistic attitudes of workers organizations have served to renew the party and maintain its unity./

The basis for the collective, responsible task we must perform together is the extensive report of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Katowice. This document presents the complex process of the party's recovery of its strength and authority. In the complex reality of our voivodship, the party made a great effort to rebuild its ideological, political and organizational unity and to regain the possibility of fulfilling its leadership role in the basic areas of social life. The document also shows how basic party organizations in workers communities took the political initiative into their own hands, how they implemented the Ninth Congress resolutions and how they rebuilt society's credibility in the party during the course of the unceasing struggle for the implementation of the principles of social justice, democracy and the renewal of life. If, after August 1980, we did not disperse in our voivodship, if neither ideas of our party organization's social-democratic restructuring nor marginal solutions gained ascendancy, we have the worker nucleus of our organization to thank for this, above all. The will to renew the party and to maintain its unity on the basis of Ninth PZPR Congress resolutions was manifested in the realistic attitudes that characterized the worker organizations of our voivodship. It is thanks to workers organizations that we did not have to begin everything anew after 13 December 1981, and thanks to them that we are what we are today. We must be especially aware of this during our discussion today.

In the recent past, fate spared nothing in the life of our party organization. We were brutally attacked by counterrevolutionary forces, we took part in a severe political struggle, we had to overcome decentralizing tendencies in many organizations where rightist revisionists dangerously broadened the area of understanding so as to erase the boundaries that the Leninist party must mark out for itself, and critics of the strategy of struggle and understanding demanded marginal and irresponsible solutions.

In order to increase social distances, in order to isolate us within the voivodship community and in smaller groups of union, plant or milieu structures, our political adversaries wished to force upon us the myth of the

attitude of the society of Slask and Zagłębie ostensibly uniformly opposed to the party and the people's authority. Such tendencies occurred, for example, at the Economy Car Plant [FSM] in Tychy, at the SOSNOWIEC and SZCZYGLOWICE mines and in some parts of the intelligentsia and academic communities. We remember them vividly and painfully. In reality, however, the division of people into "them and us" is devoid of social sense. Our society as a whole did not accept this mode of thinking. Before 13 December, the processes separating those who desired law and order, who wanted to work and to continue the process of socialist transformation from those who blindly edged toward confrontation, manipulated by seasoned political gamblers, were evident.

/The vast majority of society was in favor of order and opposed anarchism in economic life./

Once again it has happened that the social diagnoses postulated by Marxism-Leninism, by scientific socialism may be and are correct diagnoses. The fundamental nucleus of the working class recognized the political-social validity of the 13 December 1981 decision and supported the solutions proposed by the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON]. Unfortunately, there were also cases in our voivodship of the failure to understand the goals of martial law. As a consequence of the irresponsible actions of the leaders of the political opposition, there occurred the tragedy at the WUJEK mine that was painful for us all. The vast majority of society in Poland, however, was in favor of order and opposed anarchism in economic life. In this way it determined the basic direction of sociopolitical changes in our voivodship. Under the new conditions, party organizations in large plants began to work more and more actively. Aided by WP political workers and military commissars, they embarked upon offensive action, winning over many who were lost and disoriented. Their uncertainty and their unwarranted and excessive sense of guilt were dispelled; their moods of bitterness and internal unrest left them. With more and more determination, if always under conditions of severe internal arguments and self-purgation, many workers party organizations assumed their avantgarde functions during the first days of 1982.

In January 1982, changes in the KW leadership took place under especially difficult conditions.

Following the resignation of Comrade Andrzej Zabinski, the Politburo appointed a new first secretary. Then, following the resignation of the following for reasons of their assumption of duties in the state and economic administration (Comrades Lucjan Gajda, Henryk Gorny, Andrzej Jurczak, Jerzy Markowski and Jozef Piszczek), the duties of KW secretaries were entrusted to Comrades Piotr Gebka, Bogumil Ferensztajn, Witold Nawrocki, Jan Rachwalik, Marian Rauszer and Jan Zielinski.

The period that has passed confronted many party members with a severe test of their loyalty and courage. Many passed this test of their ideological support, their commitment and their skill to act under conditions of sharp political struggle and to enlist the support of reliable allies. We do not hide the fact that many did not pass this test; they left of their own will, were stricken from the rolls or were expelled. Since August 1980, our voivodship party organization has lost more than 100,000 members.

We have analyzed why so many people left the party. Our diagnosis does not differ essentially from that made throughout the party. Many who left were those who joined the party during organized campaigns; some were passive and were ill-qualified to perform social actions; many who left were careerists and people of little faith, who were led astray in hard times. This exodus is not a particularly dangerous phenomenon, however, even if we regret to say that many valuable comrades also left the party. They did not have enough internal resistance to withstand the pressure or the blackmail of the community, to counter unjust accusations or to bear the burden of the ongoing political struggle. The history of every political party notes the departure of the unbelieving and the fainthearted during difficult moments.

It must be pointed out, however, that there were too many casual members, who did not verify their decision to join the party either politically or morally. This teaches us an important lesson for future organizational work: the decision to join the party ought to be seriously motivated ideologically, and the quality of individual motives ought to be checked carefully by POP's.

During the past year, we accepted over 600 candidate members into our party. We should involve them more actively in our ideological work, especially given our unfortunate experiences in this field. It is not true that our party organization today does not need the luxury of theory, that the party needs only rapid and clearcut economic results, and the rest will follow. Nor is what we hear sometimes at meetings true, that the appeal to work to deepen our theoretical knowledge is a special sort of professorial mentorship or the cultivation of roses when the woods are on fire. Without theoretical foundations, we are defenseless in confrontation with our adversaries. Without revolutionary theory there is no revolutionary practice.

/No one may feel that he is free from the duty to deepen his theoretical knowledge./

No one may feel that he is free from the duty to deepen his theoretical knowledge. It is difficult to agree with the argument that the highly specialized intelligentsia community shuns ideological training because it feels incompetent to discuss philosophical or economic problems. Nor can one accept the idea that ideological-upbringing work is a sphere that lies far away from the interests and needs of workers.

We all must learn, and we must keep on learning. We shall master theory not for its own sake, but in order to help us to explain the world and to outline the goals of our actions. Ideological training cannot be divorced from life. It must relate to the issues that are part of the lives of workers and the intelligentsia; it must help them to understand their own social, economic and world situation, as they view the latter. The complex of these issues is rich. The modern-day worker of Slask and Zagłębie is an educated man who has lively social and cognitive aspirations and knows how to define his needs.

In our many contacts with various milieus and in our meetings with the most varied groups of people, we hear specific recommendations about the way to conduct ideological-explanatory work. Today we no longer can impact upon the

consciousness of the working class by teaching them with the use of primitive methods and by rattling off papers. Today this class requires a real and an honest exchange of thoughts and discussion. This gives party echelons the duty of finding a proper, well-prepared teaching cadre. We must also use a different approach in teaching the intelligentsia. We cannot agree with the proposal formulated in these circles that teaching work should be limited exclusively to the passive assimilation of the material transmitted by teachers. Academic teachers, scientific employees in institutes and technical cadres must find in themselves the desire to educate themselves and to arouse their own intellectual curiosity.

In formulating the goals and defining the methods of our work, we were aided a great deal by the historical reflection that manifested itself on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers movement, which was celebrated last year. The tradition of this movement is full of examples of uncompromising ideological commitment, of patriotism joined with internationalism and of the skill to gain social support. This tradition should be used extensively in our daily work. Meritorious activists of the workers movement in days of trial and deep crisis supported the voivodship party organization. Always faithful to their ideals, they served the party, the worker issue and the defense of socialism, as much as their strength and possibilities allowed.

Our concern over the ideological strengthening of party members and over the enrichment of the ideological storehouse of the entire voivodship organization has yielded perceptible results. Under martial law, during the period of unhesitating political struggle, our ranks acquired new vigor, the proper party structures of action were being rebuilt, the team of political workers of all party echelons was being restructured and party organizations became stronger. Party life became revitalized in many communities, if in varying degrees. This was verified in meetings with workforces and in party meetings held with the participation of members of the central and voivodship party authorities. Another important element stimulating and mobilizing intraparty life was the discussion over the draft declaration "What we are fighting for, where we are aiming." This discussion broke the practice of silent meetings that languished here and there, it cleared up a number of doubts and it led to the self-definition and growth of the subjective role of party members.

A special role in the development of programs of party work was played by KW issues commissions. These brought together expert teams of delegates, plenum members and party activists from various milieus. The principles of cooperation of the commissions with KW departments, however, ought to be improved and modified still more.

/The reports-programs campaign revealed the process of the consolidation and activation of party ranks./

The reports-programs campaign conducted in our voivodship party organization revealed clearly the constant, if still uneven process of the consolidation and activation of party ranks. It made all of us who are responsible for the rhythm of intraparty work aware of the fact that in some communities we still have much to do in order to increase the involvement of these communities in

work, in order to define better our work objectives and in order to continue to bring party organizations closer to the vital problems of working people.

We were convinced, and now we are even more convinced that the key to solving the basic socioeconomic problems of our voivodship lies in party work. But we must continue to explain that the party is different and wants to act differently. It neither wants to assume the responsibility for everything that goes on at the plant, city or voivodship level, nor can it do so. It wishes to cooperate with the allied parties and political factions, which does not mean that its leadership role is reduced. The field of its political maneuvering and the possibility of inspirational actions are thus broadened. In this new situation, the party can be a real spokesman for the affairs of working people, organizing an atmosphere of joint responsibility for the fate of our people. Let us not return to former methods of directing social and economic life. They are a bad memory; they were irrational.

Our task is to be among the people, to take up the problems of their life and work, to help solve everyday problems, even minor ones and to defend working class interests; to be the spokesman for social justice, socioeconomic reforms and the development of socialist democracy.

We are an organization implementing the general concept of struggle and understanding. Despite what has been said, this does not mean that we are abandoning anything. The front of class struggle is wherever there is even one communist; where there is one party member, the Marxist-Leninist party is there. This is shown clearly by the experiences of the international workers movement. Every party member has the duty of struggling over the party's political interests, over the rights of working people. This is not understood by the adherents of totalistic solutions, which amount to demands granting the party all prerogatives and all degrees of responsibility.

/The aim toward national understanding is a political necessity and the deepest expression of patriotism./

We are deeply concerned over social understanding as a condition of the socialist stabilization of society. This concern is demonstrated above all in undertakings related to the development and formation of PRON.

We have proved that our adversary errs when he says that society is generally opposed to the party and the authorities. We recognize society's diversity and we see in the multiplicity of views an opportunity for and not a burden on the building of the front of cooperation and understanding. It is extremely important for our party that PRON become the broadest forum possible for the cooperation of all sociopolitical forces that are founded upon socialist systemic principles. We appeal to PZPR members and to our party elements to strengthen activities on behalf of PRON and to treat cooperation with this social movement as a strategic task for whose implementation we are all responsible. The aim toward national understanding is a political necessity and the deepest expression of patriotism.

We must be consistent, but we must also be aware of the social realities of our voivodship, including its special complexity in historical, religious and demographic terms.

We wish to broaden our front of working with independents, to have an impact broadly upon large groups of people. Therefore, we have attached much importance to the effectiveness of party propaganda and agitation, and we shall continue to do so. Party press, radio and television organizations have gained strength; the period of internal conflict has passed. They are now in a position to implement better the demand to show all aspects of the party's work, the work of allied political parties and the work of PRON on all planes. TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA should play a special role in this work, as should other daily papers, periodicals and radio and television. As we set high requirements for the mass media, we declare our intention to implement consistently journalists' rights, including their better access to information.

Honored Comrades!

In the practice of our work, we have drawn upon the political and socio-organizational store of our fellow communist party and workers party echelons in the cooperating districts of Donieck, Ostrawa, Halle and Miskolec. We are broadening the circle of this traditional cooperation constantly; we are exchanging information and experiences. Our friendship with the Donieck circle is inscribed especially closely into the more extensive catalogue of duties that we are trying to implement in conjunction with the party aktiv and the TPPR [Polish-Soviet Friendship Society] aktiv, with regard to the Soviet people.

Our cooperation with fellow parties, and especially with the CPSU, is not merely a source of ideological inspiration. During the crisis, we received both moral support and tremendous concrete aid. Once again the old principle was confirmed that when one is down and out he finds out who his true friends are.

We were highly indignant at the propaganda campaigns and the economic sanctions of the American administration that were directed against us. The inhabitants of our voivodship also have a special right to protest against the irresponsible statements of members of the FRG government. The representatives of various communities expressed their resentment in the resolutions they passed on this issue. Nor should we fail to express our opinion on this issue that unites all Poles.

/The building of a unified ideological-upbringing front is an urgent task./

Comrades!

Cultural issues hold a special place in the ideological-upbringing work of our party. Cultural and artistic institutions, artistic unions and associations, the union movement, youth and social organizations and plants and cultural centers have special political obligations in aiding professional and amateur creativity and in disseminating cultural values. The Silesian heritage must

be preserved with special care. This is so first because it is authentically proletarian and plebeian and second because the right of our people to this land is confirmed through its Polishness.

The political crisis in our artistic circles was not as severe as in other national centers. The vast majority of artistic people appreciated the fact that in socialist Poland conditions have been created enabling the cultivation and dissemination of artistic production and that we finally have taken seriously the demand for conditions to be created in Slask that favor the development of Polish modern art. The question of the ideal of the social service of art has not been argued here in a significant way. The attitudes of the internal emigration have not become universal among us.

We must view these questions as strategic tasks in our political work. Silesia and Zagłębie continue to be seen in some circles as a cultural wasteland. This is not true. It is an idea that was expressed consciously during a frontal attack upon the party's cultural policy.

The achievements of creative communities refute this idea: the achievements of scholars in the humanities, composers, artists and filmmakers, publishers and cultural journalists.

The activism of the social cultural movement also refutes this idea. On the other hand, it is true that there was a serious crisis in this sphere during the last period. Thus, we must feel responsible for rebuilding and modifying the efforts of plant houses of culture, libraries, clubs, interest circles, amateur production groups and regional associations; we must feel obliged to build new forms of youth cultural activism. There can be no blind spots here; our political and ideological adversaries take over fields that no one claims.

We note with pride the significant growth of interest and activism of the first level echelon in this field of late. We should take advantage of this trend, aiming to transform it into a form of the permanent political direction of cultural processes. The community of working class and student youth requires our special attention.

The harmonious development of the Slask-Zagłębie community is highly contingent upon the efficient operation of the educational system at all of its levels.

We have worked actively to ensure the school optimum conditions for normal, solid work and for the implementation of the socialist upbringing program.

Through our efforts at clarification and sometimes through our administrative-political work as well, we have overcome the crisis signs engendered by antisocialist ideologies. We have aimed to raise the effectiveness of teaching to a higher level and to defend the prestige of this profession that has been shaken either by the irresponsible political commitments of a minority of teachers or by the false notion of the exclusive responsibility of the school for youth attitudes. Thus, one of our most important goals of

party work in this community is the building of a unified upbringing front, in which the home, the school, the youth organization and the plant are partners sharing upbringing tasks.

Vocational schooling must be a subject of special concern for us.

We must give a prompt answer to the question: How are we to train the modern-day worker and technician, how are we to mold his professional and civic knowledge? The harsh reality is that training programs are obsolete.

The crisis years have also confronted us with the question of the effectiveness of school upbringing tasks and the question of the quality of cultural models and norms it either imparts to students or modifies and revises.

From analyzing the situation in our voivodship, we have drawn conclusions for future political activity. We realize the significance of unified action in this area and we are trying to interest all organizations and institutions involved with youth issues in building this action.

At the same time, we are aiming toward bringing party echelons of all levels to treat young people as citizens with equal rights and youth organizations as partners. The young people who belong to the ZHP, the ZSMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth], the ZSP [Polish Student Association] and the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] do not want us to treat them as a special element of society. They have a better and better understanding of their duties and their responsibility for their own fates and the fate of all of society and the fatherland.

Katowice youth organizations have done much to surmount the program and organizational crisis, to create new, integrated centers in cultural, ideological-training, scientific and tourist activity. Their presence is clearly evident in schools and institutions of higher education, in plants and in cities. They cooperate to dispel passivity and they undertake important propaganda-clarificatory campaigns. At the same time, however, they often encounter obstacles of apathy and the failure of the state administration to understand their demands. The fate of cultural centers for the students of Katowice, the unresolved issue of a youth center of working class culture, the lack of understanding of the activities of the new student organization and the unresolved demands in housing construction for young people--these are only a few examples of our indecisive or sham actions taken on behalf of youth.

The culturally creative potential of our voivodship is largely determined by the growing role of science. Society's duty to science and its concern over the development of science incline us to pose a number of questions to the scientific community. They also concern such problems as the effectiveness of scientific studies on the economy, the further development of technology and social policy, the effectiveness of activities molding the moral-political attitudes of the Polish intelligentsia and the responsibility of the scientific community for society's development, its attitudes and its ideals.

The party organizations of our scientific communities still have not answered these questions clearly.

Thus, it is urgent that party organizations in scientific communities use their activities to help bring about the fulfillment and the utilization of all of the rich potential of science in the Katowice voivodship, in order to resolve programs emanating from the needs and expectations of working people, as well as the growing need for industry in our region.

Higher schools perform a basic function of universally disseminating science. The party organizations in operation there have a duty to see that programs of study in higher education contain the necessary elements of civic and humanistic Marxist-Leninist knowledge, in addition to specialized content. A priority issue in the work of institutions of higher learning must be to raise the quality of the education and upbringing of the younger generation in the spirit of socialism.

As higher schools extricate themselves from the internal crisis, they have much to do, since the situation in past years sometimes took shape in a disturbing manner. Centers that were clearly antisocialist and were supported by some of the academic teachers operated at Slask University, Slask Polytechnic and the Medical Academy.

Even after martial law was imposed, in Katowice and Gliwice law and order organs had to deal with attempts to stir up trouble that emanated from academic communities. The demands for democracy and freedom expressed in these communities unfortunately were not verified by the principle of duty.

Today the KW confirms its full support of the positive changes that are taking place in Slask institutions of higher learning. But we stress that they ought to be the result of a growing sense of responsibility of the entire society of scholars and academic students for the quality and suitability of scientific, teaching and upbringing work, for the moral and political climate reigning in regional higher schools and scientific-research centers and for the proper cadre policy. In this area, the activities of higher school evaluative commissions should be judicious and consistent. These commissions have significantly enabled us to rationalize the way of thinking and the behavior of a significant part of the teaching cadre. In the area of overcoming oppositionist attitudes and isolating extremists, party organizations and all party members at higher schools still have much to do.

/The miners once again have given us all an example of a civic attitude./

Comrades!

The weight and significance of the complex phenomena that are taking place in the scientific, educational and cultural community, and above all in the sphere of ideological influence upon society assume the proper proportions only when we view them through the prism of social and economic issues. This idea is confirmed especially in our voivodship. The unusually high concentration of industry (nearly 18 percent of our total production) and the

highly developed extractive industry and industry of the means of production mean that the failure to deal with these realities in party debates makes them purely theoretical and does not bring them into daily practice.

In June 1981, at the voivodship pre-congress conference, we passed a resolution binding all members of our party voivodship organization to work to break down the deep crisis and to assist the government in the creation and implementation of a program for stabilizing the economy. At that time we embarked upon tasks befitting the significance of the Katowice Voivodship on the political, social and economic map of the country. We also specified what had to be done to solve the most pressing social needs of the voivodship. We did not avoid difficult tasks or tasks that had been put off for years.

Coal mining was the first to halt its production decline. The extraction of more than 189 million tons of coal last year created real bases for leading other fields of industry out of the impasse.

It is noteworthy that the end of the declining trend in coal mining was arrived at through the implementation of the majority of our duties included in a social understanding with miners. Council of Ministers Resolution No 199, severely attacked and blocked by Solidarity, performed its task nonetheless. This is borne out by the facts--the stabilization and increase in coal extraction that was achieved despite the hopes of the political opposition and trade competition on worldwide markets. In the final analysis, the successful results in mining were accomplished by people, their tremendous effort and traditional diligence. The miners once again have given us all an example of a civic attitude.

A significant share in the achievement of such positive production results in the mines goes to party organizations whose aktiv and members were able to consolidate their ranks and move on to offensive actions that strengthened the party's role and importance. We have often analyzed and assessed the ideological and organizational work of the KZ's and the OOP's of Katowice Voivodship mines. We have especially noted the party's work in this field, aware that the successful development of mining will continue to determine our country's stability and development. This has been reflected in the tasks we assign to mining. Envisaging the prospective increase in coal extraction, for 1983 we plan at least the production volume that was reached in 1982. We shall supplement mining tasks with more and more emphatic demands for the rational management of coal, the maximum use of resources, an increase in conservation, the restricted of unwarranted losses and the reduction of the consequences of mine accidents.

