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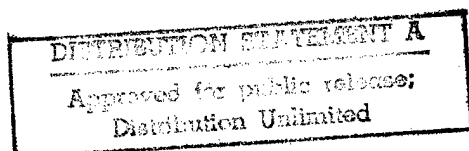
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14 September 1983

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2198



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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Consolidation of Party Ranks

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 9-10 Jul 83 pp 1,2

[Article by PAP: "Two Years After 9th PZPR Congress. Consolidation of Ranks and Gradual Increase of PZPR Prestige in Society"]

[Text] The 9th PZPR Congress took place 2 years ago. PAP journalists approached some delegates to that congress with a request to reflect on its importance and the extent of implementation of decisions made at the time. The comments include opinions on the course of the congress, the prevailing climate, and assessments of congress resolutions, their adoption by response of party memberships opinion and society at large, and the extent of their implementation.

The conditions under which the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress was held, according to Jerzy Fros from Myszkow Enameled Dishware Factory, were decisive for the congress's acceptance of the course of struggle, accord, and reform. That period was, and continues to be, full of mounting internal and external difficulties, but the party continues to follow its chosen road. That road is genuinely the only path to achieve stability in sociopolitical life and economic of the country. The congress resolutions and their proper implementation include the tightening of the party's bonds with the working class, winning its support, strengthening its role in all domains of society's life, and consolidating the worker-peasant alliance.

The implementation of the resolutions made by the congress and by successive plenary meetings of the CC resulted in purging the party ranks. Those wavering and ideologically disengaged from the party are now gone. We also got rid of those former members who did not feel comfortable with PZPR statutory resolutions. The conditions under which we are operating compel all party members to increased activism on the job and in party activities. This is the only road leading to consolidation of the party ranks and to gradual enhancement of party prestige in society.

The same problem was addressed by Zbigniew Karbarz, Air Personnel Training Center Rzeszow. It is possible to offer now a tentative assessment of the

path the party has taken since the congress, he said. It is evident that an overwhelming majority of party units have "found their place," recovered the pace of their work, improved their "shape" and enhanced their members' interest in intraparty issues. Rather than in eloquence, gains were posted in concrete substantive projects, e.g. the membership's major involvement in the development of anti-inflation and savings programs. In all quarters there are clear signs of heightened interest and economically concerned approach to the problems of local plants.

Walerian Bolinski, Zielona Gora Province, spoke about the implementation of the reform line approved by the 9th Congress: As an industrial engineer, I am primarily interested in the implementation of the economic portion of congress resolutions. The congress tasked the party with urgent implementation of economic reform as a basic precondition for Poland's resurgence from crisis and for the establishment of bases for further economic growth. Two years after the congress I can safely say that our resurgence is clearly visible. The congress resolutions are being consistently implemented, although they require a giant effort of the party and society at large. The question whether the Polish economic will stand on its own or collapse, still raised on occasion, is now groundless. Our satisfaction is increased by the fact that this became possible on the basis of our own forces and help from our friends, and contrary to the wishes and actions of our enemies. On the other hand, I am alarmed by the sluggish pace of the changes. I have some fears as well, concerning the nature of economic reform with the specter of a constantly increasing complexity of the system, its fragmentation into details, and uneven impact of its mechanisms.

Party Work on Basics

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 6 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by T. Kwasniewski: "Bodaczow Party Organization Work at the Foundation"]

[Text] A town-gmina committee meeting was held in Szczeczeszyn last Wednesday. Its first speaker was Engineer Roman Syty, PZPR first secretary from Brodaczow. Wednesday was the week's last workday for the Bodaczow margarine plant. There was enough work for 3 days only. The stoppage, forced by the lack of demand for margarine, is costly as well as irritating and demoralizing to the workforce.

When I visited Fat-Processing Plant in Bodaczow last Thursday, the highlight of the day was the just-completed hoisting of a construction crane. The crane was erected next to the boiler house, pleasing the eye with its lofty perch. Its welcome message was that at long last work was to begin to provide a third boiler to add to the other two, both worn and overused. The plant's performance is based on process steam. A steady supply of steam at proper temperatures and

pressure is necessary for uninterrupted operation and improved product quality.

Those two days with their totally unlike developments are typical of the life of the local party organization. Describing it, PZPR activists from the Zwierzyniec KMG [City-Gmina Committee] sparingly apply adjectives. The gmina certainly has some more vigorous organizations, e.g. in the sugar plant nearby, yet the Bodaczow PZPR unit is tolerably good, solid, as they come these days.

Within the PZPR we now often refer to "those days," comparing, remembering, almost reminiscing like war veterans. In this case, the references are made to the days when the Bodaczow organization had 1 out of 5 employees as a member, operating efficiently if judged by the number of meetings held, attendance, dues collection and membership gains, while all the links of social interaction in the plant--self-government, trade unions, and youth organizations--were functioning smoothly. It was a time when the plant operated at full capacity, a time when its PZPR unit was headed by Jan Duda, now convalescing from several heart attacks.

True, in numerical terms, there has been a large decrease in force, larger than in other places. Those who left the party included many persons working in production-line jobs. Out of 100, 58 comrades stayed in the POP. The latter, however, have been through a tough learning experience during the crisis, and the POP as a unit put a game front against political demagoguery. A period of vigorous activity followed when the party was making preparations for its congress and the elections were conducted. Later, the pace somewhat slackened, which was for the most part related to the fact that it had to take some time for things to fall into place in the wake of personnel changes which brought fresh inexperienced people into positions of authority.

Now, however, is the time for painstaking work at the grassroots, with no spectacular success in sight. To put it simply, it is necessary to keep wheeling the cart on, step by step, day by day, remembering where the next meal comes from and which concerns are the most important.

Such is the view of POP First Secretary Roman Syty. He tries to create no illusions in his evaluation of party work, taking a hard look at the issues.

On the credit side is the fact that self-government, reinstituted last September, is operating vigorously, and the POP has set up good relations with the Employee Council.

They ran joint consultations and discussion on new bonus rules and profit-sharing principles. POP also took a position on raw materials. Processing plants are currently taking over agricultural procurement, contractual deliveries system, and counseling from GS [gmina cooperatives] and PZZ [state grain procurement] and other institutions. This can be done in varying degrees. The Bodaczow plant opted for "100 percent," developing a complete range of services in raw materials, which requires the hiring of nearly 70 employees, causes an interim deterioration in economic indicators, and extra expenses, but is likely to yield long-term profit to the plant. The POP gave its approval to this solution, thus assuming the moral obligation to see to it that the venture proves healthy to the plant.

The POP took an interest in a program of economy measures and had a rather stormy meeting convened to provide opinion on this issue. Among other findings, it was resolved that the installations could be forced into more complete deoiling after seed extraction, with the result that oil-meal would be leaner, but refined oil yield would increase by as much as 2 kilograms per ton. The complex problem of quality was not bypassed, either. In part, it is related to the lack of demand for margarine which I mentioned earlier.

The POP has some complaints about the higher authorities. Raw materials were available, the margarine plant had unused production capacity, yet at the same time margarine was state-regulated. Suggestions and motions were made to eliminate margarine allotments. Unfortunately, no one cared enough to send even a pro forma response. Still, currently there is no state regulation, but margarine sales continue to be low. The Bodaczow plant supplies areas with no tradition or margarine use in the household that exists in the western part of Poland. The rural population persists in the use of lard. Not all things however, can be blamed on customary preferences, which are more easily overcome by products of better quality. And quality leaves something to be desired, as they well know in Bodaczow. At issue is a coordinated two-track operation: to provide complete technological outfitting for the plant with proper care for individual components and to institute good workmanship. What goes beyond technology and involves human honesty and dependability should be accomplished under moral, rather than only economic pressure. This is an area in which the POP has a part to play.

That part is by no means easy considering that during the plant's existence since December 1955 strong work traditions have not been established. Many employees continue to regard their jobs as extras to farming. The newly hired are young and inexperienced. There are also some signs of the attitude expressed in the cynical saying: See anything larger than a pair of lice-- swipe it in a trice.

Perhaps the drop in demand for margarine and oils (why was foreign exchange allotted to imports of suspect, dubious-quality olives when we have a sufficient supply of oil?) is temporary. But what if it is not? New solutions will have to be sought, e.g. increased offerings of fat supply to confectionery and bakery industries.

We have devoted much attention here to production because it is the topic of focus of the POP, which is natural, no heresy about it. The reform is compelling in dictating that care be taken about the plant's healthy operation including the entire cycle from procurement to sales.

The people at Bodaczow had long been astir before the trade union was established. Most appeared to be willing, but nobody wanted to act first, some basic energizer was needed. Someone had to start, so following one of their meetings party-member employees took the first step, ignoring the likelihood of charges that the "reds" were again trying to scheme. Their intentions were impeccable. Nearly a hundred declarations were collected, only a handful of party members failing to sign up.

Last March, the union was registered, but a lack of consistency showed again. To date, no elections have been conducted, preventing the union from launching normal operations.

What criteria should be applied to assess efficiency in party work is the recurrent question in Szczecbrzeszyn and Bodaczow? The number of meetings? The record is not bad. Attendance at the meetings? That varies, as in every plant working two shifts, with many employees having other jobs. By the contents of the meetings? Some are successful, others are not. For instance, a meeting to report on the nationwide session of workers' aktiv enjoyed much interest and attracted many nonparty employees as well.