In doing party work in mining, we must take into account the entire complex of mining issues, especially keeping in mind the working conditions. The tragic accidents we witnessed last year force us to keep in mind that always current truth: nothing that can be done to improve mine safety may be omitted. In addition to the volume of coal extracted, the ultimate criterion for assessing the work of the administration, mine supervision and party organizations is the equal and even priority right to work safety and the proper mining of lodes.

Many myths are associated with work in the mines. We forget how difficult and dangerous the miner's profession is and we envy him his earnings and alleged luxuries. Our task is not only to fight this damaging myth but also to be concerned constantly that the miner's work and the anxiety of miner's families be compensated appropriately materially and socially.

With regard to other fields of the economy, they have not been as successful as mining in achieving such favorable changes and significant results. Since April 1982, however, with each successive month, better economic results were attained in the voivodship than in 1981. This was first due to the contribution of miners, then power industry workers and, since the third quarter of 1982, growth trends have occurred in metallurgy, the chemical industry and light industry. All this took place in spite of a general lack of foreign-exchange funds, a great dependence upon imports and the economic sanctions of Western states. A high growth rate in production was achieved in small-scale industry and work cooperatives, which is of major importance in the stabilization of the still difficult market situation. Relatively good results were attained in Slask agriculture, which meets more and more of the food needs of voivodship residents. The most unfavorable situation thus far exists in the housing construction industry and in construction in the social and technical infrastructure, causing many social problems.

If we look at the gross production figures, voivodship industry implemented its 1982 tasks at a level that was 4 percent higher than the previous year's level, while labor productivity increased by an average of 6 percent. The January 1983 results confirm the maintenance of positive trends. It must be kept in mind, however, that achieving pre-crisis production levels will require still more effort, consistency and patience.

Party organizations must participate in the tremendous amount of work needed to take the economy out of the crisis. KZ's must take up production issues in a creative manner. Alongside human issues, ideological affairs and organizational matters, they must keep these in the forefront of their work. Issues of production, quality and costs generation and the organizational efficiency of enterprises must be close to every party member.

/Reform is not a one-time campaign but a long-term socioeconomic process./

The active, creative approach to production problems is nothing more than the creation of the proper conditions for implementing economic reform. It is a reform that, according to party strategy, is to lead to harmony in our economic development and a situation in which industry will meet the needs of society properly and according to our country's potential.

The process of implementing the reform confronts us, party members and organizations, with completely new kinds of tasks. Mere observation and accounting of the results that have been attained are no longer sufficient. The party's leading role in the economy is expressed not in verbal categories, but in practical ways, in specific suggestions and proposals for improving management. The reform should be modified subsequently to enable its implementation in an exceptionally unfavorable economic situation to take place with as little conflict and as much efficiency as possible, not creating additional social tensions.

We must provide a basis for the conviction that the reform is not a one-time campaign, but a long-term socioeconomic process, requiring deep changes in all fields and the careful observation of the results of the systemic changes that are introduced. We must support everything that helps us to attain our goal. Whatever hampers or does not fulfill our expectations must be revised or rejected.

The experiences we have amassed during the first period of the implementation of the economic reform are varied. Collective bodies of some plants are taking a series of initiatives to overcome current difficulties. They are attaining such positive results as the use of cost effectiveness on a broader scale, the improved utilization of raw materials and increased interest in export and anti-import production. There are also those plants, however, that are not performing their tasks, faulting the difficulties created by the economic reform itself.

There are undoubtedly several reasons for this. One thing is certain--effort and honest work, initiative and the skill to make use of autonomy and care and imagination in decisionmaking determine results. The human being, the attitude of workforces and the leadership cadre and the effectiveness of the inspirational work of party organizations determine results. The circle of those committed to the process of implementing economic reform is still too small, and the understanding of principles and mechanisms is incomplete. Thus, we must improve forms of cooperation with supervisors and actively incorporate CC guidelines for work with the foreman cadre into plant work. Foremen, subforemen and managers have the greatest impact upon the attitudes of workforces and upon their activism. How employee workforces accept reform principles depends largely upon them.

Last year there was a great emotional uproar over the numerous cases of the abuse of producers' rights to set product prices. In many instances, the reviews done by party teams for the analysis of price and costs affairs confirmed society's criticism and revealed that in a number of enterprises, excessive profits were attained through price increases. Such phenomena must be counteracted firmly by party organizations. We have the right to demand an understanding of the social objectives of production from management cadres. All party members, in the well-founded interest of society, should support activities to reduce cost generation, and prices in turn.

The broad consultation and discussion of the topic of the reform conducted in our voivodship last year showed that not all detailed solutions passed the test. Many recommendations and proposals for change were announced. Most of these were taken into consideration and were included in the systemic modifications introduced into the reform that are binding this year.

In spite of these revisions, we still believe that not all basic problems have been resolved fully. For example, mills and metallurgical enterprises are still not in a position to be independent in making the necessary modernizations of obsolete departments and plants, due to the currently binding reform regulations. Similar situations exist in others branches of

the economy. Meanwhile, the need to modernize obsolete industrial plants in our region is reaching the proportions of a social and ecological problem.

In undertaking and assessing economic initiatives, we must take into account the conditions in which we find ourselves and not cause the already difficult market situation to worsen. That is why we cannot reconcile ourselves to the fact that as a result of the misconceived idea of wage autonomy in plants at the end of last year, wages rose considerably faster than production and labor productivity. As a result, the money-market situation worsened. There is an urgent need for us to analyze this phenomenon and the appropriate revisions of reform systemic solutions, as well as our party assessment of management cadres. In their work upon plant incentives systems, party organizations and self-governments must be more resolute in their application of the principle of good pay for good work. We must explain that only an increase in production, an improvement in productivity and better management can be the basis for increased wages.

That is why we have supported all efforts aimed at using the existing reserves still embedded in the economy in order to increase production, especially market and export production. We shall continue to support such efforts. Party members and organizations should inspire plants to work on free Saturdays--according to the principles of full voluntarism and the proper pay--if they have the raw and other materials and manufacture for the market, for agriculture or for export.

Many detailed recommendations concerning the work of party members and party organizations in industry can still be made as we assign their tasks. But at a voivodship conference it is not possible to outline separate, detailed solutions for every party element. Our task is to create conditions for increasing the effectiveness of action of all party elements, without exception, in the name of economy, broadly understood.

/An improvement in the living standard was and is one of the basic party goals./

Comrades!

The many years of disproportions that have existed in the implementation of industrial investments and the technical and social infrastructure, given the great concentration of industry in our voivodship define the scale of the problems that face the authorities and inhabitants of our voivodship. The obsolescence of many industrial plants, the pollution of the natural environment to a degree that exceeds allowable norms many times, the consequences of mine disasters, the shortage of drinking water, the shortage of housing and land for housing construction and inefficient transportation are our basic problems. These, along with the failure to make additional investments in the sphere of the social infrastructure and the great population density create very difficult living and working conditions. Thus it was not without reason that one of the problems that aroused a great deal of emotion at the last Voivodship Elections Conference was the entire picture of natural environmental protection issues in Slask and Zagłębie, and especially the problem of protecting the living conditions of the people. Obviously it was not envisaged that this complex and complicated problem that has developed over the years will be resolved overnight.

Realizing the entire complexity of the situations and conditions emanating from the economic crisis, we have undertaken concrete actions. An improvement in the living standard of voivodship residents was and is one of our basic party goals. As we make our current assessment of our accomplishments in this field, we must take into account both the relatively short time period and the potential of the economy. In conjunction with the Voivodship Office, we have prepared a series of analyses and documents that serve as a basis for a special Council of Ministers Resolution No 132 that creates conditions for activities leading toward the improvement of the natural environment.

We have obtained a decision to begin implementing a water supply system from the DZIECKOWICE water intake, as well as a series of heating facilities. Work continues on the modernization of the transportation, roads and rail system. Social consultation is being conducted on the idea of a cross-town line, so necessary for the voivodship.

Given the financial and executory possibilities, the voivodship socioeconomic plan of development through 1985 includes tasks related to the improvement of the living standard of residents. Our party duty is to create conditions enabling the implementation of these tasks promptly and consistently. There can be no unjustified delays or shirking of duties here.

In the current difficult situation, our party efforts have focused on a broadly understood social policy for resolving the social problems of residents in the spheres of health and social care and supply. An analysis of our potential shows that we cannot improve radically the health care situation. However, we can have a perceptible impact upon the health situation of children, school-age youth and women. There is much to be done in plants in this area. The decision on concentrating efforts toward building health service facilities is already yielding its first results. Many initiatives have been announced, for example, the motion made at a conference in Ruda Slaska to build a diagnostic-treatment center modeled after the Child Health Center and, with the help of the Child Social Health Fund, to build a child rehabilitation sanatorium in the 1980's.

Much social dissatisfaction and criticism is evoked by the work of trade, supply and the services spheres, broadly understood. Reform mechanisms are still not fully operative in these areas. We believe that party organizations and party members in trade and services must be more active, bolder in reaching out for new solutions and make more constructive use of the remarks and suggestions of society; they must also be consistent in settling accounts with those responsible for deficiencies and incompetence.

Numerous discussions, statements and letters have shown the need for party activities to strengthen the principles of socialist social justice, discipline, law, order and safety. Voivodship residents appreciate the efforts made in this field, even though they are sometimes critical of the work of the organs of justice and public order. The reduction in the increase of political crime may not make us complacent. Although our adversary is thwarted, he is still not overcome and will undertake actions aimed at

undermining the system, the state and the party. That is why the tasks we assign to prosecuting organs are no less difficult than they were before. We must continue to pool our efforts to give battle resolutely to ideological diversion and slanderous enemy propaganda; we must oppose all attempts to act made by the enemies of socialism.

In spite of the significant commitment of the forces and means of the organs of prosecution, control and the administration of justice in the battle against the manifestations of social pathology, the results are not meeting our expectations. We still must struggle against bribetaking, speculation, the acquisition of wealth without working for it, earnings that exceed one's work, parasitism, the elimination of the bureaucratic style of action and, even worse, of unapproachability.

We assign organs of state control and taxation organs the task of battling more effectively cases of the excessive accumulation of wealth by some people and cases of earnings that exceed their work input. Often this comes from their taking advantage of gaps in regulations, the shortcomings of the taxation system and the lack of instructions.

Many citizens, party members and independents write to us about social justice. We also receive much information from people during meetings organized in a broad area. Correspondence, complaints and grievances are an important source of our information on social problems and attitudes, and also an important element of the party's ties with society.

The need continues for party members to approach citizens actively, to react promptly to irregularities and to help resolve everyday problems. This duty falls upon party members working in leadership positions, in the state administration, in union, social and youth organizations and in people's councils. Making use of our own experiences, we are introducing the meeting of the KW and Voivodship Office leadership with plant workforces as a permanent form of activity.

/Without the participation of unionists and self-governments, the further democratization of life would be incomplete./

In the implementation of a broadly understood social policy, the new trade unions and self-governing organizations will play a vital role. Without the participation of unionists and without the participation of plant and territorial self-governments, it will be difficult for us to solve many basic problems, social and human issues and issues of the protection of the interests of the worker and his safety.

Trade unions are necessary for working people. Without their participation, the further democratization of life would be incomplete. Our party depends on the good work of trade unions, on their class character. They are a natural ally of party organizations in the battle against negative phenomena in our life. So that unions take the proper shape, however, the party must give the initiators of this movement its help. Most of our party organizations have done and are doing this well. But this problem must be given more extensive treatment.

In some plants, particularly smaller ones, the union movement is not being supported properly by the party. The rank-and-file members of class trade unions are awaiting party members who are experienced in social work. Continued passivity serves no purpose and is not compatible with the party line. All PZPR members must be made aware of this.

Party organizations likewise must lay out a path for the activation of self-governing in a resolute manner. Prolonging organizational formalities and preparing for elections in a dilatory, irresolute manner are forms of action for which those that fear self-governments are to blame.

The KW places before party echelons and organizations the task of increasing political agitation to set self-governments in motion rapidly. We are convinced that the organizations and members of our fellow allied parties--the ZSL and the SD--will give us their support. We are hoping especially that the building of union and self-governing structures in rural areas will unite PZPR and ZSL rural organizations in action. We already have examples of such joint action; it appears that they will have the desired effect. This is the path toward strengthening the worker-peasant alliance on the basis of new principles of partnership.

Just as we are devoting much attention to issues of rebuilding the union and self-government movement, we must also make better use of the existing structures of representatives organs. A great political battle awaits us in the near future--the Sejm and people's council elections. Work on the draft law on people's councils continues. This law will certainly create new possibilities of action. Before this happens, however, our party duty is to strengthen the effectiveness of the work of people's councils by activating party advisory groups. The need of the moment in this area is to cooperate with PRON elements and union and self-governing organizations in plants. The reason for this is to resolve the social problems of workforces better and more effectively and to improve the living standard of voivodship residents.

/A party recommendation is the singling out of an individual but the collective responsibility for individual views./

Honored Comrades!

The difficult period of our political work whose results we are assessing today has demonstrated once again that people above all determine results.

Past blunders in party work with cadres led some of the management cadre in our voivodship as well to draw away from the party. These errors must be rectified. We must settle accounts with those who stood opposed and give a helping hand and our support to those who guarantee the implementation of our policy for the future.

We attach much importance in our party activity to cadre policy and to work with cadres. We have undertaken a series of measures to overcome neglect in practice and to correct errors in cadre policy. The abandonment of the ill-conceived nomenclature practice does not mean that the party does not intend to influence cadre decisions.

The requirements of the law on the enterprise and the self-government and the regulations of cooperative law place before party echelons and organizations the need to prepare and implement effectively new principles of cadre policy.

The most important task is for all echelons conducting cadre policy and responsible for it to ensure the constant, systematic influx of young, able and ambitious people as candidates for leadership positions from among party members, the members of allied parties and independents. The granting of a party recommendation should mean the selection of the best candidate. Every cadre change should be a well-considered, prepared step.

A party recommendation is, on the one hand, the singling out of an individual and, on the other, the collective responsibility for individual views. We shall conduct our cadre policy in order to recommend the best experts for leadership positions in the state and economic administration, people with wide intellectual horizons and the best qualifications. At the same time, these should be people who, in implementing party policy, will serve the working class and defend its interests and when necessary, will stand firmly in defense of the Ninth Congress line.

Comrades!

Today's Reports Conference was preceded by meetings with delegates; reports materials were also distributed to delegates in advance.

In the KW report, we have presented only some of our plans for the second part of the term, those plans that, in our opinion, require special attention this year. Undoubtedly, they will be enriched with critical and constructive discussion. This discussion likewise will engender new plans that should be undertaken in the opinion of delegates in order to make our political work as effective as possible.

In concluding this report, I express in the name of the KW sincere thanks to all members of our voivodship party organization for supporting us in our work, and especially for their personal involvement in defending the resolutions of our Ninth Party Congress and in implementing them.

I thank the CC leadership for their assistance during difficult moments of work and struggle.

I thank CC members from our area from the joint political-organizational work they conducted with us.

I sincerely thank those who, in a most difficult period for us, rose to the party's call to defend the achievements of socialism--soldiers of the Polish People's Army, officials of the militia and the Security Service and our own tried and tested party aktiv.

I thank the working people of Slask and Zaglenie, whose honest work has bolstered the efforts of our party organization and who have come out firmly in favor of our country's socialist future.

Protest Against Boundary Revisions

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 22 Feb 83 p 1

[Text of a resolution of the PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference in Katowice, 21 February 1983]

[Text] We, participants in the PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference in Katowice, the daughters and sons of the Slask Uprisings, of participants in struggles for freedom and democracy, unanimously protest the attempts to revise our boundaries on the Odra and the Nysa Luzycka.

We bought these borders with our blood and work. This land is our heritage and we will never abandon our rights to possess it.

Let the voice of our protest against the revisionist and retaliatory demands of minister Friedrich Zimmermann, against the attempts to arouse hatred and enmity, be at the same time a call for peace, for friendship and for justice, which are so near and dear to us Poles.

The lands on which we live have burned in wartime conflagrations. It was not we who set our homes on fire; it was not we who destroyed cultural values. Mr Czaja and Mr Hupka, who are teaching hatred anew at compatriotic congresses, should keep this in mind.

We are not alone--we are strong in our socialist friendship. We shall win our battle, for historical rightness is on our side.

From Katowice, the capital of Gorny Slask, to the West German revisionist, we send an emphatic--NO!

PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference

Katowice, 21 February 1983

Conference Resolution

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 23 Feb 83 pp 1, 2, 3

[Resolution of the PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference in Katowice, dated 21 February 1983]

[Text] The conference expresses its thanks to the working people of the Katowice Voivodship, and especially to all miners and all who understand that good, productive work lays the foundation of our emergence from the crisis.

A Resolution of the Voivodship Reports Conference of the PZPR in Katowice

The Voivodship Reports Conference, in assessing the road traveled since June 1981, states that the period that has passed was a special stage for the

Katowice voivodship party organization on the road of the party's rebirth that was initiated by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. It was a stage of the strengthening of the organization's ideological identity and of its political and organizational cohesiveness and of the regaining of society's confidence in it and its impact on society.

The conference finds that the materials submitted to delegates represent fully the scope of party work undertaken since the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress by the KW, local echelons and party organizations in all spheres of political and socioeconomic life. These activities complied fully with the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress and the provisions of the subsequent plenary meetings of the CC. The voivodship party organization made proper use of the new political conditions arising in conjunction with the imposition of martial law, which was indispensable for checking the wave of anarchy, the destruction of state structures and the progressing counterrevolution. As a result of the activities and the efforts that were undertaken by the party, the indispensable minimum of political and socioeconomic stability was attained in the voivodship.

The conference expresses its thanks to the soldiers of the People's Polish Army, MO [Citizen's Militia] and SB [Security Service] officials, the committed party aktiv and all who rose to the party's call in defense of our socialist fatherland.

The reports campaign showed that most party organizations have strengthened considerably and that today they are implementing their statutory duties more and more fully.

During the difficult period for the party, the workers party aktiv, which continues to be the nucleus of the voivodship party organization, was put to the greatest test and was most helpful to the party. The reports campaign showed that the vast majority of the new party aktiv, before whom the last election laid the responsible tasks of performing specific party functions, was verified in party action. The activism of members of the authorities and of issues commissions increased.

The WKR and WKKP performed a special role in the process of the party's rebirth in guarding over the observance of statutory norms in party life and in performing inspirational-control functions with regard to party echelons and organizations.

In ideological work, in the formation of the attitudes of party members and in their impact upon society, we have made use of the general party discussion over the declaration "What we are fighting for, where we are aiming," celebrations of the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers movement and materials from the First National Ideological Conference.

In spite of party activities undertaken in the scientific, educational and cultural communities, we have not been able to eliminate in full the anti-socialist influences that took root there during the previous period, to which some of the teaching cadre, young people and the producers of culture yielded.

The conference expresses its recognition and full support to those who have undertaken work in OKON and then in PRON, in the self-governing, independent trade unions that are now being created and in employee and rural self-governments, recognizing that their social commitment is bringing about the great process of the rebirth of our socialist fatherland and the hastening of our emergence from the crisis.

During the reports period, the cooperation of our party organization with the ZSL and SD allied political parties to resolve the most important socioeconomic problems of the voivodship was strengthened.

The conference asserts that, in implementing the resolutions of the 17th Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference, in spite of the deep economic crisis, the party has inspired actions aimed at resolving a number of problems in order to improve the living standard of voivodship society--problems that have grown up over the years. During the reports period, the voivodship party organization made many efforts and attempts to halt negative trends of declining production. Most plant workforces supported these actions in practice.

The conference expresses its thanks to the working people of the Katowice Voivodship, and especially to all miners and all who understand that good, productive work lays the foundation of our emergence from the crisis.

The conference recognizes as still binding the tasks in party work contained in the operating schedules for the implementation of the subsequent resolutions passed at CC plenary meetings.

On the basis of an assessment of the voivodship party organization membership concerning the needs of party work to resolve the socioeconomic problems of the voivodship, on the basis of recommendations made during the reports campaign and during meetings with delegates, or expressed during the course of conference deliberations--it is recognized that during the second half of the term, party echelons and organizations should focus on the following problems in their work:

I. In Intraparty Issues

1. Continue activities aimed at the further consolidation of the voivodship party organization and at strengthening ideological, political and organizational unity.

Recognizing the unchanging priority significance given to the process of party consolidation among the working class, at the same time we must turn our attention to the course of this process within the communities of the intelligentsia and youth, as well as in the rural community.

2. Expand the party aktiv to include new comrades who are willing to do social work. Make broader use in current party work of delegates to conferences at all level, members of the party authorities and members of issues commissions and groups.

3. Put into practice consistently the statutory principles of intraparty democracy, ensure the freedom of discussion and criticism.

Improve the forms and methods of acting upon recommendations and demands and complaints and grievances in accordance with the Ninth PZPR CC Plenum Resolution and the PZPR KW Plenum Resolution from February of this year.

4. Implement consistently the PZPR CC Ninth Plenum Resolution and the KW Plenum Resolution from January 1983, concerning party work among youth. To treat young people as the subject of party work, to give approval of their initiatives and achievements, to create for young people the possibilities of the broadest share possible in all forms of socialist democracy and to strengthen intergenerational ties--this is one of the major tasks for party echelons and organizations.

5. Put into practice the principle that the party's leadership role in representative and self-governing organs should be performed by the impact made by party members who perform elective functions in these organs.

6. Expand and improve PZPR--ZSL--SD forms of interparty cooperation, treating them as a basic requirement of political success in influencing society.

7. Expand the social base of the party's influence, improve the forms of influence of party organizations in plants and in the community.

8. Undertake at all levels of party work the problems of improving the effectiveness of control over the implementation of party resolutions.

9. Implement consistently the new principles of party cadre policy. Be concerned that the proper status be given to the party recommendation.

10. Give the indispensable assistance to new trade union elements arising in plants and institutions, as well as in the rural community--in accordance with the Tenth CC Plenum position. Undertake party initiatives for the rebuilding of self-governments in plants as quickly as possible, as well as for the prompt restoration of the proper standing of territorial self-governments.

11. Continue to improve the flow of information from party authorities to party members and the reverse, from basic party elements to superior echelons. We must improve the system of utilization of the information we possess at all levels of party work.

II. In Ideological Work

1. In utilizing in party work the "Major Directions of Ideological Work in 1983" adopted by the PZPR KW Executive Board, which are the guidelines of party ideological work given our voivodship conditions, we must undertake tasks ensuring the integration of party members more fully in particular organizations.

2. Recognize as one of the basic tasks the issue of restoring the proper role of ideological training. Conduct a full analysis of the training possessed by the social aktiv, integrate into one system all ideological-training work in party echelons and organizations.

We must broaden the scope of control of programming and rebuilding and the organizational operation of the system of ideological-political training in the voivodship.

3. Party echelons and organizations should intensify party work in the milieus of mass social organizations and should help activists to perform their party duties in these organizations.

4. In order to realize fully the idea of national understanding, we must broaden the scope of the social commitment of party members in their milieus. The fullest expression of support for PRON ought to be the personal active part of party members in the elements of this movement.

In order to expand the PRON social base in the voivodship, it is indispensable that we expand political work among youth, women and in rural areas.

5. The mass media, through the honest dissemination of information and the commitment of journalists should support the party's policy and work to a greater extent than it has thus far and should make known the initiatives of the voivodship party organization.

Party echelons and organizations should work together to create conditions for journalists to have access to sources of information.

III. In Party Work in the Cultural, Scientific and Educational Community

1. We must improve our activities aimed at activating the creative and artistic communities of the voivodship. With the party's inspiration, we should prepare and implement voivodship and local programs of cultural development, giving special consideration to activities directed toward the worker, rural and youth communities.

2. The task for all party echelons and organizations, organs of the state administration and plants is to give as much patronage as possible to all centers of the dissemination of culture and of the social cultural movement. An important task is ideological-upbringing work in culture-creating communities and the inspiration of party organizations that associate people of culture and art to support actively and to implement the party's cultural policy.

3. Party organizations in higher schools and scientific-research institutions should become involved more actively and more consistently in the self-governing system in these elements, they should broaden their upbringing influence among the community of student youth and impact to raise the quality of the teaching process in higher education.

4. The full implementation of the provisions of the KW Plenum from October 1982 should serve the improvement of the party's influence and impact upon the processes occurring in the educational and upbringing community, and especially its upbringing impact upon youth and work with the teaching cadre.

IV. Party Work to Improve Further the Living Standard of Voivodship Society

1. On the basis of a resolution concerning protection of the natural environment passed at the previous conference and governmental decisions passed in this area, we must increase party control over the implementation of a long-term program of protection of the natural environment in the voivodship.

2. Give full support to the administrative authorities of the voivodship in their actions taken to check negative phenomena in housing construction and in the construction of health service and educational facilities and facilities of the social infrastructure, broadly understood.

To give support through party action to the implementation of tasks of special importance to the voivodship concerning water and heating supply and the solution of transportation problems.

3. Continue actions ensuring the improvement of the health and social care situation in the voivodship, with special consideration given to plant workforces and children and youth.

To inspire the development of social care, broadly understood, including in its scope people in their postproductive years who require special care.

4. Inspire trade organizations and local administrations to improve constantly the internal market supply system of the voivodship. Organize a system of control of market operation with the participation of trade unions and the workers of plants to battle all forms of dishonesty and speculation.

5. Strengthen in party work all actions aimed at the further stabilization of voivodship sociopolitical life. Support actions strengthening peace, law and public safety, ensuring the adherence to law and order and to the socialist norms of social life and ensuring the battling of social pathology in its various forms.

V. On Economic Issues

1. We must improve party work associated with the implementation of economic reform and its new improved solutions. We must seek new methods of popularizing reform principles and its anticipated results, involve broader and broader socioprofessional circles in the implementation of reform and create conditions for its understanding and social acceptance. Party organizations should observe closely the social effects of the implementation of the reform and suggest necessary changes, inspire the implementation of the proper incentives systems and tie them in closely with an increase in labor productivity, with the rationalization of employment, and they should counteract effectively cost increases, inflationary tendencies and the worsening of the money-market situation.

2. Party echelons and organizations should create conditions for the preparation and implementation of the assumptions of socioeconomic plans for 1983 through 1985. Party activities in this area should focus on:

- the further strengthening of the trend toward an increase in industrial production,
- the improvement of efficiency, the conservation of raw and other materials, quality improvement and cost reduction,
- close control over price levels,
- the improvement of work discipline, the rational utilization of work time and the ensuring of the proper bhp [industrial safety and hygiene] conditions.

3. A basic guidelines of party and economic work in mining and the power industry is the Tenth CC Plenum Resolution on "The Issue of Fuels-Energy Management." Party organizations and the administration, in implementing this resolution, should, in particular:

- conduct further work on the rationalization of the management of lodes, on the more effective use of coal in the economy, its chemical processing and improved quality,
- ensure mining the indispensable material-technical means, be concerned over the constant improvement of the living conditions of miners and the safety of their work.

4. Appreciating the significance of metallurgical products for the entire national economy, the party should create conditions for outlining the prospects of Slask-Zaglebie metallurgy in terms of its technical reconstruction.

5. The KW, local echelons and party organizations should give special help to the entire complex of cooperatives and small-scale industry and services.

The party should work to inspire the broadening of production assortments, to raise quality and to increase the meeting of the market needs of the voivodship.

6. In the area of agriculture and the food economy, we must strengthen the principles of farm policy tested in the voivodship. In accordance with the resolution of the 11th joint plenum of the PZPR CC and the ZSL NK [Supreme Committee], we must create sociopolitical conditions ensuring that farm policy in the voivodship is more and more effective in terms of production. We must create conditions for and control the implementation of the problems of land reclamation and recultivation that are basic to Katowice agriculture, set in order land management and its rational use and supply rural areas with water. We must also undertake consistently the issues of the development and modernization of agricultural-food processing and storage noted in the resolution of the previous conference.

7. The conference binds the Resolutions and Motions Commission to prepare the detailed recommendations made during the plenary discussion and in issues groups and to submit them for confirmation to the next KW plenary meeting.

These recommendations will become an integral part of the resolution. At the same time, the conference obliges the PZPR KW to examine thoroughly the detailed recommendations and to take into consideration the issues therein contained in its work.

Voivodship Reports Conference

Katowice, 21 February 1983

Executive on Improving Living Conditions

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 25 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] The current state of readiness for the implementation of the provisions of the Council of Ministers [CM] Economic Committee provisions dated 8 May 1982, concerning the creation of basic conditions for the functioning and further development of the voivodship was the subject of yesterday's [24 February 1983] deliberations of the PZPR KW Executive Board in Katowice.

The provisions of the CM Economic Committee and the CM resolution dated 24 June 1982 aim at preparing the implementing systemic solutions. Thus, their execution is of a long-range nature, requiring multistage and multidirectional actions in our specific situation of economic difficulties.

A series of issues hampering the resolution of voivodship problems has been resolved, for example, last year, the implementation of previously halted infrastructure investments was resumed, subsidies were obtained from the central budget to finance suspended investments in the environmental protection area and a program discussing the potential and conditions for the distribution of housing construction in the voivodship for 1983-1985 and 1986-1990 was prepared.

In the 6 months that have passed since the issuance of the CM Economic Committee provisions and the CM resolution, a series of actions putting into practice the basic provisions of these documents has been undertaken. In the area of investment decisions, these actions include the Dzieckowice group waterworks, a crosstown highway and regional rail traffic. In the area of program efforts, work has been done on a long-range program of environmental protection, including the principles of its financing and implementation and a program for completing unfulfilled tasks in repairing mine disasters.

Work is being done on updating a prospective plan of voivodship territorial management. Many efforts have also been undertaken to implement other basic decisions contained in government documents.

The state of preparatory work done thus far for the implementation of investment decisions has been given positive marks. Experiences related to the preparation of a program of environmental protection and development

show that this will be the most difficult problem to solve since the mining and power industry ministry and the metallurgical and machine industry ministry are inclined thus far to limit only some of the destructive effects of the work of their enterprises on the environment, but they do not intend to call for the immediate, effective elimination of the causes of environmental pollution.

The Executive Board heard a report on the subject of the state of readiness to implement the government documents and, following clarification, supported the actions and recommendations of the Katowice Voivodship governor concerning making an accounting of all industrial investments in the voivodship from the viewpoint of observance of localizing-coordinating regulations, particularly with regard to environmental protection requirements.

The Executive Board heard a report on the problems of market supply in 1983 for food and manufactured items.

The board was also informed of a program of tasks of the voivodship party organization and the organs of the state administration in the area of activating youth culturally and a report on the development of the lumber and paper industry in the Katowice Voivodship in light of the economic reform.

The Executive Board deliberations were led by CC Politburo member, first secretary of the PZPR KW in Katowice, Comrade Zbigniew Messner. PZPR CC Politburo member, miner from the SIEMIANOWICE mine, Comrade Jerzy Romanik was also present at the deliberations.

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POLAND

RADOM PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

1st Secretary Bogdan Prus Commentaries

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 18 Feb 83 pp 1,3

[Article by Bogdan Prus, first secretary, Radom Province PZPR Committee: "Exploit the Opportunity for Political Influence"]

[Text] The meaning of the phrases "party leadership," "party inspiration," "party action" is understood by many, especially by PZPR members. But it is also true that nowadays these phrases have a different significance. Even activists nowadays are learning the meaning of "party action." And this process will still last for a long time.

I have been working in the party apparatus at various levels for 11 years. This is a sufficient period to gain the necessary experience, but at the same time it is too short to associate it with getting into a rut, so to speak. But the period since 1975 has been exceptional, both for observation and for conclusions.

I often hark back in my thoughts to 15-16 June 1981--to the 4th Province Conference. I remember well its course and atmosphere. Voices were raised from the tribune stressing boldness, sincerity, the need for action, but not infrequently the comments were purely declarative, sometimes degenerating into phrase-making. It was then, in this very auditorium, that it became apparent that something was wrong, that the party was not concerned with this kind of renewal. The feeling was that an exceptionally difficult period was coming, and many delegates did not conceal it. I thus pondered how would the newly elected authorities of the Province Committee work under such conditions. My feelings were mixed. I admit that when I was nominated to the post of first secretary of the Province Committee I did not know how to react at first. Of course, I was not afraid of the responsibility but I was apprehensive as to whether I could cope.

The reports campaign at the time had coincided with the coming 9th Party Congress. One day after the province conference we drafted a detailed schedule of final preparations for that supreme party forum. In all our actions we followed the idea that we are capable of eliminating with our own resources all the evils besetting the socio-political life of the province and the country. This goal was served by the numerous meetings between delegates to the 9th Congress and the Province Committee Executive Board and the work forces of labor establishments and representatives of various communities, as well as by the

meetings of party organizations. With such thoughts and such a resolution did the Radom delegation, of which I was a member, travel to the congress.

The congress, as generally anticipated, became an exceptionally significant event given the situation at the time. The party presented an exposition of all that we had been dealing with as well as of the imperatives for future action. It is worth noting that the Radom delegation made a very active contribution to the congress. We took part in all the commissions. It was also gratifying that many of our recommendations were considered in the resolution and other congress documents.

Immediately after the congress we started to implement the plan for the socialist renewal. And again we discussed this with PZPR members and non-party members at open meetings of the POPs [basic party organizations], plenary sessions of local party echelons, and meetings with plant workers. At the time, the actions of the opposition against the radical and bold solutions adopted at the congress had become still more explicit. Increasingly often we noted isolated and later already frontal attacks against the party.

There is no longer any reason to doubt that Radom was to play a special role in the plans of the Solidarity extremists. It was not accidental that Radom was designated as the site of the all-Polish congress of political prisoners under the auspices of the Confederation for Independent Poland [KPN]. The strike at the Higher School of Engineering [WSI] was deliberately publicized to make it sound like a nationwide protest of the academic community. It was Radom, finally, that had been the site of the session of the Presidium of Solidarity's National Commission and the famous meeting in the auditorium of the RADOSKOR at which Lech Walesa placed the "cards on the table."

The site of attack was prepared very meticulously. This was also assisted by the earlier meeting of Solidarity leaders with the inhabitants of Radom at the Bron Stadium. That public meeting was held precisely on the day when the Province [Party] Committee held an important plenary session.

The intentions of the opponents of the system--of course not just those from Radom alone--were frustrated on 13 December 1981. The martial law put an end to the impunity with which the extremist groups intending to overthrow the legal authorities had been breaking the law. Radom and the province became a tranquil area ever since that memorable date.

I still often hear the question: "whence such a change?" There is an answer to it and it must be stated. First of all, it turned out that here, too, as in most of the nation's centers, the public was fed up with the chaos and the work forces wanted to attend to work. A no less essential factor appears to be the fact that the new members of the Province Committee included many extremely sensible and courageous comrades to whom it mattered that the party should rapidly regain its authority and ability for effective action. It is precisely they--I think here also of many other people carrying party cards--who started to create a new climate of agreement and initiated a sincere dialogue with society.

Other actions too had to pay off: in that exceptionally difficult period we resolved to be among the people as much as possible. Hence the circuit sessions

of the Secretariate and Executive Board of the Province Committee held in labor establishments, cities and gminas. At those sessions, jointly with comrades from factories and enterprises and the economic, educational and cultural activists we discussed current affairs and problems and decided on what should be done and how. As early as on 8 January 1982 the Province Committee held a plenary session to assess the situation and take concrete decisions for action under the new conditions.

All this taken together produced the intended effect: in March the province's industry achieved better results than in a like month of 1981. We became one of the first provinces to begin rapidly normalizing its economy. The Province Committee Secretariate, Executive Board and I personally have already repeatedly expressed our thanks for this attitude of the work forces. I am now expressing my thanks for it once more on sharing certain observations prior to the PZPR reports conference, in my capacity as director of the work of the province party organization.

It is good when someone can serve with advice and assistance in difficult moments. At the 9th Congress workers, too, had been elected to the Political Bureau. They include Zofia Grzyb, brigade leader at the RADOSKOR Leather Industry Plant, which is undoubtedly to be regarded as a signal distinction both for her personally and for the party organization at the RADOSKOR and hence also in the city and province. The duties which she accepted obligated her primarily, as the representative of a work force of many thousands, to present at the forum of the Politburo the problems and moods of the working people. She also was to provide regular information on the work of the basic party cells and local party echelons. From the vantage point of time, the justice of that decision can be better assessed. Comrade Zofia Grzyb has taken part in nearly all the deliberations of the plenum and executive board of the Province Committee as well as, not infrequently, of the city, city-gmina and plant party echelons, thoroughly noting all opinions and comments and sharing her observations. The province party echelon has in her person not only a representative in the party's top leadership but also a devoted assistant.

Such also should be the attitude toward all those party members who were entrusted at the 9th Congress with functions within central party authorities. This also is a proof that we picked activist comrades.

As known, once the martial law had been declared a special role fell to the lot of representatives of the Committee for National Defense [KOK] and military commissioners. Brig Gen Marian Ryba was assigned to the Radom Province. We found in him a good advisor and a comrade who is exceptionally committed to solving all the most difficult problems of our region. During visits to plants and direct conversations many inhabitants of our province got to know him. He also acted as the initiator of comprehensive gmina inspections. At first not everyone was convinced in the rightness of actions of this kind, conducted in the military manner, but following the inspection in Jastrzebia, all doubts practically ceased to exist. Such inspections continue and they are of good service to bringing into order the activities of the basic administrative units which, unfortunately, are not without flaws.

In the first few days following the declaration of the martial law the post of the province governor was occupied by Col Alojzy Wojciechowski. He familiarized himself very rapidly with the complex whole of the most important problems and, displaying military energy and consistency, commenced to implement common tasks. I am hardly alone in stating that the province administration is performing with increasing efficiency owing to, among other things, many personnel changes. The consistent improvements in customer services and the attention paid to the proposals and claims of the population are winning increasing recognition. I stress this while at the same time being perfectly aware of all the shortcomings still besetting the performance of government offices and which have yet to be eliminated.

The economic performance of the Radom Province in 1982 has been favorable. The performance in January 1983 also has been positive, and many signs indicate that it will not be otherwise in February. Certain negative phenomena are readily noted, however. The economic reform has supposedly reached the enterprises but at the so-called lower levels, directly at the workstation and in the shop, people are definitely still insufficiently familiar with this topic. Besides, it remains unknown not only at the lower levels. How can the reform be accepted while at the same time closing eyes to the fact that only 20 plants in this province maintain the correct ratios among employment, labor productivity, output level and wages? It is unacceptable that--even when all the objective factors are taken into account--the list of debtors enterprises operating at a loss last year was led by GERLACH, a typical consumer goods plant.

Many factories have had considerable problems in securing the needed materials. This applies especially to enterprises using imported raw materials. But many of these difficulties could be surmounted by using substitutes. Good examples to this effect are provided by the General Walter Metals Plant and the PRONIT Chemical Industry Plant. The related possibilities are tremendous. We ascertained this also at a recent session of the Executive Board assessing the performance of R&D centers and WSI institutes. It turns out that many projects are being shelved, that they do not find practical application. The WSI has besides quite a few problems of an organizational-structural nature. We must,

together with the ministry, assist that higher school in working out an appropriate curriculum and finding its proper place in the system of higher education.

The dilemma of whether work should be done on free Saturdays remains topical. Some people have been able to resolve it in a rational manner, e.g. the people at the RADOSKOR. Being familiar with the situation on the footwear market, the management of that combine secured extra raw materials and organized appropriate wages. The RADOSKOR was emulated by the HORTEX [Import-Export Enterprise] plants in Przysusza, Lipsk and Janikowo. These examples can certainly be emulated by many other enterprises.

There is no province, city and, increasingly often, gmina as well where housing construction is not considered a priority task. In view of its indicator of number of persons per dwelling, Radom Province has a special claim for expediting as much as possible the pace of the construction of new housing. And such a program does exist. Last year we gained 653 new dwellings more than in 1981. But this result is to be considered as only the beginning of the road outlined. At a party conference at the Walter Plant I was gratified to learn that it is forming its own plant housing cooperative and that the municipal authorities already have allocated to its members vacant building lots.

Given the conditions in Radom, priority also is indispensable for investments in health service and education. In the former case this concerns the building of the province hospital in Jozefow. the Executive Board of the Province Committee resolved to assess the progress of that project once every three months. The hospital in Lipsk as well as rural health centers also are being built too slowly. The same situation applies as regards the construction of schools and teachers' houses.

Someone might want to ask at this moment, what about the Radom theatre? How long will it still take before the first performance will be given in its new building? Let me answer simply that I don't know. This cannot be otherwise considering the outlays and material resources available to us. Yes, store shelves are slowly becoming filled with goods, but the economic crisis still persists. For some reason, we are forgetting a little about this.

On the country's map Radom Province also figures as a major food producer. We have more than 510,000 hectares of land. Unfortunately, 2,500 hectares are fallows while 200,000 hectares require regulation of their water conditions. Our main tasks in this respect are readily seen. And yet, it seems to me that, despite everything, the popularization of agricultural knowhow should be placed in the forefront. This is so in view of the acidification of the soils; since 1977 the consumption of lime has been declining more and more steeply. There can be no good harvests if improper and poor seeds are used. Appropriate results cannot be expected in hog and cattle production, and hence also improvements in meat supplies cannot be expected, when breeding stock is slaughtered en masse on any occasion, under any pretext.

Thus, there are many problems to be solved....

Quite often I seek, as the saying goes, the key to the solution of certain matters at party meetings and in talks with the people. I have already been thrice a candidate for Province Committee membership from the Bialobrzeg region, where I am acquainted with many farmers, both party members and non-party members. Thus I often visit precisely them and I find their opinions and views to be very useful.

Since April of last year I have been a member of the party organization at the PRONIT. I decided that my place is precisely there, because that plant is encountering problems. My participation in meetings with comrades from the PRONIT enabled me to verify the ongoing consolidation of party ranks and growth in their activism. Not so long ago at most one or two comrades used to voice their comments in the discussion. Now there are at least several. They make proposals, and the best of these proposals are chosen during the discussion. This is as it ought to be, after all.