It is worth keeping some faith that life goes on outside of meetings and sessions. Problems are resolved also in daily conversations, interaction at work, attitudes taken in the course of such contacts. And contact between POP aktiv and the workforce is good, enabling them to face any issue openly.

As in any organization, a spearhead group emerges that can be counted on in any circumstances. The POP can also count on assistance from Mieczyslaw Wielgosz, deputy director of the plant, Roman Wolas, Stanislaw Lewinski, KMG executive board member, a production engineering department chief profoundly concerned and emotional about his job and political activity. The KMG comrades give high marks to POP First Secretary Roman Syty for his attitude, activity and sensitivity. Their only worry is whether he can keep up the pace. He has taken on a tremendous load. Should he delegate more of his responsibility, perhaps?

What other measures of values can be applied? If we assess what is going in the youth organization and in political indoctrination, the score would unfortunately, be low.

There was a time when nothing but grand-scale politics provoked emotional involvement, while local concerns tended to be forgotten. There is a virtual reversal now, which is just as bad. Indoctrination sessions would certainly be more attractive and successful if they were conducted by outsiders who have fresh things to say. Experience confirms this view.

I realize I have no scoop to report from Bodaczow. I have no grounds to speak about some spectacular success in political activity. Yet I have the right to assert that painstaking and difficult party work at the grassroots is being conducted here day after day.

Political Activity Needed

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 13 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Bydgoszcz PZPR KM [City Committee] First Secretary Bogdan Michalak: "Political Activism Is Needed"]

[Text] Society's confidence in the party as a whole is developed by each individual party unit struggling to win

prestige. In many areas of society's life there is now a need need for political activism of the party. Obviously, a choice of the most important directions must be made. The Bydgoszcz party organization received its pointers in this regard at the latest plenary session of the KM.

Directions for enhanced activity are, of course, determined by appraisals of the party's forces and their deployment, both within the organizational makeup of plants and in sociopolitical organizations in Bydgoszcz.

At this time, the Bydgoszcz organization amasses 12 percent of the total of industrially employed workers. Party membership percentages vary considerably from enterprise to enterprise, ranging from 2.8 percent in the Bydgoszcz Refrigerating Equipment Factory to 25.9 percent in ZNTK [Rolling Stock Repair Plant]. There is a similar breakdown in nonproduction communities: 27.5 percent in offices and institutions, and a mere 11.7 percent in trade and services.

During the last 2.5 years, 306 candidates were accepted as party members in Bydgoszcz. This low influx to the ranks of our party in the past period was due to inadequately developed organizational and indoctrination activities of the POP.

Numerical increase of party ranks is, therefore, an important task. It should not be regarded, however, as a return to old-fashioned, improper methods of party activity, centered on a drive to increase membership with no attention to the development of quality. It should become a principle that for the most part, the party accepts as members, workers who prove their merit earlier in specific actions and active participation in societal concerns. A substantial segment of the party aktiv continues to be apprehensive about launching and conducting such activities. This attitude is unfounded, because a wait-and-see approach will yield no desirable results. Psychological barriers must be overcome more effectively.

In strengthening the party's ideological unity, the key role falls to party meetings, manner of their preparation, and consistency in implementation of their resolutions. A disapproving view must be taken of the trend, persisting in the POPs, to condemn the party's "top" or others for any mistake, while failing to apply the same standards to themselves in their own communities. Joint discussion in party meetings to evaluate specific events and human attitudes is the best way to affect the quality of the party membership to revise improprieties, to develop conditions favorable to effective work, and, in effect, to gain prestige.

This involves the exercise of leadership by the POPs in their communities. The slogan "a party member is a leader in his community" takes on a new meaning, for in all places where there is even a single comrade, the party's presence should be felt.

Certain POPs show much tolerance in evaluating their members' attitudes and neglect of the level of their ideological awareness, failing to expand the aktiv core and stimulate their task teams.

Such evaluations gave rise to the conclusions concerning the establishment of party groups composed of members of self-government bodies, the formation of task forces, and the expansion of the range of consultation on party documents, initiatives, and resolutions. Though still raising some controversy, this is the mode for the party to exercise its leadership and promote internal democracy under the new conditions.

Numerous forms of party training applied over the course of the present training year have yet to produce the expected results. It is the duty of every POP and KM to make an honest evaluation of this year's training activities and efficiency of the system for improving the aktiv's political qualifications, to follow the principle "Each activist of our party is an educated marxist." After all, political struggle proceeds also on the ideological platform, deciding about the role of marxist-leninist theory in our lives. We must not be short of arguments to use in its defense.

An important sphere for party activism is the economy. Currently, with persistently low output, a decline in the standard of living, supply shortages, and limited investment, party work in the economic front requires particular insight, consistency, and patience. Hence, it is an urgent task for each POP to have its members participate in the development of anti-inflation and savings measures. In the course of decisionmaking, party members operating within the city's 120 employee self-government bodies should find their answers to questions that go beyond "what," "how much," and "at what price." In political activity, these questions must be rephrased as "what for," "for whom" and "in whose interest." From the economic point of view, quantitative ratios are important; from the party's point of view, their political consequences are important as well.

Within the city's party organization, we must be bolder in developing party monitoring of economic activity, not only by rapid response to the consequences of adopted decisions but also by shaping party membership's opinion on resolutions and measures which are intended for implementation.

Our task, which is the task of every POP, is to provide political mediation whenever directions are being defined for the development of the city or of any work establishment.

The need for unity and cohesion in a party prepared for struggle against its political enemies is tantamount to the need for disseminating the idea of an accord. It is, therefore, of some importance, that we confirm our readiness to create links of that accord in Bydgoszcz by committed activity and ability to provide leadership by the force of our claims. The party cannot be indifferent to the political profile of trade unions and other societal organizations. The 181 trade unions existing in Bydgoszcz with their currently emerging subdivisions must receive some support from POPs. The wait-and-see attitudes and apprehensions of some activists, fearful of someone calling the trade unions party trade unions are groundless. After all, we are all united by the same class interest and the service to the good of the people in a socialist political system.

In our struggle to win over the young generation, party activism cannot be missing. Within the Bydgoszcz youth community there is an ongoing political strife, political and world-view related subdivisions come to the fore, but gradually the barriers of distrust, prejudice and a sense of a lack of prospects are being overcome. The waverings and ideological waywardness of a segment of Polish youth can be understood and must not be disregarded. For this reason, we recommend frequent dialogue with young people, various forms of frequent aktiv meetings, POP discussions with youth organizations, open party meetings, participation of party activists in youth camps, and finally, individual conversations with young workers.

The struggle to win over Polish youth represents one of the most serious political problems facing the Bydgoszcz city POP.

Party Indoctrination Problems

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 18 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by (Leg): "Tentative Summing-Up and Proposals for the Future"
"Selected Party Indoctrination Problems"]

[Text] During the past party indoctrination training year we dealt several times with the problems in party indoctrination courses. It was a year of a kind of resurgence of this important mode of party activities. Following many years of partywide underestimating the importance of educational and upbringing work in the wake of the difficulties of 1980 when a profound breakdown, under fire from massive antisocialist forces, made it difficult for many POPs to refer to any consistent party work, not to mention training, at long last conditions for restoring this type of activity became available. Considering that, the resumption of indoctrination in most POPs and the implementation by more than 40 percent of the POPs of 5 or more indoctrination sessions, 4 topics by 20 percent of the POPs, and 3 topics by 15 percent of the POPs prove the major extent of effort in this field. No indoctrination topic was taken up by 219, or 8.9 percent, of the POPs.

The system of indoctrination classes proved to be correct, as the previous system, with its subdivision into meetings "genuine" and indoctrination sessions, was burdened by pedantic features and failed to deliver.

What Will Come Up Next Season?

It is a correct decision, therefore, to retain in the next training year the above formula for basic mass indoctrination.

There is an apt choice of topics, as well, e.g., social justice under socialism and current conditions for its implementation, PRON's role in Poland's sociopolitical life, conclusions from an analysis of crises in People's Poland and problems in preventing their recurrence, the role and function of the socialist state as experienced in the last several years.

Those activists who attend party meetings and encounter people queries and doubts confirm that there is much convergence between such questions and topics proposed for indoctrination. This appears to be most important.

Offering a list of 11 proposals and leaving options for independent selection of other topics, the indoctrination program poses a basic requirement that all POPs discuss at least 6 topics, as a minimum. This upgrading of the requirements means that special care must be provided for the weaker POPs, both those who failed last year to organize indoctrination courses and others in which the quality and quantity of training sessions were inadequate.

An interesting item in the plan offers guideline topics for particular communities, consistent with their interests and needs. For instance, the teaching community is recommended the following topics, among others: "The value system in socialist upbringing (exceptional importance of the development of patriotic and internationalistic attitudes)," "Formation of historical awareness in the young generation" for employees of higher educational institutions and research institutes, while for cultural workers the following are proposed: "The party's position on creative intelligentsia in socialist society," and "Dispute on ideological heritage in culture." A set of offerings for the journalist, judicial, rural intelligentsia and industrial communities are being developed.

Top Flight People Should Become Lecturers!