Quite often, while at various meetings, conferences and talks, I meet members of the former Solidarity. It is simply hard to believe that some had so uncritically accepted everything told them by their superiors. How could they have let themselves be spellbound by various demagogues? How could they have believed the unusually deluding propaganda?

We had to infer from this fact practical conclusions for the party's activities. This precisely accounts for the decision to establish within the Province Committee an autonomous information sector and to expand telex communications in order to transmit for local consumption appropriate information, materials, and decisions, and conversely--to obtain rapidly current information from plants and gminas for the province party echelon.

We have also allotted an appropriate role to the mass media. Our recommendations and proposals met with the proper response from the management and editorial staffs of SLOWO LUDU, ZYCIE RADOMSKIE and Polish Radio. The party newspaper SLOWO LUDU has begun to print two new variant columns. ZYCIE RADOMSKIE now devotes more space to local problems. The editorial team for the Radom PRiTV [Polish Radio and Television] Station has been set up. The Department of Press and Television under the Central Committee has provided support for starting the publication of TYGODNIK RADOMSKI which enjoys growing reader interest.

The management of the province's political life currently reflects the fuller cooperation, commitment and co-responsibility of the members and echelons of the United Peasant Party ZSL and the Democratic Party [SD]. We already worked out proper forms of that cooperation--a proper partnership. I expect especially positive results from the last joint session of the party and ZSL province committees on the development of agriculture, as well as from the joint decisions of the PZPR and SD province committees concerning the development of artisan trades. In this last field marked improvement is already noticeable.

We also have a new ally. I refer to the members of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. Ever since its establishment we have been attempting to elevate the importance and authority of that movement's activists. But I support those who claim that the members and, especially, the activists of that movement

should pay less attention to the opening of a store, a reading room or other public service center and more attention to the creation of a proper political climate, the explanation of all that citizens should know in order to understand certain sometimes very unpopular decisions and ordinances of the state.

A skillful utilization of all means of political influence, including the youth organizations such as the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP], the Union of Rural Youth [ZMW] and the Union of Polish Scouts [ZHP] will enable the Province Committee to implement better its program tasks during the second half of its term of office and to exploit the opportunity for the development of the Radom Province provided by the 1981 resolution of the Government Presidium.

Reports-Programs Conference Deliberations

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 19-20 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Unsigned article: "By Daily Labor We Serve Stabilization and National Agreement: Province Reports-Programs Conference in Radom With the Participation of Zofia Grzyb, Politburo Member, and Jan Glowczyk, Deputy Member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary"]

[Text] Last Friday the Province Reports-Programs Conference of the PZPR was held in Radom. Seats in the auditorium of the ZREMB ZSZ [expansion unknown] were occupied by delegates elected at reports-elections conferences in 1981. Also present were delegates to the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress, members of central party authorities from within the province, first secretaries of local party echelons, directors of Province Committee departments and regional centers of party work, worker-movement activists, and deputies from the Radom district to the PRL Parliament.

The province conference in Radom was also attended by Zofia Grzyb, Politburo member; Jan Glowczyk, deputy member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee; Tadeusz Nowicki, deputy chairman of the Central Party Control Commission; Sylwester Zawadzki, Minister of Justice; Ryszard Bryk, Deputy Minister of the Iron and Steel Industry and Machinery Industry; Marian Kowerski, Deputy Minister of the Light and Chemical Industry; Janusz Prokopiak, Deputy Minister of the Construction and Building Materials Industry; and Stanislaw Bragiela, department head at the Ministry of Domestic Trade.

The conference was also attended by: Henryk Maciag, chairman of the ZSL Province Committee; Krzysztof Szewczak, chairman of the SD Province Committee; Col Edward Jedruszewski, chairman of the Province People's Council; Col Alojzy Wojciechowski, Radom Province Governor; Jerzy Piatek, vice chairman of the Province Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth; and leaders of the youth organizations ZSMP, ZMW and ZHP, as well as the top command of the militia, the procurature, the judiciary and the Province Military Headquarters.

Also present were political workers of the Central Committee, including Tadeusz Zareba, deputy director of the Foreign Department of the Central Committee.

The Province Reports-Programs Conference in Radom was chaired by Bogdan Prus, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee. In his opening address he stated, among other things, that:

"The Province Committee at its plenary session in January made a preliminary assessment of the progress of the campaign at our organizations and approved the materials for the province conference. We also held regional consultation meetings which yielded rich material for evaluating the performance of elected party bodies during an extremely difficult and complex period of their activity as well as for formulating the directions of party work till the end of the current term of office. Today this will be done by the Province Reports-Programs Conference, which chiefly deals with assessing the implementation of the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary Party Congress and the 4th Province Reports-Elections Conference. Our deliberations should take place in an atmosphere of gravity and full responsibility. In this way we shall fulfill well our duties as representatives of the province party organization."

Following the election of the conference presidium and acceptance of the agenda, the delegates elected members of the mandate commission and the commission for resolutions and recommendations.

The report of the Executive Board of the Province Committee, stressing the most important highlights of the materials received by the delegates, was presented by Bogdan Prus, first secretary of the Province Committee.

Similar reports were presented by Wacław Iata, chairman of the Province Party Control Commission WKKP and Henryk Puchala, chairman of the Province Audit Commission WKR .

The floor was also taken by Alojzy Wojciechowski, the province governor.

After an intermission, the minutes of the Mandate Commission were read. The deliberations were attended by 307 out of the total of 345 delegates, which confirmed the legality of the conference.

This was followed by discussion, initiated by Zofia Grzyb. Altogether, 22 comrades took the floor. Sixteen persons submitted written comments and recommendations for the minutes of the proceedings.

Toward the end of the discussion Jan Glowczyk, deputy member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, took the floor.

During the deliberations, the wishes dispatched to the conference presidium by party and public organizations and activists were read to those present. Among other things, the party greetings from the province echelon of the PZPR in Kielce, signed by Maciej Lubczynski, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Province Committee, were received with warm applause.

After discussing the draft and approving the comments made, the conference approved a resolution outlining the tasks for the province party organization and echelon for the second half of their term of office.

On the proposal of comrade Mieczyslaw Janik the conference voted a resolution expressing resolute protest against the revisionist intentions of F. Zimmermann, a minister in the FRG government, against attempts to question political-territorial realities and failure to consider the provisions of the treaty of 7 December 1970 between Poland and the FRG.

Closing the conference, the chair, comrade B. Prus, declared: "Our work and activities display pluses and minuses, all of which we included in the program for the second half of the term of office. The fulfillment of that program will be decisive to our bringing into order party and economic matters. Basic party organizations and all party members should be familiarized with the conference resolution. It has been justly emphasized today that we are capable of settling on our own our Polish matters. Hence also I appeal to the generality of the working people in this province for a committed attitude. Only thus can we create the conditions for a better life."

The conference ended with singing "The Internationale."

Highlights of the Report of the Province Party Control Commission, Presented by Its Chairman Wacław Łata: Deeds Decide the Authority of the party and Its Members

In assessing the experience and work so far of the WKKP and the lower-level KKP [party control commissions], as well as when outlining the tasks for the remainder of this term of office, allowance should be made for the conditions of our activity. We have advanced past the period of total attack by opponents of socialism on the party and the structures of the people's rule--opponents who tried every technique to discredit the PZPR and show it up as a broken organization split by internal dissension. Despite these conditions the WKKP and the local commissions performed actively their statutory duties.

Following the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress the party echelons and POPs basic party organizations began to monitor the implementation of the tasks ensuing from resolutions of the Central Committee and the Province Committee. We familiarized ourselves with techniques for propagating the resolutions of the 9th Congress, including the new party statute, among party members. The fulfillment of the decision of the 7th Central Committee Plenum and the Province Committee plenums regarding declarations of attitude by party members was attentively monitored. The activities of the POPs at government offices and institutions as regards the implementation of the resolution of the 10th Central Committee Plenum concerning complaints and grievances was monitored.

Following the introduction of the martial law, the party control commissions took active measures against alien ideological-political views presented by certain PZPR members.

Also not overlooked were such negative phenomena as poor management, waste, improper attitude to public property, abuse of alcohol and deliberate creation of conflicts within party organizations and echelons.

In face of transgressions of this kind, irrespective of party penalties, the WKKP and local commissions recommended the recall of transgressors from leading posts.

The verdicts were and are based on the principle that matters concerning members and candidate members be decided upon at meetings of the POPs and local echelons or at basic-level party control commissions. The WKKP itself deals chiefly with recalls and cases exceeding the competence of lower-level collectives. For this reason, most cases ending in verdicts on party penalties or deletion or expulsion from party ranks were considered by the POPs or, during the martial law era, by the executive boards of local party echelons.

Admonitory talks with party members became an important instrument in case of members whose activities are inconsonant with the statute. It must be admitted that not all the commissions availed themselves of this instrument for activizing the party's ranks.

Party control commissions consistently analyze the manner of attending to various human problems raised in complaints and letters directed to the Province Committee or transmitted by the PZPR Central Committee and the Central Party Control Commission [CKKP]. Unfortunately, we must devote most time and energy to various conflicts in plants, communities and party echelons. The origin of these conflicts usually lies in the swaying of attitudes that took place during 1980-1981. A number of cases of this type was decided upon by the WKKP in Magnuszew, Swierze Gorne, Lipsk and Przysusza.

Many comrades had to bear the consequences--and not only the statutory ones at that.

All letters, complaints, grievances and interventions are attentively examined by the party control commissions. They are considered by WKKP teams with the participation of the party aktiv. This serves to resolve quite a few conflicts and restore the normal rhythm of work. In the general assessment of the performance of the WKKP what counts is not only the number of those justly punished or expelled from the party but also, and above all, the fact that thanks to principled and well-meaning talks, many comrades could be saved through warnings saving a great deal of trouble and thus kept in the PZPR ranks.

In formulating the directions of work of the WKKP for the remainder of this term of office, allowance should be made for the tasks specified in the resolutions of the 5th and 6th plenums of the CKKP along with the recommendations ensuing from the Politburo's resolution on the strengthening the unity and effectiveness of action of the party. The party control commissions will actively support the process of the ideological-political and organizational consolidation of the PZPR, inflexibly struggle for the purity of party ranks in both the moral-ethical and the ideological-political sense, and counteract cases of suppression of criticism and improper attitude to the complaints, letters and comments coming from the working people. They will also combat all manifestations of poor

management, formalism and distortion of the assumptions of the economic reform. We must continually improve party verdicts and preventive-upbringing activities and strengthen in this respect the role of party organizations.

The WKKP, as well as the local party control commissions, must propagate the view and practice that the purity of party ranks is being guarded by the entire party.

Audit Commissioner Henry Puchala Speech

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[Unsigned article: "Performance of Party Duties Means an Active participation in Implementing Party Policy: Highlights of Speech by Henryk Puchala, Vice Chairman of the Province Audit Commission [WKR]"]

[Text] The Province Audit Commission has assessed critically its own performance and that of the local audit commissions which it supervises. In a couple of cases dissatisfaction was also expressed regarding the performance of the province echelon, the grade-1 echelons and the basic party organizations. No inspection or audit can be flattering by its very nature. All in all, it is worth noting that, during the period covered by the report, party organizations, local echelons and the Province Committee have recorded a number of accomplishments.

The Audit Commission controls, investigates, analyzes, concludes and makes recommendations. It must thus preserve objective judgment. There is no doubt that no audit ever is welcomed. It is thus nothing surprising that during their more than 1.5 years of activity the audit commissions have never received an invitation to perform an audit. Nevertheless, the WKR considers it a highly responsible task to implement its statutory tasks. It has been receiving the necessary assistance from many members and candidate members of the PZPR, and particularly from comrades holding elective offices. Were everyone to understand this properly, many problems could be avoided. For how else can it be explained why, during a campaign so important to the party, reports conferences were not held in Gielniow and Rusinow owing to the absence of a quorum. In July of last year the plenary session of the WKR could not be held because the invited comrades did not attend it.

There are disturbing cases, revealed by WKR inspections, showing that many party organizations at their meetings and reports conferences do not accept programs or guideposts for action until the end of their term of office. These shortcomings should be eliminated as rapidly as possible. On the other hand, the treatment, at reports meetings, of the community problems giving rise to criticism and public discontent is to be positively assessed.

The WKR has drawn attention to the need for an appropriate and responsible treatment of analyses, deployment of the party's forces, the adoption of agendas for meetings, the nature of these agendas, the attendance and activism of PZPR members at meetings, and the cohesiveness of party ranks and ideological-political and moral attitudes. Only through meticulous fulfillment of statutory

duties by members and candidate members of the PZPR can we actively implement party policy.

In the coming period it will be an essential matter to implant among comrades the habit of monitoring by themselves the adherence to party statutes.

The 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress introduced in the statute of audit commissions many new regulations intended to democratize intra-party life. The resolution of the congress repeatedly mentions the need to work out an efficient party control system. Thus the auditing bodies face a broad field of analytic-control activity. Everyday practice should confirm the principle that the party's actions serve the working class and the nation. The activities should be overt and always subject to control by the working people.

The guidelines of the Politburo concerning reports meetings recommend to the conferences that they evaluate, among other things, the performance of audit commissions. In view of this, the WKR is submitting its performance to evaluation by the delegates.

First Secretary Bogdan Prus Remarks

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[Report: "Consistency in Implementing the Resolutions of the 9th Congress Decides the Party's Strength and Authority: Highlights of Report Presented by Bogdan Prus, First Secretary of PZPR Province Committee"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] In June 1981 this group had met in this auditorium for the 4th Extraordinary Province Reports-Elections Conference. We remember the climate and the heated atmosphere of the deliberations, the diversity of views presented, the militancy of certain comments but also the concern for the party's future and for the further evolution of the socio-political and economic situation of our socialist fatherland. The acute social tension, the escalation of political and ideological struggle by the anti-socialist forces, the deepening chaos and decline of production and the market shortages and anarchy had greatly complicated the implementation of difficult tasks by the weakened party echelons and organizations.

Convinced that we can with our own resources bring into order Poland's internal problems, we had started the preparations for the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress. This also was the conviction with which our delegation had traveled to the 9th Congress, where it represented the opinions and recommendations of the Radom Province. The 9th Extraordinary Congress did not disappoint the expectations of the members of our party. It worked out a program for socialist renewal and socio-economic stabilization. This program, accepted with approval by the public, became a major threat to the political opposition, to the anti-socialist forces in our country. Hence also, to nullify this threat, it launched a concentrated attack against the party.

Incidents took place in work establishments. Many party members were forced to participate in strikes and showered with anonymous threats. Owing to that mass action and the emulation of our own just slogans, the opposition had succeeded in pushing our party to the defensive. Unprepared for this struggle, party members often broke down, but on the other hand our experience had also been growing in the fire of confrontation, although until the introduction of the martial law we were subjected to a constant, growing with each week, attack by the counter-revolutionary forces. We had been unable to implement peacefully the goals outlined by the 9th Congress and solve urgent social and economic problems. It was only after 13 December 1981 that the road to anarchy and chaos had been barred, the forces nudging the country toward the brink of the abyss were halted, elementary principles of public discipline were restored and conditions were provided for implementing socio-political and economic reforms.

The Radom Province party organization entered that qualitatively new stage in a weakened condition but still disposing of experienced and toughened aktiv. With its aid we launched intensive work to unify and rebuild the strength of the party organizations. As early as on 8 January 1982 at its plenary session the Province Committee assessed the then status of the party's forces and outlined the tasks for its echelons and discrete organizations under the conditions of the martial law. We emphasized the work of the POPs in large industrial plants, mixing with the people and providing them with assistance in solving their everyday problems. We explained to them that the introduction of the martial law did not mean the abandonment of the line of socialist renewal and a return to the pre-August era. The introduction of the martial law did not cause protest actions or attempts to disturb public peace in this province. Isolated incidents, distributions of leaflets, appeals of the underground for manifestations on the occasion of various anniversaries, did not meet with support from the Radom working class and public. Our province was among the calmest in the country during 1982.

The celebration of 1 May in 1982 was already of a traditional, solemn and universal nature. Working people demonstrated their attitude, their will and striving for public peace and stability, and showed their support for socialism. Successive actions taken by the opposition, including those on 31 August and 10 November 1982, ended in failure. Thanks to the proper attitude of the work forces at our plants and party members, conditions arose for a gradual consolidation of party ranks and the strengthening of the basic party elements and echelons. We are fully aware that the improvement in the socio-political and economic situation that took place in 1982 is due to the tremendous effort of the working people, the commitment of the aktiv and a large part of the members of the party as well as of the members of the fraternal political parties cooperating with us, and also of the huge masses of non-party patriots. This warrants thanking them cordially, from the tribune of today's province conference, for their proper attitude, for their commitment, for their devotion to People's Poland and socialism.

But the ongoing stabilization of socio-political life and the symptoms of economic revival may not overshadow the menaces that still exist, the still present difficulties and shortages, and neither should they

lead to the belief that the anti-socialist opposition will abandon the struggle and the desire to attain its political aims. On the contrary, it will modify the techniques of conducting its struggle, adapt them to the ongoing normalization of life in this country and the evolving moods in discrete communities. It is sharply attacking the nascent trade unions and renascent worker self-governments and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. More aggressive forms of this struggle also are to be expected.

Strengthen the Party's Leading Role Among the Working Class and Society

The course of the reports-programs campaign demonstrates that local party echelons and basic party organizations have utilized this period to strengthen and quicken their activities. At reports meetings and conferences the performance so far of the POPs and basic party echelons has been critically appraised. The course and atmosphere of this campaign also point to greater unanimity in presenting proper attitudes of party members as well as to their greater grasp of statutory duties. It has to be plainly stated, however, that not all party echelons and organizations as yet display sufficient militancy in implementing their own resolutions and recommendations. They also are inadequately implementing the recommendations of the higher echelons concerning the most urgent tasks.

We often are dealing with inadequate or unsystematic contacts between echelon members and the aktiv, on the one hand, and the basic and branch party organizations as well as individual party members, on the other. Many party cells operate inconsistently and do not display any great activism within their communities. This is our fundamental weakness which we must overcome.

Analysis of the nature of the adopted programs points to the need to orient the activities of the province party organization and to continue the recovery of strength by discrete party organizations as well as to strengthen and develop the Patriotic Front for National Rebirth; energize the activities of the people's councils; provide the political conditions for the renaissance of trade unions and worker and cooperative self-governments; refine political work in behalf of improving the situation in the economy; and strengthen law and order and social discipline.

In our intra-party work we must implement with absolute consistency the principle of purging the party of all that constituted its weaknesses during the 1970s.

The further strengthening of the leading and guiding role of the province party organization as well as of the trust of the working class and society in that organization, and the provision of conditions promoting the stabilization of socio-political life are our fundamental duty. This requires militancy and activism of all the elements of the province party organization, a steadfast consolidation of its working-class nature and the tightening of intra-party discipline as well as of the requirements posed to all party members.

The topics demanding the unflagging concern of the party include the problem of the renascent trade unions. It is our obligation to persuade the plant work forces of the necessity for cooperation between the PZPR and the trade-union movement on the basis of joint representation of the interests of the working

class. It is untrue that we are concerned with subordinating the new trade unions to the party. Party committees may not intervene in the internal affairs of trade unions, but neither should they tolerate the exploitation of elements of these unions for the struggle against the principles of our system of society, against the state.

So far 25,500 workers or about 14 percent of the total employment in the socialized economy have registered for membership in the new trade unions. The Province Court has received 133 requests for registration of trade unions, of which 110 were approved, including all the larger work establishments. The membership of the new trade unions varies greatly. The situation in this respect is unsatisfactory in Radom itself. Activities to organize trade unions proceed in only 91 of the 155 plants in the city, while the remaining plants lack even founding groups. Many employees, including workers as well, are waiting to see whether facts will confirm that trade unions are needed, that they count for something at the plant, and that they occupy their proper place in the system of rule. Our role is to create a climate such that trade-union organizations would find it easier to create such facts.

A separate subject is the provision of political conditions for the development of worker self-government. Pursuant to the directive in force, such self-government should start operating by the end of March in all enterprises. But as of 15 February of this year it has operated in only 40 plants. This is because in many cases the enterprise management displays no initiative in this respect, and neither do the party organizations display such initiative. Worker self-government as an integral part of the economic reform being introduced acts in the interest of the working people, and since that is so, the promotion of its development and consolidation should be of concern to party organizations.

Through Political Work, Develop Socialist Consciousness and National Accord

Greater militancy and effectiveness of action of the party are impossible unless the ideological training system is improved and intra-party information and mass-political work are streamlined. In the report of the Province Committee we pointed to the positive factors present in this field. But the efforts invested in this work do not always produce the expected results. For we still are dealing with a considerable variation in knowledge about politics and ideology, with a disarray of views.