Even a random listing of the topics makes the point that the topics are correctly, pointedly selected and difficult at the same time. While last year the very renaissance of indoctrination training was a source of satisfaction, its improved quality becomes forcefully the problem for now. At issue here is the availability of appropriate speakers and lecturers with a requisite extent of knowledge and ability to transmit it, along with necessary quantities of materials and modern audiovisual devices.

During the past year, certain centers, fairly remote from the province's capital and lacking their own staffs of lecturers, tried to salvage the situation by occasionally assembling members of several POPs and inviting party lecturers with the mediation of higher echelons. This method can do well only in exceptional cases. The principle should be uniform: it is necessary to find a POP's own solid candidates for lecturers and then, on the basis of WOKI [Provincial Center For Ideological Indoctrination] prepare them as required to perform a difficult and demanding task. In this regard, there must be some reliance on the old tested cadre as well as a bold outreach for untried new people.

WOKI, along with the stronger Lublin, Swidnik, and Pulawy centers engaged in lecturer training. The latter organized a 3-week course in resort-training centers of the Pulawy Azoty Factory. The course was of tremendous help to supplement the students' political and methodological knowledge and integration of party aktiv. This was also the opinion voiced by participants in the courses organized by KM PZPR in Lublin.

Add to this that experience dictates that indoctrination training looks healthy in those locations where the leadership cadre takes a direct and vigorous interest in it. One of WUML's leading extension services is the unit in the RSW Book and Press Dissemination Enterprise, as we have reported earlier. The unit's management and party leadership is composed of people profoundly and genuinely involved with such issues for years. Such expertise must be taken advantage of. Comrades in positions of responsibility must regard indoctrination problems as equally important with their professional duties regardless of whether they are lecturers (as they should be) or students.

Quantity will not suffice. In last year's evaluations of party indoctrination courses, admittedly well done and dependable, there was a shortage of substantive appraisals determining the level of classes and tentative scores given them by students. Of course, to some extent the training was measured by regularity of meetings and attendance at them. Yet in the face of tremendous organizational effort WOKI was confronted with, class inspections were insufficiently frequent nor were polls and opinion surveys, successfully applied elsewhere at various courses and training sessions, used to enable the participants to speak out commenting on the level, persuasiveness, and attractiveness of indoctrination classes. Next year, this issue should receive utmost attention. Next year's training should be high-quality training.

An evaluation of 1982-83 party indoctrination in the Lublin Province confirmed the above observations, appraisals and conclusions. Experience has demonstrated what a necessary and purposeful act it was to revive WOKI. Thanks to it, the system of party indoctrination was rebuilt and launched anew.

It is disquieting that nearly one-third of the rural organizations failed to conduct a minimum indoctrination program.

Acceptance was granted the principle that indoctrination issues are to be treated flexibly, with independent selection of some topics to allow for the interests and needs of each community.

It was pointed out that there was a need for the indoctrination system to cover comprehensively such issues as the substance of economic reform, efficient management, economizing and effectiveness.

References were made to CC plenum decisions on party tasks, indicating that it was precisely the organizing and execution of party indoctrination that should be ranked among the most important and appreciated tasks.

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IMPORTANCE OF PROVINCIAL ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Secretaries of Basic Party Organizations

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 19 Jul 83 p3 -

/Article by Wacław Nowak/

/Text/ There are several thousand of them in the provinces of Koszalin and Slupsk. In discussions they are vividly described as officers of the party, the operational aktiv, and organizers of basic party organization existence and activity.

As specified by its statute, the party formulates and implements its program and policy line through the active participation of its members, organized into basic organizations. Each party member and candidate member belongs to a basic party organization, and above all, exercises his rights and obligations within the organization.

Specific responsibility for basic organization work is delegated to its Executive Board, and specifically to the first secretary. It is not only the scope of statutory tasks, but also that of the obligatory tasks of party members and entire factory party organizations which is unusually broad. Essentially, there are no matters, whether they be in the factory, village, or in a particular socioprofessional environment in which both the position and role of PZPR members and their basic party organizations is not defined.

The majority of these matters obviously fall on the POP Executive Board, if they in fact work, however, usually they fall on the first secretary.

How does one carry them out? How do they link professional tasks with the obligation to carry out POP activities, and also one's public obligations? Do the activities give them moral satisfaction?

I realize that I am not able to respond unequivocally and fully to these questions. This depends equally upon the personality of the POP first secretary, his leadership ability (planning and outlining tasks, and supervising their implementation, etc.), upon the Executive Board, and the entire basic party organization. In the Koszalin and Slupsk provincial party organizations we have many POP secretaries who possess these abilities. Most frequently, they are the

secretaries of long standing with experience in party and political educational work. They do not work individually, but in teams, they distribute work knowledgeably to all Executive Board members. They involve those outside the POP Executive Board in everyday party tasks, and these most frequently include new party members. This represents a wise policy, as it concerns the preparation not only of successors, but the establishment of an atmosphere in the basic party organizations that the strength and significance of the POP, the party in general and in the factories in general depends upon the activism of all POP members.

Of course this is not true everywhere. Life would be too simple, the more so as political and social activity carried out and developed in the factory, the community, and the home is extremely diverse and often complex. This also includes the activities of POP secretaries, their organization of party tasks, and the assistance expected from the local or provincial party echelon.

I was present at many POP meetings. In the rural sector and in the factories I observed the progress of the work being carried out by many secretaries, their methods for holding meetings, presenting reports, delineating tasks for party members, and their implementation of these tasks. I also carried out many discussions with the interested parties concerning these subjects.

There is no doubt that this is difficult work, as well as significant and socially important in the factories where everyone observes what the secretary does, how he does it, the decisions he undertakes, how he inspires his party subordinates in the fulfillment of their tasks, as well as in the rural sector and in the community. He is therefore constantly subject to public criticism. This affects one's nerves, and forces those colleagues less experienced and less accustomed to wage political battle to give up. They then become exasperated and seek assistance as a rule from the city or gmina committee. If they don't receive any support from these organizations they immediately become disillusioned.

Much has changed in the style and methods of party work since the Ninth Party Congress. It is all for the better, although the situation in some of the POPs and party echelons leaves much to be desired. Much is being done in this field, and we write about it frequently in our columns. Party committees give much assistance to the POP secretaries, as our colleagues in the party echelons realize that many of the POP secretaries elected 2 years ago during the party's reports-elections campaign are just now acquiring the experience, the necessary knowledge, and the ability to organize party Executive Board and party organization activities. Therefore meetings, instructional sessions, exchanges of experience, indoctrination (the Koszalin Province KW PZPR party indoctrination center in Mielno) sessions are also organized on the regional party activity level.

All these factors help with the tasks and the perception of problems which the POP and its first secretary are faced with. Nevertheless, there are many problems which cannot be solved by indoctrination nor by discussion in party echelons. Be it relations of the POP, its secretary or the administrative leadership of the factory. Much controversy, friction, and misunderstanding exists with regard to this subject. Especially in those situations where the

factory or institute leadership belongs to the party. They are, however, members like any others, be they blue-collar workers, engineers, or janitors. They are subject to the same rules and regulations insofar as the rights and obligations of PZPR members are concerned.

I believe that the POP executive Board, as well as its secretaries use the party statute too infrequently in their work. That is why complaints and even frustration exist. They stress that "we are not invited to participate when the factory management discusses the promotions of workers who are party members (such examples do exist), and only meet with us when the die is already cast in one matter or another." After all, the statute notes that the opinion of the POP Executive Board must be solicited. I realize that such incidents do occur. What do the POP secretary and the Executive Board have to say about this? Why do they agree to this, yet do not react to the violation of statute principles? This, in fact represents the fundamental obligation of every party member.

Someone points out that the POP secretary is also a worker, with a wife and children, and must take this into consideration when carrying out his social-party activities. I cannot, however, agree with this argument. If someone who agreed earlier, is voluntarily appointed as POP secretary, then he must realize the responsibilities which he has taken on. If at times they present difficulties for him, well then one must not feel sorry for him, but must in turn search out the causes of the problems and setbacks faced.

In writing about these matters, I wish to focus attention on the unusually important problem in the party, specifically the position and role of the POP secretary. I realize that we must assist them in their tasks even more than we did in the past. Party officials should not feel abandoned.

Relations Between Party, Self-Government

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 21 Jul 83 p 3

/Article by Bogdan Miller/

/Text/ Economic reform and Sejm resolutions on the trade unions and self-government have created a new situation in the factories. This has resulted in a need to establish principles of cooperation between individual organs and sociopolitical organizations. In the Ilawa Vehicle Repair Facilities, the relations between the party, the trade unions, and the self-government are being evaluated favorably.

Almost immediately after the passage of the law on trade unions, the party organization began preliminary activity. It explained the reasons for dissolving the old unions, and inspirations for the establishment of a new one which today includes 440 workers. It was easier with the self-government insofar as it was appointed prior to martial law. That is why in July 1982, proposals were made to reactivate it.

Wladyslaw Benc: PZPR KZ first secretary. From the very beginning we have been developing new broader forms of cooperation. We invite union and workers' council

representatives to the KZ meetings concerned with specific problems. Following a joint discussion, the likelihood of taking a correct decision increases. Recently, for example we discussed the plans for the distribution of the factory housing fund jointly. In addition, every Monday we all meet with the management.

Waldemar Knec: chairman of the workers' council. It should be said that in general the management does not undertake decisions without coordination. In any case, consultative methods were implemented long ago in our factory. Insofar as the union is concerned, I believe that it should concern itself immediately with the development of wage scales.