The dissemination and advancement of the level of Marxist knowledge, of knowledge about the party, about its program, about the principal aspects of socio-political and economic life, must rank highly in the work of all party echelons and organizations. This should be promoted by the changes in the existing system of intra-party information, by the establishment, under our Province Committee, of a sector for information, analyses and publications which maintains regular contact with all party echelons and plant party cells and provides them with specific studies, bulletins and regular series of answers to the questions agitating party members.

During this difficult period, a major element of the political work of the province party organization has been its activities to promote the Patriotic

Movement for National Rebirth. The participation of our party echelons and organizations in creating this movement demonstrates that we adhere firmly to the resolutions of the 9th Party Congress, to the principles of national accord, to creating an atmosphere and a platform for cooperation of all citizens in surmounting the crisis.

Work with the youth has always been of interest to us, even before the resolutions of the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee. During the period covered by this report we attached great importance to this work. In March 1982 we held a plenary session of the Province Committee devoted to tasks of shaping socialist attitudes among the youth. This topic has been discussed several times by the Executive Board of the Province Committee. In our province we have a fairly numerous ZSMP and ZHP aktiv that has been tried and tested in the political struggle, and the aktiv of the ZMW is being nurtured. We must closely cooperate with that aktiv, bearing in mind that the youth is sensitive to any make-believe action, that it wishes to talk with us in concrete language rather than in the language of promises, and that it desires to be provided with the conditions for genuine, independent action, as well as with favorable conditions for study, for participation in cultural life, for active participation in sports, recreation and tourism. Our tasks in the field of science, education, upbringing and culture should be considered in this context. The situation in this respect has been rather complicated during the period covered by the report. True enough, tendencies favorable to a correct implementation of ideological-upbringing tasks are now dominant, but negative phenomena still occur, e.g. the incomplete adherence to the principles of secular education and the uncoordinated or insufficiently militant shaping of attitudes of the youth by some teachers. Energizing the activities of party organizations at the Higher School of Engineering as well as at educational and cultural centers and making them more militant and effective is becoming particularly important. We must attend to creating a favorable climate for the correct progress of educational, pedagogical and scientific-research work, and to expanding scientific-pedagogical and social facilities as well as to selecting highly qualified cadres for the Higher School of Engineering. We may not disregard work with the teachers, advanced professional training and improvements in the conditions of teaching.

This also concerns a smooth fulfillment of educational investments, chiefly the construction of collective gmina schools and teacher houses in the countryside and schools and preschools in the cities.

Introduction of the Economic Reform as an Important Factor in Emerging From the Crisis

During the period covered by the report we have been placing great emphasis on providing the conditions for the introduction of the economic reform. We regard this work on par in importance with intra-party and ideological problems. We have discussed this topic four times at sessions of the Province Committee. The Executive Board of the Province Committee has been regularly analyzing the state of the province's economy and making recommendations to improve it. The results achieved in 1982 are to be considered satisfactory. Despite the problems in obtaining raw material supplies and the perturbances in coproduction and transport as well as manpower problems, the sales of products and services were, in comparable prices, 1.9 percent higher than in 1981. In this place it should be stated, however, that these results are 8 percent lower compared with 1979, and that 75 plants in the province have not yet reattained their 1981 output level.

Altogether, we regard the favorable output results for 1982 as the beginning of the process of surmounting the economic difficulties, improving the efficiency of many enterprises and conserving raw and other materials and fuels. We are gratified to note that many plants have taken steps to develop anti-import production and replace with domestic raw materials the raw materials imported with foreign exchange, which is producing substantial effects. Our trade contacts with socialist countries also are growing. The growth trends in industrial output continue. This is demonstrated by the results achieved in January of this year. Sales of products and services in comparable prices already were 18.7 percent higher than in January 1981, and labor productivity increased 19.3 percent. On the other hand, the situation as regards money in circulation and the market has not evolved well. The generally low supply of goods and services has been accompanied by a rapid growth of personal monetary incomes. We have not, however, observed shortages of the supplies of controlled foodstuffs. We definitely disapprove of those producers of goods and services who, availing themselves of the right to set their own prices, burden these prices with the costs of their inefficient management, waste and poor organization of labor. We have launched a resolute struggle against these highly reprehensible practices.

In the coming years housing construction will continue to be viewed by the public as the yardstick of the effectiveness of our action. It is thus nothing surprising that we have been devoting considerable attention to its problems in party work. In 1981 we had a very unfavorable situation throughout the province. In that year 1,716 dwellings or barely 56.4 percent of the plan, had been released for occupancy. Last year we noted some improvement, because 2,369 dwellings were released for occupancy. Of course, this has not significantly contributed to improving the housing situation, but it points to a trend reversal. Also of major importance to improving the living conditions of the population is the complete fulfillment of the investment program in public health. This concerns assuring the on-schedule completion of the construction of the Province Hospital in Radom and the hospital in Lipsk.

In Cooperation with the ZSL, SD and Progressive Public Forces, Strengthen the Principles of Socialist Democracy

At a joint plenary session of the PZPR and ZSL province committees in January of this year we assessed the situation in agriculture. In the adopted resolution we outlined the basic directions of work in that field. It is worth noting that the performance of our agriculture has by now become satisfactory. The low harvests of potatoes and fodder crops, due to the prolonged drought, have adversely affected the livestock population and especially the hog herd. Among the factors assuring the proper development of agriculture a major role is played by improvements in agricultural services. But the quantity and quality of services provided to private farmers continue to be inadequate. Real improvement was achieved only in the supplies of certain building materials (cement, lime, tar-board). It is disturbing that excessively large stocks of fertilizer and lime are accumulating in the warehouses of trade centers.

The province party organization has been consistently cooperating with the allied parties--the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. Close contact is maintained at the province level and at many basic-level organizations within the framework of joint cooperation commissions. Many major problems are resolved in these commissions. Joint plenary sessions as well as sessions of the executive boards and presidiums of the ZSL and SD are being held, as well as joint conferences of problem commissions and the *aktiv*. We have improved the system of mutual exchange of information. We intend to shape our activities so as to make them consonant with the feelings of the public. This also is the context in which should be viewed the problem of strengthening the activities of the people's councils and the state administration. Party echelons and organizations should display unflagging concern for strengthening the constitutional role and functions of the people's councils and enhancing the activism of their bodies in implementing the policies of the state. It is indispensable to strengthen the superior standing of these councils with respect to local organs of state administration and to consistently implement the resolutions and decisions of the presidiums of people's councils and the recommendations of their commissions and interventions by councilmen. On their part, the people's councils should attend to the increase in production and the streamlining of the performance of trade, services, health service, transportation, child care and social services for the needy.

A democratic and effective performance of local authorities requires strengthening and developing the bonds between the people's councils and the public, knowledge of the problems of concern to working people, their anxieties, concerns and views, and the utilization of every public initiative as well as action on signals contained in complaints, letters and proposals of citizens.

/Analysis and evaluation of our accomplishments during the period covered by the report indicates that the initiated process of the renewal of intra-party life in our province is continuing, that it must be continued with an absolute consistency, the more so considering that the party has not relinquished the basic attributes ensuing from its leading role. One of these attributes, in addition to the determination of programs for social development and the assurance of their complete implementation by the organs of the state, is the

preservation of decisive influence on cadre policies. I believe, however, that we should pay more attention to making our activities more definite and concrete, tightening the discipline of party work, posing more realistic tasks to individual party members or organizations and adapting these tasks to the possibilities./

/The materials which we presented reflect both the complexity of the political situation during the period covered by the report and the accomplishments so far of the entire Radom party organization. I hope that during the discussion our assessment will be still further deepened and that we shall draft recommendations and determine the means, forms and methods of work for the immediate future./

Report of Radom Province Governor

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[Article by Col Alojzy Wojciechowski, Radom Province Governor: "The Administration Does Not Have to be Loved"]

[Text] After the introduction of the martial law, despite many problems with raw and other materials and transportation, we have halted the decline in production thanks to the devotion of the working people and as of July of last year we have noted its systematic growth. The state administration is regaining and strengthening its authority and influencing the region's economy. We have been paying attention to meeting the public, social and cultural needs of citizens.

Owing to administrative and organizational measures, the production organizations comprised in local and central plans have last year increased industrial output by more than 2 billion zlotys, thus ranking us 9th among the nation's provinces.

Housing and attendant construction continues to be an immeasurably important issue in our region. During 1981-1982 we released for occupancy 4,091 dwellings with an aggregate surface area of more than 210,000 sq m plus 3,291 dwellings with an aggregate surface area of 288,2000 sq m in private construction.

A session of the Province People's Council resolved that 2,501 dwellings would be built this year, plus 1,770 privately built dwellings. We adopted an ambitious program, although it is obvious that the current level of construction does not meet the real demand in the province. But this is a plan that has a chance for fulfillment. For there is nothing worse than making unrealistic promises to the public.

Housing construction cannot be considered in isolation from its infrastructure. During 1981-1982 construction enterprises released for occupancy more than 10,000 sq m of area for trade and service establishments, and the goal for this year is more than 6,000 sq m. We are thus gradually doing away with the backlog. This also applies to expanding the public-social facilities. In the last two years 6 preschools for more than 1,400 children were opened for use in this province, that is, more than in the previous 5-year period.

But the neglects in school construction could not be repaired. There are definitely too few elementary schools in Radom and Jedlinek. The construction of 6 facilities is under way, and this year we will begin the construction of four more. The construction of health facilities also is a problem, although 430 additional hospital beds had been gained in the last 2 years. A tangible improvement will occur only after the hospital complex in Radom is built.

Unfortunately, the principal obstacle is the sluggish performance of construction enterprises such as the HYDROCENTRUM [expansion unknown], the INSTAL Industrial Installation Enterprise, the BUDOPOL Enterprise for the Construction of Public Buildings, and the ELEKTROMONTAZ Enterprise for the Production and Assembly of Electrical Equipment for the Construction Industry, as exemplified by the pace of the construction of the hospital in Jozefow, sewage treatment plants, pipelines, and the central heating network. Cannot they really implement such socially important projects with a value of more than one-half billion zlotys?

On the other hand, public undertakings are to be considered as among the most positive occurrences last year. We estimate their value at one-half billion zlotys, that is, nearly twice as much as in 1981.

In the light of the socio-economic problems presented above, of exceptional importance is the correct functioning of the local administration as the enforcement and governing organ of the people's councils on the one hand and the local representative of the government on the other. I am gratified to note that, both during the period preceding the introduction of the martial law and during the martial law era itself, the Radom Province administration has on the whole operated smoothly. Considering, however, that personnel improvements are the key to the effectiveness of that administration, in January and February we performed a review and evaluation of its employees, thus anticipating an obligation that was later made mandatory. The principal premise of the evaluation was to determine the suitability of personnel. Of the 2,252 employees subject to review, 1,829 were found suitable for the posts they occupy, 53 were transferred to other, lower posts, 42 had to be discharged, and 328 were classified as cadre-in-reserve. I wish to emphasize that we performed that review jointly with the party organizations at state-administration offices of all levels.

We attach growing importance to settling the problems of citizens. The heads of the Province Office alone had received more than 5,000 applicants last year. We are incessantly performing inspections of which the most effective are comprehensive inspections of gminas patterned on the inspections performed by the Inspectorate of the Armed Forces. They made it possible to introduce a uniform system for planning work and keeping track of tasks and their implementation. We also have introduced a system of conferences with village bailiffs and representatives. Speaking of inspections, mention should be made of the tremendous amount of work done by the territorial operating groups and their role in detecting and eliminating glaring examples of neglect and human insensitivity. Through the mediation of these groups and directly from them we received 1,960 recommendations most of which have already been attended to.

The next issue with which we must concern ourselves is the enforcement of the decree on employees of state offices and the related implementing regulations.

Here I mean, among other things, the training of administrative employees which should prevent the employment of people at random in state offices. Another major task to be accomplished this year in the province and local administration is the preparations for implementing the decree on people's councils and local self-government.

I have described in fairly great detail the problems of the administration and the solutions applied as well as the goals, and also the new legislation concerning the administration and local self-government, because this domain is subject to an often justified public criticism. I wish to make it clear that we shall show special concern for any comments addressed to us. We do not want the administration to be loved. It is enough that the administration will be respected for its correct activity and service to society.

Secretary Jan Glowczyk's Speech

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 21 Feb 83 p 3

[Report: "Effectiveness in the Struggle Against Evil is a Source of the Party's Strength: Speech of Jan Glowczyk, Deputy Member of the Politburo, Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee"]

[Text] Your conference is symbolic in nature, because it recalls the dramatic moments of the recent period. The socialist element of the state had been attacked with a special fury precisely here in Radom. In this city, torn by the enemy, the party had been threatened with a confrontation in early December 1981. The enemies of the state had intended Radom to be one of the stronger fronts in the struggle for power. Following 13 December 1981 peace came here, more than anywhere else in the country. The credit for this belongs to the province party organization which, through the whole of its organizational initiatives, showed where the path of peace could and should be trodden. This is also to the credit of the wise, patriotic and industrious people living in this region, who realized that the road to improving our life lies only in public tranquility.

During the discussion comrades have been asking very anxiously what is the party like. This question cannot be answered unequivocally. Compared with the situation that had reigned for about 1.5 years, from mid-1980 until the end of 1981, when our intra-party life was disturbed by all kinds of contradictions, today the situation is good and better. Better, because we have receded far enough from the brink of the abyss which we had been facing. But no one of us should forget that we are under attack by the opponent, that he is exerting various forms of pressure on us, that we still have much to learn. We stand at the beginning of the road. We are only beginning to build a strong party and we should never forget it for a moment and sink into complacency.

We should not forget either that in 1981 we were defeated but not smashed. Today it is different. It is the opponent who is smashed, and who receives huge support from the outside. The enemies of socialism will not reconcile themselves to their defeat. They will not abandon the struggle against socialism, and they will exploit every opportunity to continue it. Crisis situations in any socialist state, and especially the situation in ours, present to the opponent of socialism an opportunity which he will exploit by even the most unworthy and

amoral means of struggle. It is precisely against this background that we perceive how reliable are our political and economic alliances.

We must know how to notice yet another dangerous opponent, the day-by-day foe of our undertakings, namely, formalism, bureaucracy, opportunism and make-believe forms of work. If we say that our weakness in the past consisted in weakening our bonds with the masses, we must also be aware that these bonds were disrupted by various forms of poor party and political work. We get readily accustomed to our day-by-day opponent, that is, to mistakes and shortcomings in our work. For this very reason, it should not be forgotten even for a moment that our strength lies in the skill and effectiveness with which we undertake to struggle against all evil in public life, in our work, in the economy.

Many comrades spoke of the economic situation. The paramount task which we had faced a year ago was halting the decline in production. It was precisely that decline which led to such unusually bothersome problems as the market collapse, the break-up of the bonds between town and country, inflation and the deterioration in the living standards of many families and social groups. It was only in the second half of last year that we halted the decline in production, and we have first noted symptoms of the economic revival in the processing industry, not just only in the extractive industry. Since last January the consumer goods industry has been improving tangibly. A rapid expansion of the production of consumer goods is the sole chance in the struggle against inflation. The comrades asked who should be blamed for the progressing inflation: the enterprise management or the government? It should be borne in mind that an increase in production must entail an increase in wages. For the last 6 months production has been increasing, but unfortunately not the production of consumer goods. At the same time, the pressures for wage increases have been growing. Wages had to be raised not only for those directly involved in the production of goods but also for the lowest wage earners whose living conditions have been deteriorating. Consider teachers, for example. The decisions adopted by the government must be not only logical and effective but also politically just.

For this very reason the struggle against inflation is becoming protracted. We all must bear in mind and be aware that the principal problem of our economic situation and the principal cause of inflation are due not to excess money in circulation but to insufficient production of consumer goods. Many comrades ask who benefits from the so-called inflationary overhang. This question is particularly often asked where no excess money is available. Generally speaking, it can be said that 10 or at most 15 percent of the population have at their disposal excess money in circulation. What population groups are concerned here? A small part of the accumulated money goes to blue-collar groups in the socialized economy, e.g. miners whose arduous and dangerous work warrants higher pay. Some farmers, particularly those managing farms on a large scale, also have excess money. This also applies to part of artisans and tradesmen. We shall continue to protect the weakest groups, but at the same time we shall struggle more energetically against those manifestations of a growing private wealth which occur in violation of the laws in force and principles of social coexistence. I repeat: if we wish to combat inflation effectively, the production of consumer goods must be effectively increased.

We often ascribe negative connotations to the term "the economic reform." It seems to some that it is the economic reform that is the cause of our troubles. The enemies of socialism promote such beliefs. And yet the cause of the difficult material situation of many families is not the economic reform but the deep and extensive economic crisis. To surmount it, we must carry out the reform of our economy. This affords us a chance to emerge from the crisis.

Zofia Grzyb's Speech

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 21 Feb 83 p 3

[Report: "Reduce the Number of Issues Dividing Us: Speech of Zofia Grzyb, Brigade Leader at the RADOSKOR Leather Industry Plant, Member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee"]

[Text] These days in particular abound with work for party members. The reports campaign is still continuing, and in that campaign we debate with great concern party matters and aspects of everyday life of the public which, given the current crisis conditions, is far from being pampered. We also look back at the road traveled since the 9th Extraordinary Party Congress, evaluating our accomplishments and failures. Fulfilling its control role, the party must subject itself to control by its members. This concerns both those at the central level and those at lower levels--including the province level.

Bearing the mandate of that province party organization, I would also like to report to this conference on my work as a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, to which I was chosen by decision of the 9th Extraordinary party Congress. I am among people on whom rests a special responsibility for the destiny of the party and the country. As time goes on I become increasingly aware of this exceptional responsibility. In my daily work with the public I come in direct contact with extremely vexatious and difficult problems. I often wonder how much my participation in the decisions of the party's leadership helps me participate correctly and effectively in their adoption. And to what extent is it consonant with the feelings of my work associates.

The answer is not easy. There are many reasons for saying yes and no. Yes, because the martial law era was properly utilized, as proved by its suspension. Yes, because throughout that period the party was not looking for cheap popularity, a wish for revenge was alien to it, and it wanted to be and is closer to the people, although perhaps still to an insufficient degree. Yes, because we still have a hard life but there is no sector on which progress is lacking.

And no, because: we have a program for surmounting the crisis but we still have not succeeded in controlling inflation, although the mechanisms of the reform should have operated in precisely this direction already last year. No, because there still occur daily so many instances of poor management, shortages and speculation, that is, of all evils, and we have not yet been able to effectively counteract these evils.

On listening to the opinions of people directly at their workstations and while receiving complaints and grievances, I often ponder the recommendations that should be made in order to eliminate all negative symptoms more rapidly. Many

people come to me and I enjoy all their visits and talking with them. For this indicates that they view the party as being of service and assistance.

At sessions of the Politburo and plenary deliberations of the Central Committee I attempt to present the views and positions prevailing among my comrades at the work establishments and in the communities I am in contact with. And conversely, on every occasion I keep party members and non-party members posted about the problems undertaken and being solved by the party's leadership, its intentions and the decisions being prepared. But I am not always understood; most citizens are interested in their own problems alone. Yet the realities are too well-known: the year 1982 ended with a deficit of 240 billion zlotys and was the third year in a row to show a decline instead of an increase in national income. This is not the kind of information that is heard and received with satisfaction.

The Central Committee entrusted me with the duties of the chairperson of two problem commissions: health and environmental protection as well as the commission on women. In these commissions I try to consider the most important problems and draft party decisions on such issues as the draft reform of health service, investments, drug supplies, the conduct of households during the crisis era, problems of the family from the standpoint of its preparation for life in the socialist society, and the work of women under arduous and noxious conditions.

I am also a member of two executive boards: that of the plant party committee at RADOSKOR and that of the Province Committee. I always take part, insofar as possible, in their sessions, as well as in meetings and encounters in other plants of Radom, the province and the country. I agree that, as was justly stressed in the report, the reports campaign has provided the possibility of the organizational and political strengthening of the party organization and that it has mobilized us for reviewing the attitudes and activism of party members. I think that a self-critical and at the same time honest self-evaluation leads us to the truthful conclusion that a mention in the Constitution or even the best prepared program will not be enough for us to act as the leading force in society. What is also needed is facing up to the truth about ourselves. But the consolidation of the party at meetings still often is different from the situation at work stations, in smoking lounges and at home.

Working people expect the party to respond rapidly to the still numerous instances of insensitivity, dishonesty and rascality and to struggle against all deformations in the functioning of the authorities and offices, against arrogance toward human problems. A person who is not respected does not respect others. It is thus worth asking ourselves whether we as party members and as an organization are doing all we can to reduce the number of issues dividing us Poles. And this task at present is of the same importance as the struggle against the political opponent.

If we want to perform our duties well, we must treat the issue of the reform on par with ideological issues: the party's decisions and accomplishments are often judged through the prism of the economic situation. The more so considering that the opponent is not asleep but will continue to harass the party and its aktiv and sow doubts. This precisely should be borne in mind, because we still are

dealing with relaxation of social discipline and deep neglects in ideological-upbringing work with the youth.