Szczepan Brzostek: chairman of the trade union council. Quite so, but this is rather a matter for outside organs, since in the various factories in our line of work, wages differ for the same type of work performed.

As a union we try to concern ourselves with workers interests. We have organized gratuitous vacations for employees of 25 or more years employment, and for those who have been employed for at least 10 years in jobs hazardous to their health. Recently, we also secured the withdrawal of group punishment. We did, however, support two declarations for those who no longer had any chance in the factory.

The party organizations and the self-government expressed their opinions regarding the factory resources conservation and anti-inflation programs. Specific proposals were collected at the workers' meetings and sent for management consideration. People turn up everywhere with their problems, and at times, to be on the safe side, even to the party and the union. What are these problems? Of course they are wage issues, in addition there is a lack of a working front. Problems with materials represent a continuous problem at the Ilawa Vehicle Repair Facility. In this case the reform made its mark in rather a positive manner. Previously, engines with very minor problems arrived for repairs. Today if at all possible, everyone repairs their own. The work is hard, and few people wait until retirement age, the majority take early retirement. Breakdowns of old machinery are increasing, while productivity is expected to increase. My colleagues agree that sheer muscle power cannot achieve much alone. Technological advancements and the modernization of machinery are necessary. However, money for this purpose must first be earned, and thus the vicious cycle continues.

Waldemar Knec: Yet another matter is transportation. We have our own but what good is it when there is only enough fuel for three trips. While we pay over 40 million zlotys for the services of others. The same amount of gasoline and maybe more is thus used.

Wladyslaw Benc: According to our calculations, the use of one's own transportation represents a savings of 5 million zlotys. In addition there is the problem with drivers who must be employed in other positions when they are not driving. We often presented this problem at various levels, but unfortunately with little success.

The factory also has problems with hiring. Wages are the reason. Recently, for example an outstanding skilled worker, a bricklayer resigned and went to another firm to work as a stoker. Also unconvincing is the incentive system for work on

free Saturdays. The number of workers willing to undertake additional tasks is decreasing. Those that do come in are old workers and more out of sentimentality or to bother the foreman.

Wladyslaw Benc: We must therefore sit down and decide how and where we can obtain the additional funds.

Szczepan Brzostek: Yet our balance sheet is so strained that before we can pay one worker we must take it away from another. We bandy about the argument that other factories pay much higher wages for work done on legal holidays. Yet I don't know where they get their funds, we have to work for ours.

We add that the general delegate meeting at the Ilawa Vehicle Repair Facilities adopted annual plans and prospective ones, also adopted was a resolution on joining an association, and decreasing our prices by 50 percent. Finally it appears that all organs and organizations are active and visible. The party is accomplishing the guiding principles and resolutions with respect to the individual echelons, and beginning with the Ninth Congress it has become their motivational force.

Formation of Federation in Light Industry

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 25 Jul 83 p 4

/Interview with P. Szymanski, union leader, by Pawel Woldan/

/Text/ A founding committee of 92 persons representing the nation's light industry already exists. A 22-person presidium has been appointed. Pawel Szymanski, the leader of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of the Fresco Wool Industry Plants /ZPW/ in Zgierz was appointed chairman. Participating in the discussion on the subject of the federation, besides him were: Barbara Sieradzka, deputy chairman of the founding committee, and Lechoslaw Lapka, chairman of the NSZZ /Independent Self-Governing Trade Union/ 1 May WZPB.

/Question/ The founding committee is at the stage of formulating proposals for the Council of State for a earlier than expected (after 31 December 1983) establishment of a federation. Why earlier?

/Answer/ Simply because the conditions are right for it. Proof of this may be seen in the June nationwide meeting of light industry trade unions. There were 331 representatives, nearly all the factories in the same field, where registered unions are functioning, were represented. Two hundred two delegates had the approval of their organizations to join the federation, or over 50 percent of the number needed for approval. In addition, many important problems have been disclosed during our short existence, and their continued postponement will help no one. Prior to the nationwide level meetings, we often failed to realize the significance of many problems, and to see their acute nature. Now it's apparent that we can wait no longer.

/Question/ ? ...

/Answer/ Things are bad in the factories. The truth being that the administration is more in need of self-government than of a union, whose reason for being, of course, is to protect the workers from the management among others. The directors themselves often align the workers' council against the unions, and thus self-government has become useful for this purpose.

/Question/ But is this the fault of the self-government or the director?

/Answer/ It's hard to say. We believe that this is a result of a complex social situation, which unfortunately legislation has not yet corrected. Therefore, the people want a federation, they want their opinions to be considered. This not only represents the defense of the unions against the opposition, but is also a battle for their very existence. Anyone who doesn't understand this commits a serious political error. The June meeting attests to the fact that these are not merely empty words.

/Question/ We talk about the problems which rankle the union activists, but a whole gamut of matters exists for which workers seek a solution. The 202 proposals from the general meetings also represent expectations linked to the federation, together with what the workers expect from it. What will the federation have to deal with initially?

/Answer/ Wages, this topic appears everywhere. It is time that someone finally took a serious look at our wage system, or got a hold of those responsible for it. If not, then perhaps it will be necessary to dissolve the ministry and put its employees to work at the factories, because in reality there will be no one else to do so.

/Question/ People opposed to the new unions feel that this entire movement concerning the establishment of federations is nothing else but an effort to find a suitable excuse to get raises from the government and thereby bribe the workers.

Let me clarify this, we are not at all interested in raises as a government gesture. We want to be paid honestly for more efficient and more difficult work. This can only be done by the federation, which will be the government's partner, whereas without it everything is being done based on the principle of extinguishing a fire, because when the situation becomes tense the factory management gives workers 200 to 400 zlotys more and the matter is resolved. Frequently this concerns only certain professional groups, while at the same time it is being promoted as ostensible factorywide wage reform. We are not interested in this type of adjustment.

Insofar as "opinion" is concerned, it is expressed by individuals who cannot be convinced of anything. Perhaps, not everyone could participate in our nationwide sessions, but everyone is capable of buying a newspaper and realizing that wages represent only one of the problems which should not be postponed, for example such issues as working conditions, social policy, health care, etc.

/Question/ It is precisely the working conditions. Recently you received the necessary tools in the form of a Sejm statute concerning public inspection of the working conditions?

/Answer/ These matters are closely linked with economic reform. The machinery in our sector is generally old. There is a shortage of spare parts, hard currency and machinery. Many factories are barely functioning. And we get a public inspection law, the resolution exists, and what of it? Strictly speaking, if they wanted to implement it half the factories would have to be shut down. What next? We recall that another law exists on the elimination of enterprises. Then what? Stop production and bankrupt one's own factory, and deprive the employees of their livelihood. That's easy. The danger is particularly acute in the small enterprises which have the worst conditions.

As a federation, we will endeavor to establish a central fund allocated to rescue threatened factories. After all, we all pay taxes and we deserve something in return. Its nonsensical when an overworked workforce has to be responsible for the factory welfare fund. In the midsize enterprises deductions for this purpose total approximately 3 million zlotys, whereas 10 million is really needed, and it is then drawn from the profits.

/Question/ Returning to the law, won't it solve the problem?

/Answer/ Laws are fine when considered individually, however, when taken together they are incompatible. Besides, I am thinking about laws which encompass a gamut of matters relating to workers, and laws which were created, for all intents and purposes, without our participation. We believe that our opinions should be taken into consideration.

/Question/ Well we've reached the consultative level....

/Answer/ That's just a slogan, at any rate one must examine these ostentatious discussions. If consultation is to be significant, then it must be based upon entirely different principles. First and foremost, the laws must function initially from...to. Later, when all pros and cons are evident, the content must be jointly verified. This is where the federation is needed. Consultative discussions on paper often several days before passage of the law are politically and socially harmful, even without taking into consideration the cost of errors committed.

/Question/ ?...

/Answer/ Even the matter concerning the personnel issue. In the past there were traditions, today there isn't a textile worker who will send her daughter to a textile school. We seek students from the rural sector. But is a 2-year school program capable of changing the mentality of a teenage girl. The youth is uprooted from the villages through the creation of an illusion of advancement.

/Question/ Fine, yet what we have today is not so much a result of hiring policy, as the result of the economic crisis. How will the federation help in this respect?

/Answer/ The economic crisis will pass at some time, yet the cost will depend upon today's policies. As a federation, we will try to participate in the creation of these policies. We remember how hard we fought for the elimination of some modifications. Now the government wants to eliminate the others. As if it was not aware that by destroying light industry it destroys everything. A miner will not work if he lacks clothing and shoes. At the discussion, one individual spoke up and reminded everyone that following the war, light industry which was most easily restorable, helped the entire economy, thus allowing other industrial sectors to invest. For now the standing of the factory has declined, that of the industry which employs over 500,000 individuals is only a step away. So as not to dwell on it, we can note that a worthy light industry worker has only a diploma and a badge to show for 40 years of hard work. Is this true of any other large or important sector of business?

/Question/ We've arrived at those problems which really will not be resolved by an individual enterprise. Before long, the federation will become an accomplished fact. We know what the union members expect from it. The question then remains will it live up to these expectations?

/Answer/ Everything comes down to one thing, and that is not to allow bureaucratization to enter into it.

/Question/ Even today there are those who are protecting themselves against this by including clauses in the law concerning the public obligations of the state authorities.

/Answer/ We are realists. This does not concern protection on paper, but the awareness of the threat. We believe that chairmen, deputies, and secretaries must be employed permanently. There must also be a federation office at the director's level. Our advisors and attorneys must participate. In the case of light industry where several hundred enterprises are involved there can be no talk of public activity.

/Question/ Federations are growing like mushrooms after the rains. It is difficult to list even half of the initiatives. Should we be apprehensive that if such a tempo is maintained we will have a new CRZZ /Central Council of Trade Unions/ in 1 year?

/Answer/ No we shouldn't, at least not in the case of the textile workers. The truth is that as a professional group we will always envy the privileges granted to the steelworkers, shipyard workers, and miners since they are simply better off, and nothing indicates that this will change. Therefore we do not have any professional interests in common with them. Socially, yes, since we all live in one nation and want the best for it. But professionally--no! Therefore we will not establish a joint organization, so as to only bring up the rear. Especially now, when we finally have a chance to fight for ourselves.

Problems Between Party Secretaries, Workforce

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 25 Jul 83 p 3

/Article by Jozef Klaja/

/Text/ We asked several party factory committee secretaries in Kielce and Radom what problems they found the most difficult to discuss with the workers? In what political and social circles did controversy manifest itself most? They listed: employment, salaries, and the basis and success of implementation of economic reform. In the opinion of our interviewers, there was quite a number of opposing views and unsatisfied desires in this area. People would like to have the crisis behind them, to see stocked shelves in stores, and earn enough to meet all their needs. At the same time, the general feeling is that economic reform not only didn't ease the effects of the crisis, but multiplied them. The opinions, according to the secretaries are being expressed equally by nonparty and PZPR members, and this does not facilitate the reform tasks but rather makes them more difficult.

Such current opinions are as widespread as before, and must therefore cause much concern. They are inconsistent with expectations, since party members will be clarifying the principles and objectives of the economic reform for everyone in accordance with the law. While the central party organs will support the government through their efforts at normalizing the national economy. The fact that this did not happen entirely was due to errors committed during the first stage of reform implementation, which allegedly was to represent a miraculous and instantaneous solution for all economic problems. The prevailing view of premature optimism stifled the opinions of those economists and economic activists who warned that it would be a while before the economy and society would feel the positive effects of the implemented economic changes. At the same time, the majority of the party members were left to themselves to search for answers to questions which the reform initiated. If this was the case, many of them then joined those criticizing the new economic principles.

This unoptimistic view of party member economic awareness has been perceived currently. POP and factory party echelons are being evaluated critically in their implementation of reform. Central and provincial meetings are continuing on the subject. Among other things this represents a test of the definition of the problems which should be of primary interest to the party. In our opinion, the two basic ones are: personnel policy and a fair distribution of revenues (for wages, bonuses, and awards) which takes the actual work input into consideration.

Party organizations have the right and obligation to interfere and provide inspiration whenever a decision concerning appointment to management positions is involved, and giving the professional, and ethical-moral qualifications of the candidate as justification. These qualifications should outweigh party membership. At the same time, the party organizations must have the courage to oppose an excessive administrative cadre, superfluous staffing, inefficient work, and unjustified price increases, etc. The actual implementation of reform also requires thinking in terms of economics in relation to the present and

future of the factory. We repeat frequently that we cannot transfer everyone into the area of commerce and services, since the decisive majority of the population must work in industry. Therefore, it is not possible to ignore industry's future.

One constantly hears demands for social justice. It happens that workers are deprived of certain services which are due them. In this case, party organizations should ensure that legal norms and interpersonal principles are observed, they should combat incidents of squandering of state funds, abuse of social authority, and deriving unjustified material profits. It is unfortunate when members passively accept the allocation of protective and winter clothing to those not entitled to it, or to those who present false documents in order to take advantage of the additional social services. Unfortunately, such incidents continue to be common.

We are taking a big gamble with tomorrow. Economic reform should represent the factor linking our activities, and already implemented and being upgraded. There are problems and matters which concur with its intentions, and whose unassuming nature is inscribed in our everyday party organization activities. We do not need to study scientific work, nor participate in academic discussions with scientists and economists. Common sense, civic thinking, and party responsibility will suffice, as well awareness of one's worth and the importance of collective work.

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PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Elbag Regional Matters

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 26 Jul 83 p 2

[Article by b: "Meeting of Elblag Provincial Authorities With Unionists on Regional Matters and Plant Workcrews"]

[Text] In accordance with previous agreements made with representatives of plant workcrews, a quarterly meeting of representatives of the provincial political and administrative authorities with the chairmen of plant union organizations, of which there are already more than 220 with 28,000 members, was held yesterday in Elblag. Participating in this meeting were the chairman of the Provincial PZPR Committee, Leszek Witkiewicz, chairman of the Provincial Peoples' Council, Kazimierz Sokal, Vice-Governor Jozef Sowa, department directors from UW and representatives of the Provincial Court and the District Labor Inspectorate.

Vice-Governor J. Sowa acquainted the unionists with the region's economic accomplishments of the first 6 months of this year and emphasized their continuing signs of growth. The region's industry, considering the dynamics of growth of so-called production sold, holds first place in the nation. Equally good results have been noted in construction in Elbag where the yearly commitments have been almost halfway achieved, which places the province in third place in the nation. In agriculture and the purchase of cattle, the region is also taking a leading place in Poland more grain has been harvested in the past fiscal year than was planned. On the other hand, there is an alarming trend in the decrease in the number of head of cattle and swine and this has to be overcome.

The director of the Division of Employment and Social Affairs of UW, Piotr Migacz, then presented the state of security and work safety conditions in the region's work establishments. Generally speaking, affairs here are unsatisfactory and this is confirmed by the number of various job-related accidents, especially fatal accidents. There are also serious dangers to the health of workers. This presents the trade unions with specific tasks. In this context, the speaker presented the most important principles of the law on the Social Labor Inspectorate.

Next, the deputy director of the Division of Agriculture and Food Industries, Mieczyslaw Okupny, talked about the course of the harvest in the region which is proceeding at a good pace. The harvest of rapeseed and winter barley is ending and the reaping of rye is increasing. Soon the harvest of wheat and other grains will begin.

Meanwhile, the deputy director of the Division of Culture and Tourism of UW, Zbigniew Leszczynski, described how the tourist season was proceeding and the difficult situation in the realm of "plant sports" and the organization of recreation and vacations for workers. At one time, the administrations of enterprises and the trade unions took a lively interest in these matters. At this time, they no longer do and that is unacceptable since these matters are very important ones for the people and effect their productivity.

During the ensuing discussion, the unionists talked about many problems of interest to them. Among other things, they spoke out about the organization of supraplant union structures which they regard as a means of exerting a greater and more effective influence on economic administration. The need of improving work conditions was brought up as well as the final execution of the plant administrations' responsibilities in seeing those improvements implemented. Much attention was devoted to the difficult housing situation faced by many of the PGR [State Farm] employees as well as the necessity of accelerating work in soil improvement. The need for better maintenance of equipment by its users was also discussed. Difficulties in the manufacture of fertilizers was another one of the items mentioned.

The representatives of the provincial authorities addressed themselves to these problems and shared pertinent explanations.

Unify or Subdivide Trade Unions

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 26 Jul 83 pp 1,2

[Article By L.P.: "Unite or Divide?"]

[Text] The union movement has definitely entered a new stage in its development. The unionists of almost all of the branches of the national economy are initiating the formation of supraplant structures. This effort is understandable taking into consideration the fact that the unification of scattered plant organizations into a stronger national representation will effectively increase their possibilities for influencing the favorable outcome for workers of decisions made by state and economic administrations.

The creation of national union organizations is accompanied by certain characteristic phenomena. The movement is above all an authentically grassroots, autonomous worker movement. The unionists, predominantly workers, have felt the need themselves for unifying and all agree that this must be done. They themselves are deciding what the nature of the supraplant structures is to be. This is a new phenomenon and a very favorable one for the authenticity of the movement.

Of the two main forms of unification, federation or unified national organization, the choice has mainly been for the former. This has been substantiated by the fact that the federation makes it possible for the plant organizations to preserve their legal identity and independence from federation authority which is expected to deal with worker affairs that are of common interest to all branches and trades. Experienced unionists fear like fire the repetition of a situation in which the supraplant structure would direct them instead of serve them.

This fear is so strong that it is causing people to close their eyes to the weak sides of the idea of a federation. One of those weaknesses is the domination of small plant organizations by larger ones. Practice has shown that this is not just a theoretical danger but a problem of how to bring together the frequently-conflicting interests of small and large plants. Any attempt to do so presents a great deal of complications. On the other hand, the numerically-weak plant organizations, depending on just their own means, will have extremely modest resources for satisfying the needs of their members. Within a federation, the possibility of providing them assistance is limited. The problem therefore arises of how to overcome the extreme differences in the material position of the individual member organizations of the federation.

In spite of this, it has so far only been agricultural workers and army civilian employees that have spoken out for the creation of a unified national organization. Even the employees of state farms in which small work forces and small unions predominate voted for the formation of a federation. That federation was recently registered in court. That was the right and the will of the workers!