All that we have experienced so far must be transformed into constructive proposals--we cannot afford the luxury of making any decisions without monitoring and controlling their implementation. I think that we shall succeed in accomplishing these tasks here more rapidly than elsewhere, because the party organization and public in Radom Province have even during the most difficult periods displayed an attitude meriting full recognition. This gives rise to optimism. Let us bear one thing in mind: all that we are and shall be doing we should be doing with a thought for the future. So that when we make a decision today we should not have to explain or cancel it tomorrow.

Views of Conference Delegates

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 21 Feb 83 pp 3,4

[Quoted comments; "At the PZPR Province Reports-Programs Conference in Radom"]

[Text] Tadeusz Dresler, member of the executive board of the PZPR Plant Committee at the General "Walter" Metal Works in Radom:

Last year at our works, as at other plants, though on a smaller scale, wages rose more rapidly than labor productivity. These days, enterprise management is universally criticized for this situation. But it should be borne in mind that management has been acting in accordance with the regulations in force. I am not certain whether we have clear-cut legal norms substructuring the economic reform and worker self-governments. The decisions of the central authorities are unclear and complicated. As a result, at our works the reactivation of worker self-government has already been under way for several months without being completed. The elections will be in April. An additional few months will elapse before worker self-government will consolidate itself.

Do we within the party have a clear-cut cadre policy? I don't know. The materials for today's conference merely mention cadre review. I know that personnel matters often are governed by chance. At the plant party committee we have established a team for cadre policies. Its task is to give opinions on persons who may be classified as cadre-in-reserve for managerial posts.

As regards the youth, which does not display any high political activism, our approach consists in entrusting to its representatives responsible tasks in the work of problem teams.

My conclusion is that the province party organization should ask the central authorities to be more explicit as regards the legal provisions governing the economic reform and worker self-government. I also conclude that the province party committee and the Central Committee should draft unambiguous principles of cadre policy and streamline the process of consultation with the public.

Wojciech Czerwicz, first secretary of PZPR School Committee at the Higher School of Engineering in Radom:

During the period covered by the report two periods in the activities of the school party organization can be distinguished: the first half of 1981 and the year 1982. During the first period, which was unusually difficult, we learned how to wage political struggle and how to do it consistently. At the time the political opponent wanted to manipulate the students and faculty. In that tough political struggle we also learned toughness. During the second period we patiently brought into order personnel matters at the school and slowly brought about political and personnel stabilization.

Our most important task is the problems of the youth. Initially it had been mute, secretive and self-absorbed. Today it is at least gratifying that students are beginning to discuss things among themselves and with us and associating themselves in youth organizations. We do not impose our help on them, but we are becoming convinced that we always are ready to provide it.

As regards the economic reform, my specific proposal is that economic sanctions be applied to research institutes working for the national economy. These institutes should not be a place for sinecures.

Mieczyslaw Wilczynski, first secretary of the Pionki PZPR City Committee:

The reports meetings and conferences within the city party organization in Pionki are resulting in many tasks for the party echelons and basic organizations. One of these tasks is to attend to party discipline. The low attendance at certain meetings draws our attention to the attitudes of persons who are less and less committed to party work.

We have assessed positively discussions pointing to the maturity of members and candidate members of the PZPR and their growing responsibility for affairs of the apartment buildings in which they reside, plants in which they work and POPs to which they belong.

In the course of the meetings and conferences many postulates and recommendations were voiced and resolutions were adopted which we should now implement. It is true, though, that there is a shortage of people for conducting these activities: the new conditions of management ensuing from the principles of the economic reform now being introduced restrict the possibilities for social services. To avert a regression, new forms and methods of social activism will have to be worked out.

A vexatious problem in our city, formerly kept unpublicized out of shame, is drug addiction. We have been attempting to halt this dangerous plague. New legal provisions defining the principles of prevention and control of this pathological phenomenon could help us effectively.

Henryk Maciag, chairman of the ZSL Province Committee:

The past period has been one of building an atmosphere of national agreement and normalization of the social situation in the country and region. Of major importance to this process has been the systematic implementation of the fundamental goals of the worker-peasant alliance.

The ZSL organization, which operates under the same complicated conditions as the [PZPR] party, has shared the same lot. ZSL members also have experienced doubts and defeats, but the peasant party has emerged successfully from the ordeal through which the entire nation has passed. This is confirmed by the performance of the [ZSL] chapters and the discussion during the ongoing reports-elections campaign. The recommendations made at the meetings and conference not only concern the affairs of our own organization and communities but also point to a growing feeling of responsibility for the fate of the country and nation.

The strengthening of inter-party cooperation is taking place. Together with the [PZPR] party we are implementing a program accepted by a majority of the rural population and holding joint meetings, encounters and sessions of echelons. These activities contribute to consolidating socialist transformations in the countryside and are of real help to agriculture. The growing trust of the rural community in our initiatives and the efforts of political and administrative authorities is greatly promoted by the new decisions on the old-age pension system for farmers as well as by the adoption of the decree confirming the permanence of all sectors of agriculture in Poland.

Waclaw Gorzkowski, first secretary of the Mogielnica City-Gmina Party Committee:

We must strengthen party ranks and engage in a permanent dialogue with working people. This will be decided by party discipline and commitment to the implementation of program tasks. Unfortunately, in the chase for quantity, over many years, qualitative criteria for admission to the party have been relaxed.

Basic party organizations may not be ignorant of who within its ranks deserves the name of communist and who does not. We must expect of every party member that he execute his party duties without regard to post occupied, and we must attend to the correct development of party ranks and tighten the requirements to be met by candidate members.

We face huge tasks. We shall cope with them once our aktiv is armed with actual knowledge and our echelons work properly with basic party organizations, once intra-party information precedes decisions. The party's word must be concrete: we may not make any empty promises and utter empty words.

It cannot be said that prior to 13 December the situation in our gmina had been tranquil. Meetings of the rural Solidarity had been held, and agitation hostile to us had been conducted. But even now whispered propaganda is under way. Only the methods of struggle have changed: the individuals once known for their illwill toward socialism are lying low and have stilled their voices, but they have not abandoned the struggle. These days it is difficult to conduct political work in the countryside, even though we also have economic successes. We have started cooperative housing construction in Mogielnica, laid some 15 km of a natural gas pipeline and built a bridge across the Pilica. In addition, school construction has started and a fruit and vegetable processing plant is under construction.

Krzysztof Szewczak, chairman of the SD Province Committee:

In 1981 the Higher School of Engineering in Radom had been a proving ground for Solidarity extremists, in response to the first protest of the scientific community against Solidarity. Elements of the contemporary political struggle percolated the current structures of the Radom academic center. The political situation within the academic community is complicated.

The principal problem of the Higher School of Engineering in Radom is the further improvement and development of its faculty and staff, and another problem is student recruitment. There is a need for agitation so that the best school graduates would enter the Higher School of Engineering.

Party authorities and the administration are exerting effort for a correct development of the Higher School of Engineering.

I wish you, for myself and in behalf of the Province Committee of the Democratic Party, the attainment of political and economic goals and assure you that our entire organization will support you.

Stefan Kundys, first secretary of the Bardzice Village POP (Kowala Gmina):

On comparing the indicators attained by the agriculture in Radom Province with their leading counterparts in the nation, I must state that in our province we still have considerable unexploited potential. It is good that a platform for joint action of the PZPR and the ZSL has been drafted, thus guaranteeing their optimal utilization. It is pleasing to know that more funds have been allocated in the province budget for the principal fields of agriculture--land reclamation and rural water supply. Land reclamation leads to mechanization which, in its turn, leads to growth of agricultural production. This statement warrants inferring a still more far-reaching conclusion. Poles can feed themselves. Our organizations has calculated that 0.25 hectare is enough to feed the average Pole--and consider that at least the double of that acreage is available in our country. All that is needed is to utilize this land properly.

Also not unimportant is the provision of systematic expert advice to farmers. Farmers may be extremely knowledgeable and experienced, but often their knowledge is of the obsolete kind and could be updated--e.g. by means of television. A stabilization of prices in agriculture also is needed. We do not want to amass fortunes, but we need to have certainty and guarantees in that respect. It is high time for rebuilding a permanent worker-peasant alliance that could defend socialism while at the same time helping, on a day-by-day basis, to surmount the crisis.

Waclaw Strzebicki, first secretary of Nowe Miasto PZPR City-Gmina Committee:

The cooperation between our gmina and the Fruit and Vegetable Processing Enterprise in Miedzichod is good. Last year 1,600 tons of strawberries and 800 tons of commercial apples were procured from the farmers. In return, we get guaranteed supplies of compotes, mash and other processed products. I mention this matter because the province authorities want to terminate this agreement, so advantageous to us.

Now about our other problems. The State Residential School for children with slight mental retardation maintains poorly utilized carpentry shops. I ask the Office of the General Inspector of Education and Upbringing to organize during 1983/1984 a basic vocational school specializing in the carpentry and general construction trades.

We also have supply problems. There is a need to introduce the principle of equal treatment of town dwellers and rural dwellers. Rural centers should receive the same allotments of goods as urban ones and in some cases (such as rubber boots) even greater allotments.

Mieczyslaw Kaca, editor-in-chief of TYGODNIK RADOMSKI:

In April of last year TYGODNIK RADOMSKI began to be published for the regional reader market. Today it has a circulation of 25,000. SLOWO LUDU has markedly expanded its Radom branch. It employs 14 journalists. This newspaper publishes, especially for the province, an information page thrice weekly as well as a publicistic page twice weekly. More and more readers are receiving the new Wednesday magazine of SLOWO LUDU, devoted to the family, upbringing and the youth. The local branch of Polish Radio employs five journalists. More and more often, guests appear on the all-Polish broadcasts. ZYCIE RADOMSKIE follows closely the problems of the population of the city and province. In Radom there are branch offices of ECHO DNIA, the PAP and TRYBUNA LUDU.

These days the circulation of the regional press exceeds 100,000 copies. We employ 40 professional journalists. We have our own Basic party Organization and local chapter of the Association of Journalists of the PRL. We are a socially active community and we attempt to maintain daily contact with readers, work establishments and local communities. We write about politics and the economy, but we also write about human injustice, which still is not in short supply, as well as about reprehensible waste and bureaucracy. We are taking various organizational measures. A major role in improving our performance is played by the periodic evaluations made by the party echelon as well as by worker meetings and discussions with party activists. Once again, the Executive Board of the Province Committee will evaluate the attitudes and activism of the journalist community and consider the possibility of improving its difficult housing conditions.

Mieczyslaw Garlicki, first secretary of the Plant Party Committee at the Radio Ceramics Works in Kozienice:

These days party members bear a tremendous responsibility. We still often have to operate under difficult social and economic conditions. Our political opponent has been smashed, but he is trying to renew activity, attacking, and complicating stabilization.

The public is alertly watching our behavior and attitudes and judging the activities of the authorities. Many people are tired. There are no longer complaints about rationing, which is being gradually eliminated. But many among us are irritated by hasty and ill-conceived decisions such as those concerning the earlier retirement age, freedom of price setting in, among others, small industry and artisan trades, and franchise trade. Financial fortunes are being

amassed. Some people are growing rich while others run out of cash for living expenses toward the month's end.

The most important task is to surmount the economic crisis and improve the market supply. Our province party committee, party organizations and individual party members must struggle more resolutely for social justice, for a just distribution of what is available to us, and also for refining the mechanisms of the economic reform. Everyone, the entire society, must oppose waste and all manifestations of poor management.

Mieczyslaw Janik, general inspector of education and upbringing:

We have behind us a difficult period for the country and party. We express our appreciation to the army and militia for the responsible manner in which they had performed their duties during the martial law era. The army and the organs of law enforcement cannot replace the activities of the party and administration.

We agree that there is no return to the situation before 13 December 1981 and August 1980, but I wish to state that the social phenomena occurring prior to August 1980 have since then run a varying course. Until the party effectively overcomes incorrect phenomena, it will not gain complete trust. This hinges to a large extent on the functioning of the administration. But there still is a continual cadre turnover in the administration, along with a shortage of experienced personnel. This is largely due to the hasty decision to abandon the system of powiats counties --strong administrative units. We are now beginning to set up rayons. In my opinion, the approach to these matters should be uniform and, in general, the administrative system should be brought into order.

These days much is being said about the inflationary overhang. It is a fact that people who do honest work are much worse off and there is a great deal of poverty, while it is the speculators and wheelers and dealers who create the inflationary overhang.

Let me draw attention to the gaps in the materials prepared for the conference. They do not include an evaluation of the party's performance in the countryside, of the role of peasant self-government, and of the utilization of reserves at smaller agricultural and food processing plants. Problems of the youth and education have been treated too superficially.

Considering that Poland was the initiator of the UN resolution for upbringing the youth in the spirit of peace, I propose that a protest be made against the cold-war policy of the Western countries and the revisionist pronouncements of certain West German politicians.

Grazyna Szadkowska, first secretary of the Plant Party Committee at the RADOSKOR Leather Industry Plant:

Prior to the Province Reports Conference we at the RADOSKOR assessed the accomplishments of our plant party organization with its membership of over 1,400. The past period has not been tranquil. In the beginning we acted in the midst of a sweeping anarchy. Later, prior to the 9th Congress, our activities

revived, but later again we lacked the strength to implement the adopted resolutions and recommendations. During the martial law era also we needed some time to go over to an offensive to win over people and weaken the forces of the opposition. Public peace and the improvements in economic performance, at our plant, too, enabled us to concentrate on a broad party discussion of the reform and on the solution of wage problems.

This resulted in a reevaluation of attitudes and consciousness, but this does not mean that the struggle is over. During the reports campaign at our plant we realized that, too often, the attitudes of party members are identified with good work rather than with their presentation of ethical and moral examples and respect for and application of party norms in life.

We are again starting to assign individual tasks to party members, in connection with the current situation. This concerns such currently important matters as the more precise determination of the role of party members in the nascent self-government and trade unions. Party organizations may not disregard the living and social conditions of the work force and its related problems because, despite the rise in wages, living standards are at the same time falling owing to inadequately considered price increases. This is causing considerable anxiety among the working class.

Col Henryk Walczynski, province commander-in-chief of Citizens' Militia:

Until the introduction of the martial law the Radom Province had been one of the country's five regions to be most actively penetrated by the anti-socialist forces. It was here that emissaries of the Committee for Workers' Defense [KOR] first came, and it was here that a strong group of the Confederation of Independent Poland [KNP] had been formed. Ultimately, it was from Radom that the slogan of confrontation with the people's rule was proclaimed. The martial law completely reversed the situation. The Radom Province became one of the country's most tranquil provinces. Without going into the causes of this situation, it should be emphasized that at the moment when the menace hung over the state, forces opposing the anarchy arose among us. The working class demonstrated great reasonableness and understanding of the political situation. Its representatives, members of the Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia ORMO, came to the aid of the militia functionaries and army troops safeguarding law and order.

Altogether, during the first period 113 persons had been interned in this province, plus an additional 14 later. Hundreds of admonitory talks were conducted. The joint efforts resulted in that attempts to undertake hostile activities had ended in failure and underground structures of Solidarity could not be set up. It is worth noting that the martial law has also resulted in reducing the crime rate. However, as it gradually became more lenient, the crime rate began to increase. In 1982 8,265 crimes had been recorded. Their detection rate has grown. The criminals failed to avoid punishment.

Safeguarding law and order, the organs of Citizens' Militia are taking resolute steps to improve the protection of national discipline. Anti-speculation measures are producing effects. Property worth 26 million zlotys and US\$13,000 has been called in question with respect to persons exploiting market shortages.

In combatting the social malaise the Militia expects public support. This is a condition for a more rapid restriction of the damage caused to us all by marginal elements.

Janusz Zietek, chairman of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] in Radom:

Today's conference is also a highly important event in the life of the province organization of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, and we too are richer in the experience of the last few difficult years. It is a fact that many young people desirous of defending the interests of workers had joined Solidarity, but let us bear in mind that demagogic slogans reach more rapidly the minds of 20-year old people. The causes of the bitterness among the rising generation had been varied. These days the economic reform offers a chance for the youth, as propagated by the ZSMP. hence our efforts to disseminate its premises among all, including those manning workstations.

Acknowledging the importance of housing needs of the youth, the ZSMP organization makes every effort to shorten its path toward housing of its own. Patronage construction is passing its test. We are attempting to broaden its scale while at the same time exploring the possibilities for quickening the activity of construction as a whole.

Social commitment of the youth is a factor assuring the further development of our country. We are convinced that the generation brought up in People's Poland shall not lack the desire to work for the common good. Combining the initiative and energy of the youth with the experience of its elders provides a guarantee that the postulated goals shall be attained.

Stanislaw Golda, first secretary of the Zwolen City-Gmina PZPR Committee:

Our party organization consists of 600 members and candidate members. This is not a high number. During the period covered by the report about 100 people left our ranks. They could not withstand the psychological tension and the hard party work. There is no big influx of new members either. Recently we admitted barely a few persons to our ranks--persons who desire to do something for the country and nation, who do not want to stand aside and are not afraid to shoulder the burden of responsibility.

And there are quite a few problems in our community. The issues most often raised at party meetings are: the need to improve coal supplies for the population, as well as supplies of foodstuffs and manufactured consumer goods, and the elimination of the housing shortage. Here I must state that ever since last year not a single housing project in our city has been implemented. Currently some 3,500 citizens are awaiting housing of their own. The Lipsk General Construction Enterprise has not so far fulfilled any plan.

Several small branches of various industrial plans operate in our community. Their production yields virtually no material advantages to the gmina and city. This situation also must change. We propose that these firms be merged into a single large enterprise or simply shut down.

I also propose that a rayon court be established in Zwolen.

Jan Switek, farmer, Pawlow Village, Chlewiska Gmina:

The report stated that in our province about 2,500 hectares of land lie fallow. Thus, on the average, this represents a loss of 20 quintals of grain for each such hectare. This is a great quantity. We know that this land should be developed. But how should it be done? Some farmers, particularly the elderly and those living alone, who cannot cope with farm work, would willingly sell part of their land. But the current regulations in force make it difficult for them. The court costs of land sales often are higher than the value of the land. It seems to me that the only way out is to authorize gmina administrators to grant permits for purchases of land parcels measuring not more than 50 hectares in area each.

The problem of supplying farmers with coal also must be solved, and as soon as possible at that, as must be the problem of granting coupons to those meeting their obligations for the contractual deliveries of produce and livestock and the system of collecting insurance fees for raising the hog herd.

I repeat once more what most farmers are saying: until purchases of the needed materials and goods are made possible, interest in production and sales of crops and livestock will not increase among farmers.

Marianna Kawalek, member of the Executive Board of the Province Committee, director of the Cooperative Bank in Lipsk:

Since 1982 activism in the party has been gradually rising. The number of contacts between representatives of the Province Committee leadership and the party echelons and organizations in the gminas has increased. The quality of information and propaganda materials has improved.

But the work of the rural POPs is not satisfactory. Joint deliberations of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee were of great importance to this work. Its results also are positively influenced by the systematic implementation of plan tasks in the gmina as well as of the proposals and postulates submitted by the rural population.

In behalf of the delegates from the Lipsk Rayon I request assistance in building the hospital in Lipsk so that it could be opened before year end. The construction of a nurses' dormitory, without which the new health-service center cannot be adequately staffed, also has to be considered.

The still improper policy of establishing various rayon offices has to be brought into order. In establishing offices of this kind the comments and proposals of the gminas should be taken into account.

The party should regularly monitor the application of the economic reform. This must be reflected in ability to eliminate all unfavorable aspects of that application.

Andrzej Niebrzydowski, first secretary of the Sienna Gmina PZPR Committee:

The reports campaign has contributed to bringing order into the work and ranks of the party in the gmina. Meetings and conferences became occasions for displaying responsibility and discipline. Even so we are aware of the difficulties arising on the path toward full normalization. Some matters should be disturbing to us. As before, many proposals and requests sent by rural POPs to the authorities at various levels are being disregarded. There still is not a firm system for the implementation and settlement of proposals made by PZPR members and organizations. The number of problems which, according to the state administration, cannot be settled owing to the persistent economic crisis, the lack of proper conditions, etc., is rising. These answers cover up simple laziness and sloth among those responsible for settling specific human problems.

Despite the crisis, many proposals and requests can be attended to. But this can be done only by means of a resolute attitude and hard work.

The social situation in the gminas and the countryside is worsening. The enterprises and organizations being set up in the rayons, as well as certain province-level institutions, are heedless of the needs of the local population. The gmina is rarely informed about the findings of inspections, there is no one to build rural housing, and no one cares for the new cadre.

Jerzy Adamczyk, public activist:

We experienced a counter-revolution and an attempt to divide us, and not only us. This was to be an adventure on a grand scale. The Thirteenth of December put an end to it. During the most feverish days in 1980 and 1981 anyone who wanted to could say whatever he wanted while we party members kept silent, because we lacked counter-arguments and were ideologically disarmed. To this day we still are not a force setting the tone. Had we offered more arguments during that most heated period, the cost of the struggle would have been lower.