Among the unionists themselves, the problem of which criteria are to be applied in forming a federation is under much debate. Branch unions, plant unions and still other forms are being argued. The views and solutions are varied. Some of the union activists are, however, becoming alarmed over the recently-developing tendency of what they consider excessive subdivision of national organizations which is depriving them of their basic advantage, the strength to aggressively represent worker interests.

For example, in the mining industry, a tight compartment of the national economy, three founding groups for three different federations came into being at the same time. Activists understanding the need to unify these organizations started negotiations in this matter but, as of yet, there have been no results. Therefore, the minister of mining and power industries will perhaps have to deal with several federations. Similar tendencies can be found in the food industry. Unions of workers in the meat products, dairy, baking and confectionary industries are becoming isolated and there does not seem to be any end in sight. In the electrical machinery industry, workers in electronics, aeronautics and automotive production are declaring for separate unions. In communal enterprises, electrical power plant workers have come out with a similar initiative for separate unions.

There are many more examples of this. The followers of small federations state that this is something that the interests of a given branch or trade

requires and which was not perceived in the old centralized unions. There is a lot of truth in this, however, the question arises whether subdividing into small organizations is the only way to represent the interests of all.

This question has aroused a lot of discussion and even arguments between unionists. This is their issue, though. As long as no one else intrudes into the unionists problems or tries to create their own unions, as some associations would like to do, everything will be put into order. Supraplant structures should continue to be created from below, by the workers, at the will and reflection of the members of the union movement. They must alone convince themselves of the shortcomings and merits of the solutions they accept. If at some time they come to the conclusion that it is better to act together than alone, they themselves will begin to unite in a stronger national organization.

This must, however, be done on the basis of their own experiences and not on commands or manipulation from outside of the movement. That was once tried and the result is well-known. "Unions should be what the workers want them to be," said first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Wojciech Jaruzelski. The same holds true for their supraplant structures. Just one thing must be heeded--that the decisions made by the union administrations in the matter of federations be reached in consultation with the general membership of that union. The final decision belongs to the members.

Trade Unions in Light Industry

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 28 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Leszek Rudnicki: "Facing Worker Demands of Production, Pay, Market: Consultation"]

[Text] The pay situation in light industry has for the longest time been a subject of special interest to workers and plant union organizations. The Federation of Light Industry Trade Unions has taken up the issue of pay as its first and most important problem. Professor Edward Grzywa, the Minister of Chemical and Light Industry, met the leadership of the Federation's Founding Committee yesterday in Lodz. In consideration of the great importance and common interest of the problems discussed at yesterday's meeting, we are not presenting our readers a report on the meeting, but a transcript of the tape recording of the most important parts of that meeting.

E. Grzywa: The Monday resolution by the Council of Ministers on intensification of market good production gives the minister of chemical and light industry the authority to act, above all to exempt certain plants from having to make payments into the Vocational Activities Fund. Taking the enormous needs of the market into consideration, we have planned the acquisition in this year of additional production of at least 40 billion zlotys in value. The present meeting should serve as consultation over the technique for introducing this enterprise into our production.

We are proposing solutions by which our branch of production would individually conclude agreements with enterprises on additional production in return for which it could exempt those enterprises from paying dues for the Vocational Activities Fund. This would be a matter of agreements made with enterprises directly producing market goods as well as with enterprises producing materials used by the former. For example, if we do not obtain synthetic fibers, dyes and chemicals, the market production is not accomplished either.

In no case will this be some sort of regulation of wages. In accordance with the economic reform, the only way that wages can be increased is through the increase of production, and these are not conditions that are equal to everyone. Not all of the 434 enterprises in light industry must come within this plan. This is a choice that must be made by the plants themselves. If we determine that a plant, considering its own conditions, has unutilized possibilities, the conditions then proposed by us will be more demanding ones than those presented to other firms which have been working "at full tilt." We will also not interfere in how the plant distributes its acquired work quotas as long as directly productive jobs are those preferred in quota assignments.

As seen here, we will deal with cases on a very individual basis, evaluating the external conditions of enterprises concerned. Wherever there are people we will set our proposals differently from where there are very few people to do the work, as in Lodz. The quotas reached in this way should also be paid in the form of monthly premiums for additional work rather than as bonuses on the normal salary.

What do we expect to gain from this? We know that we do have the raw materials but people are lacking. In April of this year, 6,000 persons left light industry, 7,000 in May, and in August 5,400 left their jobs. We want to stop this trend and that should be accomplished in September to October. Maybe some women will return from maternity leave since it will be very profitable for them to produce.

We are counting on some improvement in the structure of employment since it has already become worse due to the loss of production personnel from plants. We are also counting on extended work periods and the reduction of absenteeism. Possibilities of workers coming in on their free Saturdays can be more fully exploited and this should of course be done on a volunteer basis and on the previous, preferential principles of pay. There are also possibilities for greater participation in production by retired workers who will be able within a year to earn an additional 96,000 zlotys, actually working half a year. The plants should use more elastic policies in their employment of retired workers. After all, it is possible to bring in people to work two or three days and there are still other possibilities...

Answering particular questions from the unionists on the realization of this program, Minister Grzywa next stated that "With each enterprise, the proposed quota for exemption from the Vocational Activities Fund will be individually determined. Basically we make it depend upon how much the other side is

willing to sacrifice. We are not generally interested in pay raises but in procuring the output of consumer goods in exchange for the possibility of increased pay. In terms of pay, light industry has always been somewhat behind the other industries. The present drop in production has sharpened this difference although the resolution by the Council of Ministers has given the light industries some preference now. The directors of other branches of the economy have resigned from their demands for the time being in order to give us the chance to solve the problem. We will not, however, do this by means of pay raise. Since we have decided on introducing reforms, we must live with them. The market places its demands which we must meet and in this way raise wages.

[Question] Won't the already existing differences in pay among particular plants be increased by this? Not all plants have come into the reform with the same levels of production after all. There are plants that have always maintained a high output and they don't have much to gain under this plan.

[Answer] For just that reason, we will reach agreements with the plants on an individual basis, analyzing the operating conditions of each of them. To highly-productive plants we will propose a higher quota of exemptions from the fund and to those not fully utilizing their productive capabilities, we will propose lower quotas. As far as it concerns differences in salaries, why would we have to liquidate them by force? Firms are independent and autonomous. A plant has the conditions it creates by its own management.

[Question] Would not these increasing pay differences result in a rise in the fluctuation in cadres? Wouldn't it bring about "outbidding"?

[Answer] If the law is carried out, I don't see any reason to worry about this. The decree on special regulation during the crisis period clearly says that in employing a worker without a work certificate, you can only pay him the minimum wage for that job for a period of one year.

[Question] Will enterprises that are not honestly in a position to sign such an agreement be able to gain advantage from similar preferences?

[Answer] No! After all, they have already previously acquired various preferences, for example, growth indicators of from 0.4 to 0.8 for production, especially in products that are important for domestic consumption and for export. They are going to have to manage within the range of the previous preferences. I will say it again: this is neither an increase nor any sort of regulation. This is just an open road for pay increases, but it is based exclusively on the procurement of consumer goods production. We feel that almost all plants will take advantage of this opportunity.

[Question] Some associations are establishing conditions for the conclusion of such agreements. How does the ministry regard that?

[Answer] Only helpfully. We will only discuss the contracts and sign them with the plants themselves.

[Question] To what degree will the decree be applied to exports?

[Answer] Exports will be preferred in another way. There will be a 20-percent exemption on taxation on export growth. These quota may go to wages, 3 percent of the amount of exports and that is a strong incentive to produce more.

[Question] Growth in production can only take place if efforts are increased. In light industry, women are working and are working very hard. They are working very unequally. One weaver works on 8 looms and another one is working five, according to standards. The first weaver earns 1,500 zlotys more since she is actually working one-and-a-half jobs...

[Answer] Or it could be said that the second woman is working 0.7 jobs. These are problem that have to be addressed by the directors of plants and self-management bodies.

[Question] But you can't demand that women work two shifts!

[Answer] The ministry will not be instructing the directors as to how their plants operate. I was talking earlier about the available means and possibilities for increasing production. We are not going to "legislate" the number of employees and how employment and production are supposed to be organized. These are matters for the self-governing bodies and directors to decide. There are the managers of the plants. We have to look at things not in terms of state charitable activity but as economic mechanisms. You spoke about increasing efforts but that is simply a matter of making choices. It is a question of whether it is worth coming in to work on free Saturdays for 2.5 times more pay or already having enough money and not being interested in any proposition of that sort. We want to obtain extra production of consumer goods and pay for it. We want to not only increase the productivity of the worker but to also increase his personal belongings. There are many ways and possibilities for making choices here and the plants and their managers will make their decisions.

[Question] This brings up the question of equitable distribution...

[Answer] This is an internal question for the plants and concerns your role as unionists in the plant. For that reason, we want to hear your opinion on the criteria presented here by which we want to conclude the agreements.

[Question] We know, for example, that production achieved in 1980 was done under other conditions of employment. Employment fell, so wouldn't it be more honest in this criteria to compare productivity or output per worker?

[Answer] That is a good observation and in discussing conditions for contracts with plants we take that into consideration. Due to drops in employment, some plants have put out enormous efforts, at least in areas of social concerns, work conditions and organization. In other plants, however, they regard people leaving as a divine scourge. For that reason, in taking the level of

production or individual output into consideration, we also cannot regard both of those in the same way. We have to consider the efforts of the plant itself to keep up its production.

[Question] We've been talking here about money for people and for direct production work. Does this mean that no one else can gain from this?

[Answer] We are only recommending that directly productive trades receive preference. That is, after all, in the best interests of the plant. The matter of how the benefits are distributed is one for the independent and self-governing enterprise to decide, that is the self-management body and the trade union as well. It is obvious that we have to protect the interests of the tradesmen, department directors and the divisions. We cannot create new disproportions because that would be absurd. The distribution must be decided in consultation with the union and the mandate of the self-governing body must be had.

[Question] Could you now give an estimate of how much production can be increased under this arrangement and what sort of quotas the ministry will give?

[Answer] At this time we can only hope that the production will not only grow by the 40 billion zlotys mentioned but that it will reach 55 billion. I think that employment will increase. We have the same interests in this-- the good of the workers, the general welfare of society and the improvement of consumer goods supply. For just that reason, what we are concerned with here is not auctions but the finding of the best solutions for reaching our common goals. I think that many initiatives will come out of this in the plants. The sort of quotas given out by the ministry will be based on the offer made by the other side.

[Question] As unionists, we are interested in every worker. We know that in every society there are people that work better, those that work worse and those that loaf. In the situation that we have on the labor market, everyone gets by since there is, after all, someone working in production.

[Answer] I wouldn't put it that way at all! It is better to dismiss 5 bad workers than to keep them for fear of not finding others. In dismissing those 5, I feel that many others not applying themselves to their jobs will understand what is expected of them. Otherwise, by this atmosphere, we ourselves are creating a hunger on the labor market which is in fact not as enormous as the statistics would indicate. We have been talking here about regulations introduced by law. We must, therefore, observe the laws.

[Question] In spite of everything, we feel that there should be pay raises.

[Answer] Let's recall that there will be some sort of branch regulations. The economic mechanisms must decide. We must learn to like the reform. In reform we are searching for the best solutions.

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[Question] It seems to us that, in this form, the proposed principles are artful. We are glad that they will come individually to particular plants. As unionists, we must hear the arguments of the plants. After all, this is a matter of extraordinarily hard work by our weavers. The most important thing about this is that we are somehow beginning to move forward. We are beginning to be understood.

Selection of Trade Union Committees

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 28 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Draganik, wf, and nik: "Union News"]

[Text] Guarantees of Autonomy

One of the first actions of persons planning to form a trade union is the selection of a founding committee and the adoption of a charter. In this manner, charter standards established autonomously by the union members become an integral part of the set of legal standards regulating the basis for action by the union movement.

"What then should and can be incorporated into the charter?" readers often ask. The law does not cover all possible provisions but just those indispensable to any charter.

Among those provisions are those concerning:

The union's name, administration, the territorial range and subject of its action as well as its goals;

Acquirement and loss of membership;

Organizational structure and union authorities;

Procedure for electing and dismissing officials;

Financing of union activities;

Principles of adopting and changing the charter;

Procedure for dissolving the union.

The charter should unambiguously state the primary characteristics of the created organization as a trade union. This is necessary so that persons intending to join the organization be certain that they are entering a trade union and not an association of an ambiguously-defined ideological, organizational and legal character. For this reason, it is worth recalling in general form the particular traits of a trade union.

A trade union is a nonstate social organization, with regard to organization, personnel and property, independent of state and economic organs of

administration. It associates employed workers (including pensioners, retired persons and temporarily unemployed persons). Membership in a union is the result of a voluntary, individual and freely-made decision. Agitation to join a union is not contrary to this principle if it is conducted using forms and methods that are proper from a point of view of general political culture. The trade union is a mass organization. Any person meeting elementary requirements as set in the charter may join, regardless of age, sex, nationality, beliefs, political persuasion, or trade. The charter may not include any additional decrees limiting this principle.

A trade union is a nonpartisan organization but not apolitical. For that reason, it is under the legal obligation of agreeing with the constitutional principles of the political, social and economic order of the state and its current legal order.

Stating the union's goals, the charter must take a clear position on three organically related functions of the trade union in a socialist state, that is, defending the rights and interests of workers, participation in the shaping and realization of social and economic tasks in the nation's development and participation in cultural and educational activity. In attempting to establish and set bounds as well as to the methods and forms for realizing them, it is hard to set a uniform pattern since the specific feature of a worker group associated within a given union, branch work conditions, and plant and union traditions are of capital importance.

Every trade union operates within a definite work establishment. Thus, in formulating a principle of independence, one must consider the legal and organizational order in the given establishment and in union activities to also regard the system of organizational, legal, financial, technological and other relationships.

In the historical development of the trade union, the principle of branch organization, or the membership of workers employed in a given plant to one union, has shown its value. The organizational dispersion of the trade union movement has always been one of the primary causes of its weakness. The structure of a trade union based on branches and type of production may not, however, be treated in a schematic and static manner which excludes any changes or corrections being made from above. This question is of primary importance for the future of the trade union movement and must be independently decided with much thought by the proper cells of union organizations.

Analysis of union charters has shown that the restored unions have written into them many specific provisions, for example, the union trading period and the right of members to particular benefits that the union may provide. These are important provisions that answer the frequently-posed question of what can be gained from membership in the union.

We Have Associated Half of All Teachers

[Conversation with Jan Marmaj, chairman of the administration of the Rzeszow Division of the Polish Teachers' Union (ZNP)]

[Question] What portion of our teachers belong to the ZNP [Polish Teachers' Union]?

[Answer] In Rzeszow, half of the teachers belong to our union and its numbers are steadily growing. Union cells, which have already recovered, are providing aid to new cells. There are altogether 36 ZNP cells operating in Rzeszow Province.

[Question] Isn't there still any provincial organization?

[Answer] It's still too early to set one up. The ZNP is not going to be a federation. We intend to organize a single nationwide union. A founding committee has been established and discussions on the writing of a charter are continuing.

[Question] It's known that one of the main goals of the ZNP is the introduction of the teacher's card. Much authority will come out of this, but the card will also demand certain obligations. Is your union aware of that?

[Answer] I meet this question often. At a meeting recently held in Rzeszow in which Minister Ciosek took part, I explained to my colleagues from other unions that teachers are not demanding particular privileges at all. For example, the requirement of 18 hours a week of teaching does not at all mean that a teacher works just that amount. That means that there are 18 hours of classroom teaching which must be prepared for and which includes many other duties. The teacher's card eliminates any other additions.

The most considerable obligation presented by the teacher's card is that of caring for the quality of the school's work and its socialist character. The pedagogical council be responsible for the entire didactic and educational process in the school.

[Question] The card then means high expectations toward the teachers. What about teachers without qualification?

[Answer] We will help these colleagues of ours so that they will become real teachers.

[Question] Will the union be defending teachers from the school administration?

[Answer] In Rzeszow, there is good cooperation with the administration. If there are any problems, they are in the primary schools and preschools. Frequently, it's a question of one person making controversial decisions. We try to look at matters referred to us in an exact and impartial manner and if we have to, we get up a commission for studying the problems. Since we began our activities in May of this year, we have set up three such commissions.

For a while we have had a legal advisor to help teachers. We are trying to establish a specialist clinic for them as well.

[Question] Are only teachers members of the ZNP?

[Answer] We also include administration employees and service personnel. We approach the problems of this group with full earnestness, all the more so since they have not always been perceived. This group's earnings are low and it is often hard to keep a full staff which must have an effect on a school's operation.

Reminder of Union Law

The law enjoins the sides involved in a group dispute, i.e. the trade union and the administration, to immediately start negotiations for the purpose of resolving the conflict. If negotiations do not produce a direct result, each side may demand the initiation of conciliatory proceedings by a jointly-established commission.

If those proceedings do not produce a solution either, the parties are obliged to present the conflict to the disposal of a social arbitration collegium. A plant conflict will be decided by the collegium of the district labor and social security court and supraplant conflicts are to be disposed by the collegium of the Supreme Court.

What is the basis for union intervention?

According to law, the trade unions exercise social control over work conditions and the living conditions of workers and their families as well as the observance of labor laws. If in these cases, in the opinion of the trade union, the conduct of the organ of state or economic administration is not in accordance with law or violates the principles of social justice, the union may ask the appropriate organ to intervene and demand the elimination of the stated injustice. The appropriate organ is with responding to the request to intervene within a period of two weeks. A refusal to intervene must be justified by the organ.

Who has the right to monitor the activities of the trade unions?

According to the principles of autonomy, union activity which is in accordance with the law and the union charter is not subject to any sort of external supervision or control. It is only the union's membership or charter-authorized organ such as a revision commission that have the right to make any changes in the activities of the union authorities. No sort of interference in the performance of union functions is permitted. The guarantee of this the adjudication to all union members of the active and passive right of election and the legal requirement to elect union officials by secret ballot. Union members have the right to recall persons from offices before their term expires. The court, in registering the trade union, does not have the right to make any changes in the charter if the union members do not agree. The court may deny registration if it states that the charter does not indicate that the organization is a trade union in the legal definition or the charter provisions are not in accordance with regulations of law.

SCHOLAR VIEWS FORMS OF ALIENATION IN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Warsaw STUDIA FILOZOFICZNE in Polish No 3, 1983 pp 3-13

[Article by Adam Schaff, written on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx: "Marxism Today: The Significance of the Marxian Theory of Alienation"]

[Text] I. One of the important questions in the methodology of history is: "Why is history continuously rewritten?"