The 9th Congress, which is now a historic event, has provided the mechanisms assuring a permanent adherence to the socialist principles. The statute resolved upon at that congress is unprecedented in the history of our party. It defines precisely yet in broad detail the scope of the duties and rights of party members and basic party organizations. I am making a proposal that perhaps sounds somewhat contrary: every POP should be investigated to verify whether and how it adheres to the PZPR statute.

The statute also imposes on us the party duty of unremitting ideological-upbringing work. There thus cannot be a party meeting without an at least brief ideological lecture, without discussion of at least one point of the statute. This is not such a difficult matter. We have plenty of propaganda materials, except that at some party committees and POPs it has been pigeonholed.

Ideological-propaganda work, lecturers and agitators should be the strength of the party. American anti-communism has organized 1,500 institutes and scientific organizations for the struggle against us. We must respond to them with our ideology, our discussion, our propaganda and verbal agitation. The party derives its strength from the consciousness of the masses.

Marian Majczak, director, Lipsk General Construction Enterprise:

He contested the opinion of Stanislaw Golda, Secretary of the City-Gmina Party Committee in Zwolen.

It was resolved that a special team would investigate the state of construction in Zwolen.

1836

CSO: 2600/486

NEW GOVERNMENT SEJM AFFAIRS SPOKESMAN INTERVIEWED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26-27 Mar 83 p 8

[Interview with Krzysztof Trebaczkiewicz by Maurycy Kamieniecki; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Introduction] Recently, as we have already reported, there has been established a position of a government spokesman for Sejm affairs. Appointed to this position was deputy Krzysztof Trebaczkiewicz who was asked several questions by a PAP reporter.

[Question] Is the position of a government spokesman for Sejm affairs the first such position in Poland?

[Answer] This position has been established for the first time. As far as I know, there was no such position before the war either.

[Question] Does this mean that none of the other members of the government will be in contact with Sejm and with its commissions informing them of the work of his department?

[Answer] On the contrary. The aim is to make these contacts even closer. The government and its individual members are summoned before the Sejm, they are responsible to it, and are obliged to keep the Sejm and its commissions systematically informed, to submit reports of their activities. This Council of Ministers wishes to improve the discharging of this responsibility and to tie its activities more closely with those of the Sejm. The decision of the Council of Ministers aims to serve this end, among other ways, by establishing rules governing government representatives in the Sejm and in its various organs and by placing particular responsibilities upon all government representatives.

[Question] If this is so, then what is new about the position of government spokesman?

[Answer] During its present session the Sejm has been very active and it also sends to the government a great number of petitions and opinions of its commissions and inquiries, questions, and interventions of various deputies. The executive branch has to act on many more matters flowing from Wiejska Street [address of the Sejm] and has to solve many problems stemming from working

together with the legislative body. In order to accomplish all of this it became necessary to create a position of a permanent liaison between Sejm and the government for someone who would have the sole responsibility to see to it that all organs of state administration properly fulfill their increased obligations toward Sejm.

[Question] The decree which creates the position of a spokesman mentions new forms of presenting principles of government policy to the Sejm and of effective coordination of presenting government position. Specifically, what does this mean?

[Answer] One of the new forms, for instance, is supplying by government representatives to interested deputies information and clarifications concerning the intentions and motives underlying the government's position on concrete issues --and doing so sooner than up till now, even before the meetings of the Sejm commissions. This applies particularly to those issues which are difficult or evoke particular interest among the population and even public contention and which, due to this, demand thorough analysis and, at times, also clarification of misunderstandings which have arisen.

I will exert efforts to see to it that all assumptions underlying government policy which are presented to Sejm, particularly at the meetings of commissions are well justified, that they contain convincing arguments, and that they are presented by competent government representatives. The goal is that each organ of the Sejm will deal with uniform and consistent government position, that interdepartmental differences of opinion are clarified within the government itself and do not spill over into the parliamentary forum.

[Question] It has been stated at meetings of the government presidium that you are to fulfill also an innovative and organizational function in regard to relations between the government and the Sejm.

[Answer] I am supposed to see to it that the organs of state administration fulfill their constitutional and statutory obligations toward the Sejm in a timely and conscientious manner. On the other hand, the resolution of the Council of Ministers empowers me to organize and coordinate the functions of government organs concerned in such a manner that Sejm affairs will have the highest priority within the increasingly effective functioning of government apparatus and that the quality of all acts, proposals and documents presented to Sejm by the administration corresponds to the high requirements set by Sejm for the government.

[Question] What practical effect do interventions and interpolations by deputies have upon the actions of governmental organs?

[Answer] They signal the need to undertake various decisions. They simply are the impetus for those decisions. The frequency with which certain issues are addressed by deputies proves that these problems are painful, whether in regard to the economy or in other fields. These interventions pinpoint either loopholes in regulations or the need for a more energetic execution of already existing powers. In effect they enrich the program and the scope of government

operations. During the present session the number of interventions by deputies has reached an unprecedented level which illustrates the intensity of contacts between the Sejm and the government and the degree to which the Sejm takes advantage of its prerogatives.

Government attaches considerable weight to full and effective realization of demands contained in interventions of deputies. Organs of state administration are trying to take advantage of conclusions and postulates which they contain. Unfortunately, various studies point to the fact that here there are still many shortcomings.

[Question] So then the government talks about higher requirements for state administration in this regard. What are those requirements?

[Answer] They apply to the central administration, among others. For instance, reaction of a governmental department to an intervention by a deputy can not be limited only to a formal reply. It is simply necessary that those in charge of the department systematically analyze the information supplied by these interventions and that they also systematically assess the status of realization of many matters which stem from them. Signals coming from the Sejm should be taken into consideration in practical action. Those in charge of individual departments should check how this is being carried out by the administrative apparatus.

One of my duties is to check whether state administrative organs properly fulfill their obligation of carrying out of the demands contained in parliamentary interventions by deputies. This requires improving organizational methods and principles of cooperation between administration and Sejm.

[Question] You are a deputy and now you have been designated as government spokesman on Sejm affairs. How do you propose to reconcile both functions?

[Answer] I will have to play a double role, so to speak. This is not a unique case. Right now we have several ministers and deputy ministers who combine positions in central administration with honorable duties of deputies. My two-term parliamentary experience, my knowledge of mechanisms of parliamentary life and of problems which now preoccupy the Sejm, finally, my personal acquaintance with deputies should prove particularly helpful in carrying out the duties with which the Chairman of the Council of Ministers has now charged me.

12207
CSO: 2600/630

GLEMP STATEMENTS ON POPE'S TRIP TO POLAND NOTED

Homily at Warsaw Church

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 8 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Sm.: "What Is Needed Is: Action, Courage and Our Head-On Meeting of the Difficulties." Polish Primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp participated in a Holy Mass]

[Text/ (From our own correspondent) Continuing his pastoral visitation of the capital's parishes, the Primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp arrived on Sunday, 6 March 1983 at the parish church of St. Michael in Mokotow district to participate in a ceremonial Holy Mass. Father Monsignor Piotrowski, in greeting Father Cardinal, expressed his hope that the Father Archbishop's visit, while being a festive occasion for his entire congregation, will bring unity to the parish family. The homily delivered during the Mass by the Father Primate referred to the liturgical texts read in church on that day. It discussed the problem of the return to faith and of reconciliation with Christ. This reconciliation, understood as an internal renewal, should be shared by all the faithful, particularly so during this Jasna Góra Shrine Jubilee Year, during the year proclaimed as Holy Year, and also because of the approaching second pilgrimage of the Holy Father John Paul II to our country. We are getting ready for this pilgrimage, stated the Fr Primate, above all through prayers. However, the total spiritual essence which this pilgrimage will bring requires a return to faith, or our spiritual rebirth. May the gift of life be the most beautiful gift that we could bring to our Most Eminent Guest. Let us protect the lives of the unborn. Let us respect our neighbor. Let us bring to our lives the supernatural dimension through our participation in the Holy Sacraments.

Speaking about John Paul II journey to Poland the Fr Primate pointed out that this journey will have two fundamental purposes: veneration of the Mother of God on the sixth Centennial of the presence of Her likeness at Jasna Góra, thus, Her presence in the life of our nation, and, paying tribute, during the year after his canonization, to such a great martyr of love as was Holy Maksymilian M. Kolbe, who preserved love where there was hatred. Continuing his homily, the Fr Cardinal has mentioned the hopes that our society and its individual groups connect with the papal visit to our country. All of us desire to "fill the psychological vacuum we are in, to get out of the

passivity in which we are stagnating, to awaken our spirits." The Holy Father's visit "will not cure all our feelings, but, we trust, it will be able to overcome that which represents evil, illwill, and hatred." Speaking about the complex problems of our country, the Fr Primate stated that all difficulties can be overcome, however, one must be willing to overcome them. God alone will not free us from our difficulties. Our own action is needed, our courage, the head-on meeting of difficulties. For, the edifice which is our fatherland cannot be continuously filled with quarrels. These quarrels expose this edifice to the risk of "demolition" /rosbiorka-structural demolition to rozbior-historical political term for "partition"/ In order that such a thing might not happen, we need to trust God, we need to love what the Church teaches. Love is the force that triumphs over evil.

At the conclusion of the Mass a delegation of the parishioners expressed thanks to the Fr Cardinal for his visit and for his pastoral message. The Fr Primate bestowed his blessing on all the congregation. At the end of the ceremony the faithful sung the hymn "My chcemy Boga" /"We want God, Our Lord..."/.

Meeting With Students

Warsaw ZA I PRZECIW in Polish No 11, 13 Mar 83 p 2

/Article by kg.: "Father Primate Meets the Students."/

/Text/ On 21 February in the Warsaw Academic Church of St. Anna a meeting took place between the Primate of Poland, Fr. Cardinal Jozef Glemp and the student youth of the capital's institutions of higher learning. The basement of the church - the Hall of God's Mercy - was filled by a crowd of young people. After the rector of the church, the Fr. Monsignor Tadeusz Uszynski, greeted the Eminent Guest and members of the audience, the Fr Cardinal spoke to them. He was relating the impressions of his recent stay in Rome for the consistorium during which he received his cardinal's hat along with seventeen other purple-cloaked priests from all over the world. He shared his observations on some of the nominees and spoke about his personal contacts with many of them. He informed the audience, among other things, that he invited the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Lustiger, whose family originally came from Poland, to visit us in September 1983.

In the second part of his address the Fr Primate commented at length on the visit-pilgrimage to our country of His Holiness John Paul II that is being planned for June. He strongly stressed the religious nature of this papal journey. "We must say clearly that the Holy Father will come to a Catholic nation, such as it is," said the Primate. The official schedule concerning the time and the itinerary of Papal stay here has not been yet finalized, however, in the speaker's opinion, this matter will be taken care of in near future. Making proper preparations for this significant event is of great importance. Spiritual preparation is of particular importance so that the Holy Father will be able to come to a moral country.

The Fr Primate devoted a great portion of his speech to the relationship between the church and politics. He stressed that the church does not get involved in matters that are outside of the sphere of its proper activity. On the other hand, the problem of the lay catholics' participation in the political life of our country is a different matter. Their actions should be guided by the teachings of Catholic social science.

Next, the members of the audience asked the Primate a number of far ranging questions. Many of these questions concerned matters that had already touched upon, and, it seemed, already explained by the Eminent Guest; questions were asked about such matters as the papal visit and the church's relationship to politics. The fact that these topics come up time and again proves that catholic youth are very interested in them, and also that there is insufficient information on these, for instance, among the clergy. Yet, the questions also concerned those matters which were not mentioned by the Fr. Cardinal, but which, are a pervasive concern among young people. Thus, they talked about the meaning of suffering, the sense of responsibility for others, even for strangers, about youth participation in the anti-alcohol and anti-smoking movement, in the defense of the unborn, about the problem of respect for governmental authority in our nation, etc.. One of the questions concerned the role of Christianity over the past 2,000 years of world history. Has anything changed for the better in that time as a result of Christ's teachings? The Fr Primate replied that, first of all, we should stop to consider what would the present world be like without having experienced Christianity. Undoubtedly, the innumerable works of mercy and the life witness of the many saints and martyrs have played a tremendously positive role in the history of mankind. "Evil is loud while good is concealed, silent and does not overpower us." "Through Christ there came a lot of good into the world." - these were the words of the Fr Cardinal.

After the meeting, the Fr Primate J. Glemp came up to the young people and talked with many of them, then, together with the Wrocaw Sufragane, Adam Dyczkowski, who had been the academic pastor of this town for many years, Fr Primate dispensed to those present his pastoral blessing.

It was a very pleasant and successful meeting, the first contact of Poland's Primate with youth since his return from the consistorium in Rome.

9934
CSO 2600/575

POLAND

LOCAL PARTY OFFICIALS ANALYZE EFFECTS OF REPORTING CAMPAIGN

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 2, 19 Jan 83 pp 14-17

[Round table discussion, held 29 December 1982, on the subject of bolstering party strength in the light of the first stage of the reports campaign, with Adam Karolak, first secretary of the City Committee in Lubin (Legnica Voivodship); Jozef Kordecki, first secretary of the Gmina Committee in Lubrza (Opole Voivodship); Mieczyslaw Pabian, first secretary of the Plant Committee in Wezel, PKP in Olsztyn; Jan Przybylski, secretary of the Plant Committee at the Transport Equipment Plant (WSK) in Rzeszow; Andrzej Skapski, secretary of the Warsaw downtown city-district committee; Lech Stefanski, first secretary of the City-Gmina Committee in Szczeczeszyn (Zamosc Voivodship); and Czeslaw Wojciechowski, first secretary of the Gmina Committee in Pepowo (Leszno Voivodship); at the editorial offices of ZYCIE PARTII, which was represented by Igor Lopatynski, Tadeusz Kolodziejczyk, and Lech Winiarski: "What Did We Get out of the Reporting Campaign?"]

[Text] [I. Lopatynski] The process of party renewal is the subject of our discussion today. The party has just seen within it the completion of the first stage of the reporting campaign, which provided a great deal of experience worth generalizing. So, then, what sort of progress is being made in bolstering the party's strength using the example of the experience of your party organizations and echelons?

[J. Kordecki] In our gmina we can say that there has been progress. How does it show? Attendance at meetings of the POP [Basic Party Organizations] is on the increase. Those members which have not been taking part in the party's life recently have been coming to them. Another sign is the fact that there is greater discipline as evidenced merely by the fact that we are not having problems with people not paying their membership dues. Third, the nature of discussion is changing. Although there are exceptions, because this depends on the POPs, discussion is becoming true party discussion. This means that even if we are talking about coal or about the shortage of fertilizer or spare parts or batteries, for example, the discussion is from the party's point of view. Members are calling for information about what was passed at the meeting, what was done. This is a good sign.

[C. Wojciechowski] I share many of Mr Kordecki's feelings. I represent a typically agricultural gmina, and the whole activity of the party is based largely on the rural POPs. We have 13 of them. This is also how many villages there are.

Has there been progress? In my gmina the party did not break up during the difficult 1980-1981 period. We did not have a peasant "Solidarnosc" in any village. We did not have it in the plants either. For this reason the party organizations' activity went on as though there had been no attack on the party.

Is the party visible in the rural areas? Yes. In many cases the POPs are the inspiration behind any sort of rural action. Their operation is generally accepted by society.

Insofar as development in terms of numbers is concerned, I have to say that since August 1980 we have not taken in a single new applicant. During this period we crossed 85 people off the membership rolls, and in 15 of these cases this was because the members turned in their party cards. And in our group there are those who would like to come back.

[A Karolak] I represent a typical mining town and echelon in Lower Silesia. Our activity is subordinated to the affairs of the Copper Mining and Mill Complex.

I will start with the town conference. Like the top officials we rate it very highly. Seventeen people took the floor on their own initiative. The ideological and political problems were given particular exposure. This is understandable, because we stepped up this sort of action in Lubin after August.

Among party members we are seeing three sorts of attitudes. One is that nothing has changed, and nothing further will change. There is a second group with the attitude of mystics. They are waiting for the proverbial miracle to happen. The third group has a very rational attitude. In the course of the reporting campaign we noticed that these reasonable attitudes were becoming more and more common.

Where are we concentrating our efforts? On building up the ties between the party and the masses, which in our case means with the workers. We are basing our efforts on party members' direct action in the community. It is a question of training them, of passing information on to them. We arm them to the extent that they can simply deal directly in a discussion in which arguments from Radio Free Europe and other Western propaganda sources are raised. We also point out divisive trends in the party and focus attention on combatting them.

Is there any activity? Yes, except for the moment we are observing this active stance among activists. It has not been passed on to the rank and file party members.

Now a few words about the forms and methods of work. In Lubin we have an active OKON [Citizens Committee for National Rebirth]. We asked OKON activists to let a consultants' group come into being with the idea that it would be used not only by us but also by the mayor of the town and the MRN [Town People's Committee]. In addition we focused on workers in the party leadership, that is, people who were on the City Committee or the Voivodship Committee or else other echelon bodies. Often these people act as though they are lost. Why? Because from the echelons they receive material which is very specialized and not very understandable. They could not get much of an idea what it was all about. Therefore, we worked up the sort of information -- our employees did this -- that is like the information prepared for deputies' inquiries.

[L. Stefanski] There has been talk here about the party's losses. From my own experience I know that many of the people who left the party should make us sorry, but 70-80 percent of them should have left long time ago. In 1981-1982 the party organizations were whipped into shape. Those comrades who had not been to meetings for a year or more, those who had not paid their dues, were listed, and then in December the secretary put on some pressure and the dues were paid, but under pressure. These are the people who were not on the same path with us. Most activists proved themselves to us on 13 August and right afterwards. These activists were there with us day and night when we needed them. They appeared spontaneously, without asking whether or not they were needed.

At the reports meetings we started to take an accounting right in our own backyard, because it used to happen, for example, that the party meeting in the hospital had people complaining about the gmina cooperative, about how badly it was operating, but nobody wanted to talk about his own operation. Now it turns out at the reports meeting that there are a lot of things to be put right at the hospital itself, things which the party organizations need to take up. And at most meetings the discussion goes the same way. On the other hand, in the offices and institutions the party discussion is worse, and this came as sort of a surprise. In the town and gmina offices people had to be prodded to take the floor.

[M. Pabian] From the beginning of the term the party organization of our railroad group suffered rather heavy losses, because we suspended nine people and crossed 163 off the membership rolls altogether. Most of them said goodbye to the party following the Fourth Central Committee Plenum. At the same time since September of 1982 we have taken in two new applicants and we have a dozen and some people's declarations about people whom the basic party organization secretaries were convinced could come into the party if there were only some sort of incentive.

In the operating program which was created on the basis of the basic party organization (POP) reports meetings we have a point written in concerning the development of the party's membership. The reports and program conference charged the plant committee executive board with discussing the possibility of membership development with the POP secretaries at least twice a year and with analyzing the activity undertaken by the party organizations to develop party membership at least once a year.

During the term we had some difficult moments resulting from the atmosphere surrounding the reports-elections campaign in 1981. For example, things got to the point of certain divisions in some of the basic organizations, with the "old" ones on one side and the "new" ones on the other. The new ones were those who were elected, but the old ones were the proved, experienced party activists who lost out during the course of the reports and elections campaign, for various reasons, often irrational ones, but we got things to the point of reconciling these two generation groups. Through talks with the members of these party organizations we got things to the point where a large number of "old" people entered the POP activist group or got onto the executive board through supplementary elections.

In our work we are also using activists outside the plant committee as a basis. We have a group of several dozen activists who have always been at the beck and call of the town committee or plant committee all through the difficult periods, especially prior to 13 December 1981. They took part in various sorts of drives. Through a strong, firm attitude toward things they managed to get the weapons out of the hands of the political adversaries. The workers of our group demonstrated sound judgment and the right attitude throughout the entire difficult period. This stems from tradition, because it was none other than the railroad workers who formed the framework of the Polish state in Olsztyn and were the people who put the red and white flag up in our town.

[J. Przybylski] Progress in bolstering the party's strength is progress in the skill of having an impact on the community. In our plant one can still see evidences of a passive attitude and indifference to the initiatives of the OOP [Departmental Party Organization], even concerning its presence in the work environment. Worker members are very emotional about the actions of the party's central leadership, more so than to the activity of the POP or OOP. The party's role is simply assessed as being the main incentive factor for the whole country's socioeconomic life.

What are things with the OOP's influence and role in the departments of our plant? We are seeing many instances where workers who are not party members are calling on the party organization to act as arbitrator. Social problems and issues concerning the organization of work are presented to the POP.

In my opinion the OOP's ability to operate in the workplace can be improved by upgrading the personnel movement. It is a question of seeing that the slogan that the manager is the natural ally of the OOP becomes a reality in all cases. In individual contacts with worker members, especially young ones, the manager has an impact on them in terms of moral training and socio-political consciousness.

Has there been progress in the ideological and political unification of the party? This progress is visible. In the reports campaign there was no statement questioning the party's role in the structure of the state.

By our observations, nonetheless, the reports campaign did not bring vitalization. We saw enthusiasm in discussions cool. The actions of the central leadership are the most powerful incentive for activating our organizations.

[A. Skapski] Did the reports campaign bring about activation within the party? Yes and no. First of all, in the Downtown district it brought a certain stage of internal housekeeping to an end. What do I have in mind? The reports meetings were the last moment when most of the people who were not very active or whose souls were dead up to that time broke away from us, and a substantial part of the organization was called to account for itself. But from the formal side, this means attending meetings, paying dues or being active in one's occupation. On the other hand, with a few exceptions, there was no change in ideological and political attitudes or differences.

What else did the reports campaign produce? A sudden decline in the number of comments directed to the higher echelons, comments that outside somewhere people are doing something bad, that they are not working well, that they are not cognizant of something, and so on. The emphasis was on the intraparty affairs and intraparty matters related to production, the youth situation, social organizations, and so on.

The decline in nervousness did not come about merely because of the campaign itself, but as the result of a whole string of events and circumstances. Pragmatism and a concrete approach predominated.

There was very severe examination of the party organizations' leadership. We had a rather large number of cases where as the result of the reports meetings the members of the executive board resigned, because it was proved that they did not work much. Very often members elected again to the executive board or even to the post of secretary people who had discharged those same functions in previous years.

One of the main issues facing the party organization in the Downtown district is current activation of young people, but it is difficult to be proud of the achievements made here on a mass scale.

[I. Lopatynski] Let us pass on now to another subject, the recreating of the ties between the party and working people, the gaining of their trust through the prism of action which the party echelons and organizations undertake. To what extent does our activity meet the needs of working people, and in the minds of society do we deserve the name of the party of the just? Important here are all the undertakings which improve people's living and working conditions or make it easier to satisfy the everyday existential and social needs of workers and their families. There is also just personnel policy. What sort of progress is there in this area?

[J. Kordecki] What interferes with gaining people's trust? A guy is not going to be convinced by propaganda now. He wants to see with his own eyes when there will be an increase in the supply of spare parts, when there are going to be tires and so on. The peasant understands the difficulties, but I think that we should say straight out that next year there will be progress in a certain area and that this year there are going to be bat-

teries for just about everyone. When the peasant becomes convinced that the authorities are telling the truth, he will trust them. After so much twisting and turning, we are not going to gain much by propaganda.

One other thing: The rural party organization is operating alongside the agrarian circles and other organizations. It would be a good thing to define the role of the rural party organization in a clear way, so that its secretary, usually a simple farmer, knows what to do and how to organize the work. It would be a good thing for time to time in ZYCIE PARTII to include articles on the methods of work of the rural POP party secretary or plant POP party secretary.

[A. Karolak] Let us talk about the party's credibility. You will probably all agree that during the 1970's the worker became alienated. He had no impact on his own fate. After 1980 there was tremendous pressure, and not just from the political adversaries. It often came right from our own group, our own family. For this reason a lot of party cards were sent back.

What is going on now? Well, we have noticed that something has happened in the attitudes of the workers. At meetings, especially in POP and party groups, the workers are beginning to talk more and more, except that they are talking about minor matters. But we must generally learn to see through the eyes of the workers. We do not always manage to do this in the party echelon. We sometimes present the workers with regional problems, issues of the country or of international policy, while the worker, for example, is having problem with a hole in his shoe.

We have to change our point of view. What are we doing? Alongside the service given to meetings through the secretaries and other employees of the city committee, we have introduced numerous meetings on the work-site. Such a meeting was held on 24 December in the mines, at one of the miners' sections. And what did we find? Well, among these people in their work stations there was no division into people who belonged to the party and people who did not. Everyday problems were brought up, because that is what we handle most in Lubin. We treat this form of meeting as the direct collection of opinions, because we were able to learn how the workers live and what is bothering them. Basically, nearly everyone we talked to said that things were better, materially better. And for people directly employed in production, this is very important. In this way we become credible as a party.

Another issue is that of the workers' role in monitoring activity. When a worker is on a commission which has oversight, he is very active. On the other hand, when he has to bring up various shortcomings at a meeting, he begins to run into difficulties. In connection with this fact, we have charged the secretaries with providing full security for these workers, which means that they must see that their critical remarks do not later have an impact on their bonuses or on their work allocation. In the mines it is important for the worker, for example, not to be given too many free days, which would mean a loss of 2,000 zlotys' pay.

[L. Stefanski] A great deal depends on plant management. In most plants the directors are party members, except that not all are party directors. Where the manager or director really cares about the party organization, the party organization really operates well.

In our KMG we have adopted the principle that in listening to the suggestions made at meetings, each of us will try the next day to reach the speaker in his work post and see with our own eyes what he is talking about. This review includes the organization secretary and the director too, and right away there is cooperation to take care of the matter. People want to be respected, for there to be a response to their complaint, a response positive or negative, but a clear one.

[I. Lopatynski] Recently at a meeting with the editors-in-chief of the central press Mr Barcikowski used the phrase that today's party is stronger than that of the period prior to the Eighth Party Congress, that is, before August 1980, because the party, which then had more than 3 million members, had discipline that was more apparent than real, and only appeared to be uniform and of one mind. The mass of the party membership was unfree and dead. What sort of changes have come about in the party force, and in the party's ability to be a leader in its own regional groups?

[A. Karolak] Prior to the Eighth Party Congress I was an instructor in the Voivodship Committee. I took up economic problems. As instructors we went to various meetings and wrote reports, which contained a reflection of the criticism of poor economic policy, errors in foreign trade, and improper personnel policy. The effects of this criticism, however, did not result from the party machinery's domination of elected bodies, and attention was not given to the signals which came from the POPs and party groups.

[A. Skapski] I think that prior to the Eighth Party Congress the party was "too polite." I am talking about party organizations and about the members. I did what I wanted, because I made suggestions and timidly asked what was being done about them. On the other hand, party members now are more consistent. Something is being restored from the postwar period, from the period of party attitudes in those years.

One of the members said here that today propaganda will not have any impact. Well, the propaganda of the 1970's surely will not, but wise, deliberate propaganda can do a great deal.

Getting back to the basic subject, the link between the party and the society, I would say this: We have come out of a period of mistrust and some naivete with regard to the party. Maybe trust in the party as a whole has not yet been restored, but we have indifference inclined towards us. There is some sort of neutral stage based on an observation of how the situation is going to develop, to what extent the party is going to be reliable, and so on. After the shock of the introduction of martial law, people began to assess in rather positive terms the way the market situation was put in order, the rationing, with all the complaining that

it was too little and so on. There is also the beginning of a renewed trust in the party in terms of the local party organizations, wherever these bodies are doing a good job of serving the working forces.

Insofar as trust in the administration is concerned, beginning with the central administration I would say that not very much has been achieved here. There is still the prevailing conviction that on top, in the ministry or the industrial association people do not know very much about what is going on at the bottom and that the people in authority do not make very good decisions.

[T. Kolodziejczyk] Up until now your interesting observations have only dealt with the past and the present. It would be useful to continue this discussion into a consideration of the future. What am I thinking about here? Martial law is behind us. In view of this, how are the party organizations and echelons managing today to conduct party activity under conditions which are completely different from those faced at any time in the past? Today, for example, we know that by the end of March there is to be a self-government in all the plants. That is what the law says, and it has to be, whether anyone wants it or not. Given this, first of all: How would we like to see this process go? Second, how do we set up a self-government system in the places of employment on a permanent basis, period? Do the party organizations already have a view of their role? After all, the leadership role here will not be of the same sort as we once had in the KSR [Workers Self-Government Conference]. Let us take agriculture. Will the gmina groups manage to convince the peasants about the farmer self-government? Take the trade unions, same question. Today are the party echelons and organizations able to set in motion those mechanisms, especially the plant mechanisms, which go together to make up what we generally call socialist democracy?

[J. Przybylski] For example, I would say that in my plant the party has room to demonstrate organizational initiative in creating the self-government and trade union, but there is another problem, that of the object of the unions' and self-government's action. There is general acceptance of the instigating groups, the founding committee of the unions, the consulting council which is to create the nucleus of the self-government, but after acceptance there will be an observation stage to see whether these organizations are trustworthy.

[A. Karolak] I agree with Mr Kolodziejczyk that we are talking about the past, while our suggestions and conclusions concern the future. It is a question of whether another mistake will be made, of orienting ourselves about what led up to the crisis. Going back to the past I am going to disagree with Mr Skapski. It is true that after the Eighth Party Congress there was no sense of fight, because there could not be any. Only the working class has it, but we sort of silenced this class. We made the party an institution which operated effectively, but by appearances rather than in reality.

It began with carpets of asphalt, when the secretary of the Voivodship Committee ventured out into the field, and when Gierek came, the grass was painted green. After all, this took place right before the very eyes of the working class. These are facts which are brought up to this very day. I hope that we will manage to draft documents which show the sources and mechanisms of the crisis. I think that we are showing the role which bureaucracy in the party played in weakening its bond with the working class.

There is always the problem of information. In our country the flow of information continues to work improperly. We do not know how to work with information. For example, previously the Central Committee's resolutions were very general. A resolution came down from the top, and our "artists" at the various levels added something on to it, made it fit local conditions. The result was that we had no overall outline of the resolution. There is also the problem of the information going up to the top. For example, I am at party organization meetings, and then the POP secretaries file information with the city committee. In these accounts I see nothing of what the people were talking about at the POP meetings. We do not have personnel prepared to glean what is most important in the information and compile it so that the content of the valuable elements will not get lost along the way.

[Skapski] Sometimes the party machinery's domination stems from the minor details of daily life. The party echelon member elects to work at a job. He is constantly tied up. He has to stand in line. He has to remain on the job longer. In this connection, the person who sits on the committee day in and day out does something for that committee member in his place. At the employee councils following the conference we pointed out these matters. Social bodies like environmental commissions, for example, should be fully active, but if some committee member does not prove himself, he should be changed, because any such slackening of the activity of a single activist bears with it the danger that the party machinery will take over and dominate.

[Winiarski] Personnel policy is tied in with the question of trust in the party. I was at the city-section conference in Baluty in Lodz and in the Downtown district of Warsaw. I was amazed at the severe criticism of practices in the personnel area. Contrary to the recommendations of the Central Committee, contrary to the line of the Ninth Party Congress, the mechanism of a personnel merry-go-round was revealed. People who were either inept or dishonest are removed from their positions, but then later they quietly turn up somewhere else in similar positions. At the meeting of the Downtown district in Warsaw a strong statement was made that this is an issue of various set-ups, that they have to be broken up completely and new ones must not be permitted. How do you gentlemen view this? Is this phenomenon reflected in your [organizations] too?

Another matter disturbs me. I think that the local bodies of power have been put to sleep, that is, the people's councils. Recently the Armed

Forces Inspectorate ran numerous audits on the administration. They found scandalous instances of carelessness, ineptitude, and excesses. And who was the last to learn of these improprieties? The people's councils. Why is it that the people who after all are elected by the society at large do not use their control authority mandated to them to exert the influence stemming from our political system? I am afraid that if the local official bodies continue to remain asleep, then at the time of people's council elections the people are going to tell us: "Those other council members did not work out, so what assurance is there that the new ones are going to be any better?" How do all of you view this?

[Pabian] At PKP Wezel, all personnel suggestions from the various plants first are reviewed by the POP, which gives its opinion, before the Executive Board makes its recommendation. At the inspiration of the Plant Committee, after all, our POP take a very strict view from the very beginning of the new terms and are vigorous in dealing with directors, heads, and supervisors who are conservative and incapable. As the result of this fact, several of them had to give up their positions at work. They did not move into parallel positions but to appropriately lower ones. Our Plant Committee consistently assessed the managerial personnel of our Wezel, but we want to send part of what we call the nomenclature on to the POP.

Over October and November of 1982 we also reviewed all the positions in the area of the PKP Wezel. As a result certain personnel changes were made, some people were removed, especially in the social service, that is, the heads of the cafeterias. Basically all the personnel changes we made during this term have been changes for the better. The moral authority of the party organization has been elevated, and this gives people a better attitude toward the party, perhaps one that is even better than merely the indifferent inclination towards us mentioned by Mr Skapski.

[Kordecki] I am chairman of the Gmina People's Council (GRN). What can I tell you? The council is not operating very well. Why? Because of the so-called "key" adopted during previous elections. This meant the extension of terms.

Part of the GRN council members are made powerless by limited competence. If anything can be changed, it will only be after the new law is adopted, because at the moment, what can the GRN do? It receives indicators given in percent from the Voivodship Office, and specified quotas. All it can do is discuss whether one road can be constructed or two within the framework of them, and whether it will be in one locality or another. But that is not enough.

[Lopatynski] Now let us talk about the influence party members have on the production processes, about the role of the POPs and echelons in implementing the economic reform.

[Przybylski] Within the framework of open party meetings we have conducted training on the subject of the economic reform. The workers understood that the altered relationship to them would consist of the fact that the superiors would really be interested in the results of their work. The middle-management personnel also understand that they must improve the ways of calculating direct costs, and this will be required both of them and of the blue-collar worker. On the other hand, neither level has an understanding of how to define the causes underlying the jamming of the reform implementation machinery on the national scale. This is considered to be the failure to understand the reform at the grass-roots level, but is this really it?

Up until now we have not managed to work out our own view of the new incentive system. There are several causes: lack of a labor market, absence of the employee self-government, and inability to conduct proper employment policy. Soon the plant party organization will come out at open meetings too with information for the workers concerning the modification of the economic mechanisms in 1983, and with targets for the new incentive system which we promised to present for consultation later.

[Karolak] Insofar as the reform is concerned, we greatly activated the PTE [Polish Economic Society] and NOT [Chief Technical Organization] at the voivodship level, in our organization too, and in the town. Even when we are getting political documents ready, we turn to them and ask for an assessment of the party's place, because this is a rather complicated matter. What we want is for the party to have an impact on creating the plan, on the factors contributing to labor productivity (wages, bonuses, and so on), to the lowering of production costs, which I think is most important to the reform at the present time.

[Stefanski] I am wondering where the incentive function of wages is to be found. I do not see it. It still seems as though the people who come and go as they like, the do-nothings, the guys who like to drink, have supplements and bonuses exceeding their basic pay. Will they work? It does not pay them. And until we work out wage incentives, the reform will be shaky.

[Kordecki] Our party's influence in increasing agricultural production is inadequate. There are various reasons, such as price policy. We have good party members. We can give them as an example, but the influence on the others behind for the moment is minimal. What are we doing to change this? In allocating scarce commodities, tractors, machinery, spare parts, and so on, we take into consideration the extent to which tasks have been carried out vis-a-vis the state.

What is the goal? I think that during this difficult period moral influence and persuasion must go hand in hand with ordinary force, because mere words are not going to do much.

[Pabian] I would like to add to this subject the desire that railway transportation not be the barrier to the country's economic development that it has been. It seems to me that the directions for the rebuilding of the railroads' support and infrastructure are realistic and that in 1985 we should already begin to sense basic improvement.

[Skapski] In the Downtown section of Warsaw we are looking at the economic reform from the viewpoint of the activity of the various central offices and ministries. We have concentrated on utilizing the intellectual potential of the party activist group. For example, we have created a group of exports, which has drawn up three variants for the concept of the trade union movement. We have realized with satisfaction that one of these variants has been taken into account in the draft law on the trade unions. With the participation of the activist group of the KD Central Offices Commission (Komisja Urzedow Centralnych KD) the Central Committee Secretariate has drafted a resolution on the party's work in the ministries. Under the auspices of the KD Sociovocational Commission (Komisja Spoleczno-Zawodowa KD) a group of experts was appointed to draw up analytical and very critical material concerning the impact of various party organizations and institutions in the Downtown section on the acceleration or delays in the economic reform.

Our City-section Committee (KD) has devoted a great deal of attention to utilizing personnel in connection with the reorganization of certain ministries, the elimination of the industrial associations, and so on. During the initial stage of the inculcation of the reform many dangers arose for certain scientific-research institutes and cultural and educational facilities. We tried to overcome the tendencies to do away with them merely for the immediate profitability considerations involved.

[Karolak] Two words about directors. Following August 1980 they were the first vocational group to be very forcefully attacked. The directors later assumed the whole burden of cooperating with "Solidarity." And today their situation is becoming difficult. The self-governments and trade unions will be reactivated. We, the party, are operating in the enterprises, and each of these elements of economic life at some moment can say: "Listen, Directors, you don't fit in..." I think that it is very important, insofar as the economic reform is concerned, to give careful attention to putting the director's status in order and defining it.

[Lopatynski] Let us go on to the final part of our discussion, to what pertains to the party members' political activity and awareness. On this subject we should take into consideration attitudes in the major sociovocational groups and working methods related to them. In the lower levels to what extent are we prepared now to wage an offensive against the political opponents and adversaries, against ideological sabotage?

[Skapski] I think that all party activity in this area must somehow be directed at improving the market situation, which will largely determine the attitude towards the party. In the creative circles in the Downtown

section it is difficult to talk about new trade unions, because there is a constant battle over suspending or maintaining the associations, and there have been a lot of question marks related to this. The trade unions in this group, practically speaking, had far more restricted possibilities for operating than anyone else had, because in parallel fashion we had operating here creative associations and societies which were discharging many social functions.

After the introduction of martial law, a political struggle was waged most strongly in these groups, without newcomers.

The party's resistance to sabotage must be directed in the good sense of the word towards the mass media, among other things. For example, a television program created not in general terms but with an interest in concrete issues, one which does not force a justification of things but provides food for thought, is a program which is well received, despite the fact that there can be heated discussion surrounding it.

[Przybylski] We can achieve an improvement in attitudes and the atmosphere through improved market supply. I should like to talk about political consciousness, however. We should probably take this to mean what comes out of convictions, that is, something which supports the activity of temporary elements.

The workers recognize our party's place and role in the structure and manner of exercising power. The thing is for the party to really be a party of the working class, and this means carrying out a policy of social equality taken to mean a distribution of consumer goods which corresponds to the contribution of labor. Therefore this is a sociologically founded awareness of the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat to exercise leadership.

On the other hand, in another social group we observe attitudes which show no indication of clear political awareness. It is true that these party members identify with the party's ideological-program declaration and the statutes is a code for them, but they do not fully accept the practice of the party's exercising leadership. Instead they call for the creation of a system of power which would boil down to pluralism, in the very broad sense of the word. In other words, the party should make certain concessions on behalf of other groups representing society, or, in keeping with the concept used of representing working people, but the concept "working people" for them is deprived of any class-oriented context.

This phenomenon is not massive in its scope. There are not many such comrades, but they exhibit activity which generates opinions. They are simply active. They come from groups outside the workers, social groups which are situated differently. This is the rule. There are also members of the intelligentsia who come from working-class families. They have a different understanding of these social issues. There are no such dangers there.

[Karolak] Insofar as the workers' attitudes are concerned, let me give an example, in our mining town the traditional ale houses. I was having a beer and a group of workers came up to me and said: "Comrade Secretary, we have something against you?" "What's that?" "Well, we are former 'Solidarity' activists." "So?" "You made another mistake. You should have done with the extreme what you did after 13 December, and made it possible to carry out ideas..."

That talk over the beer is your response to the question about what sort of changes are being made in the awareness of people "at the bottom." They are basically with us.

[Pabian] It is hard for me to develop the subject-matter, inasmuch as you are from city and city-section committees, because after all we do not run into such problems right in the clearly defined framework of the railway-workers' trade unions, but I want to repeat that the first unit of the Polish Workers Party, even before other PPR leadership was created in Olsztyn, Warmia or Mazur, started right with the PKP Wezel [junction], and that the railway workers were the first to build up the town. This simply has an impact not only on party members but also on people outside the party. The older experienced railway workers pass on their experience and recollections to their younger colleagues. They shape their consciousness on the basis of the tie to the profession, to solid, honest work.

Last year, during the centenary of the workers' movement, we set up four meetings in conjunction with various anniversaries and holidays. We set up a special meeting with the old-timers on Railway Workers Day. On the anniversary of the liberation of Olsztyn, on 22 January, we set up the third such old-timers' competition and celebration. We want to meet with the activists of the youth organizations. In this way too there is an impact on the consciousness of young people and we inspire them to greater vocational and political activity.

[Lopatynski] Thank you, Comrades, for sharing in this editorial discussion.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

SLOVENES IN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE--There are too few Slovenes in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and in our diplomatic consular missions. Although we give stipends to many students in Slovenia so that they will work in these organs, when they finish their education they do not receive appointments. The poor representation of Slovenes in the diplomatic service also results in a weak influence on relations with our citizens abroad and, because of today's linguistic barriers, this contributes to unnecessary misunderstandings. These were the main points established at today's session of the coordinating committee on the question of our workers temporarily assigned abroad of the presidency of the republic conference of the Socialist Association of Working People. [Text] [Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 25 Mar 83 p 2]

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