In answering this question, we usually point to the disclosure of new, hitherto unknown facts forcing us to cast a new look at past events of interest to us.

This of course does not exhaust the question and constitutes a rather trivial case: after all, it also happens that we change our conception of historical events even though no new sources have been disclosed in this domain and therefore we do not have any new facts. What has changed, on the other hand, is our knowledge of the world and the laws ruling it, particularly our knowledge of society and the rules dominating it, which as a result has a bearing on our understanding of past events.

Most often however the objective is to understand better, as time goes by, the effects of past events, which reveal themselves only in the further development of society, and thus to select better the important facts from among the less important within the framework of past events. Just as our horizons and understanding of the terrain expand as we climb higher, in the same way the flow of time--which in a way is "climbing"--reveals to us the sense of events which contemporaries were unable to grasp in a sufficiently sharp way. History often erases from memory what seemed once "great" and "important." What, on the other hand, escaped the attention of contemporaries and was underestimated by them, takes on the proportions of historically important facts. For this reason it is difficult to write the history of contemporary events.

Marx formulated this question in his famous metaphor that man's anatomy is the key to the anatomy of the ape. This applies to Marx himself and to his work.

II. One can say without exaggeration that every period had its own Marx. According to a period's knowledge and needs, one or another side or component

of his theory were pulled from Marx's rich spiritual legacy and presented as that which in marxism was the most important and dominant in terms of theory or practice.

We recall today as a curiosity the fact (significant from the point of view of marxist history) that in the full bloom of the influences of the Second International (except for the Russians and Labriola in Italy), Marx as philosopher was an "unknown" being, passed over in silence while efforts were focused on finding a philosophy with which the economic and sociological teachings of Marx could be "supplemented." This applied to all the "great ones" on the contemporary Olympus of the socialist movement, including such personages as Rosa Luxemburg or the "king" of marxists (even Lenin accepted it until 1905)--Karl Kautsky. From the perspective of today we can ask what kind of marxism this "abridged" form was.

No less interesting is the fact that the marxian theory of alienation was a terra incognita for them, and even their successors in the beginning of the 1960's considered it a "foreign" theory, "smuggled in" from bourgeois philosophy by revisionists. Today things are not that bad, nevertheless the theory continues to be looked upon "unfavorably" and passed over in silence by official communist circles. How has this come about and why--in the struggle against embarrassing ignorance of marxism and against reactionary neostalinist trends in politics--is the marxian theory of alienation now increasingly assuming its overdue role as one of the pillars of Marx's theoretical system and becoming a "discovery" of the latest period in the history of Marxism? Of course the discovery of new "facts," and in this case the late publication of the basic works of Marx and Engels in the area interesting to us, has played its role. We are talking about the years 1928-1939, during which not only Marx's early philosophical works were published (in 1928, the "Parisian Manuscripts" and a number of smaller albeit important philosophical studies), but also classical works of his creative maturity (in 1932, "German Ideology" and "The Dialectic of Nature," and as late as 1939-1941, "Grundrisse," decisive for our problems, which underwent destruction in the years 1939 to 1941 and were published anew only in 1952, while translations into European languages--some only--did not appear until the turn of the 1960's and 1970's. As a result, none of the truly "great" knew marxism as a system and had even an idea about the alienation theory. Lukacs came to its construction through deduction from other works of Marx in the 1920's, but was "routed" for it.

In this "discovery" and its popularization, which is now enjoying its theoretical boom despite resistance from "orthodox" stalinists, the social needs of our epoch have played a major role with regard to the alienation theory. These needs consist of a number of elements which create a certain syndrome:

--firstly, a general breakdown of the systems of values; a characteristic of the periods of civilization's turning-points;

--secondly, the feeling of man's loneliness and self-alienation in so-called mass society;

--thirdly, the feeling of total danger to mankind's existence due to the threat of war and nuclear annihilation.

All these and other related symptoms of the crisis of contemporary civilization are very well explained by the alienation theory (in its objective and subjective forms) which in a way creates a latent demand for it. After all, it is not exclusively the alienation theory, but also the disalienation theory that is related to it, which can serve as a possible theoretical basis for human actions against the pending danger. As soon as his theory made its appearance, its success was assured not only among theoreticians, but also in wider circles of intellectual recipients.

The credit for it goes to French existentialism in the postwar period. It is interesting, although understandable, that the first ones who reacted to the publication of the "Manuscripts" were ethical socialists (the first was Henri de Man), and later existentialists concentrating on the problems of a human individual (Sartre, Camus) and Erich Fromm in American literature. All of them, especially Erich Fromm, emphasized the derivation of their theory from Marx. However, they all "read" and interpreted Marx unilaterally as the author of the theory of subjective alienation (self-alienation) and nothing more. This is undoubtedly an important part of Marx's theory, nevertheless it is not the whole of this theory nor even its fundamental part. Leaving outside their field of vision objective alienation is understandable against the background of the philosophy which these authors professed (existentialism), or the psychological domination of their interests (Fromm). As a result, however, despite the popularization of the alienation theory, this impeded the breakthrough of the marxian theory in the shape in which it really existed.

It happened all the more so because official marxist doctrine disapproved of (if it was not downright hostile toward) the alienation theory, denying even--in spite of historical truth--its marxist origin. This was due to several concurring factors:

- a) the ignorance in this sphere of the old cadre, who decided whether or not to incorporate "novelties" into traditionally accepted marxist theory;
- b) the fact that the theory was also adopted by political and ideological "enemies" who used the "new" theory for an intensified attack on petrified but sanctified doctrinal positions;
- c) finally--and this was decisive not only in this case--the fact that stalinism was an obstacle to introducing into the theory, and even more so, into the practice of socialism greater interest in the human individual. This stemmed from the objective reality of the period as well from the subjective tendency of stalinism which served as the international policy of the communist system.

In order to overcome this obstacle, a crisis of stalinism was needed. The difficult process of "learning" the new theory and its application in practice was also necessary.

III. To achieve this, a relatively long campaign was needed to convince the opponents that, first of all, it indeed was a marxian theory (and not just young-marxian, as it was suggested, thus pushing it to the "ghetto" of the premarxian period in Marx's work); secondly, that in terms of content this theory is present in various forms in the whole of Marx's work.

As far as the first question is concerned, the turning point came only in the past 10-15 years when a wider body of marxists in the world became acquainted with the contents of "Grundrisse." That large volume, the first outline of "Capital," was published--as I have mentioned--in the USSR in the years 1939-1941; the edition was destroyed during the war (except for a few copies) and a new edition came out in the GDR in 1952, with translations into foreign languages about 1970. In Poland, among many other countries, it has not yet come out and is therefore inaccessible because of the language barrier. The work, written in 1859, testified to the absurdity of the "two Marxes" theory (Althusser was defending himself with the ridiculous thesis that this work constituted a "regression" in Marx's output); at the same time it presented the alienation theory in its fullness. It is also a fact that the whole of Marx's writing, including his mature period, was permeated by this theory which went "unnoticed" and neglected by orthodox marxists. In my monograph devoted to the marxian theory of alienation ("Entfremdung als soziales Phanomen," Vienna 1977), I presented the history of this theory "backwards," because of the myth that it was a young-marxian theory rejected by Marx in his later work. That is, starting from its form in the works of the mature Marx ("Capital" and "Grundrisse") and going back in time to "Manuscripts," I showed which seeds of this theory could already be found in the young Marx, without however treating them as a model. By using such a method of analysis it became quite evident that the theory of reification (Verdinglichung) or the fetishism of commodities, which supposedly were to "replace" the alienation theory, become understandable only against its background and constitute--according to Marx's own words--its side product.

Of course, the fundamental thing is to reconstruct on the basis of Marx's writing the proper content of this theory and to point out the range of its application in his work. It is all the more necessary since the popularization of this theory, which is above all the work of French existentialists, not only presented it onesidedly, but also distorted it in an idealistic spirit.

Unfortunately, this version of the alienation theory continues to weigh on the boom of sociological and psychological research studies which continues, limiting the effectiveness of these studies and contributing to theoretical confusion in this area. In order to understand the marxian alienation theory, it is first of all necessary to emphasize the difference between this theory and existentialism's conception of it. The alienation theory--in both of the above-mentioned forms--always talks about the relation between man and his products in one case, and with other people, society, or even man's own "I"--in the second case.

It is therefore a compound relation, where man is always at one of the poles and in which a separation of one element of the relation from the other is taking place. Thus those who say that man is always the subject of alienation

are correct; not in the sense, however, that man always alienates himself, but that he is an indispensable link in this relation and without him the relation is impossible altogether. However, not only man, but also the other pole of his relation--all man's products (material and spiritual, as well as social institutions created by him) alienate themselves in the sense of separation, breaking off the ties within the framework of the relation we are talking about.

This second category constitutes the essence of objective alienation and is the most important one within the framework of the marxian alienation theory, because on its basis the subjective alienation (self-alienation), as a secondary phenomenon, becomes understandable. Objective alienation consists of man producing various products in order to meet his own--socially speaking--needs.

These products can be things serving his various material needs, beginning with goods for direct consumption and ending with various permanent goods for long-term consumption (such as houses, furniture, various utilitarian objects); these can also be spiritual products, in the sense of cultural goods (such as works of art, science etc.); they can be institutions created by man socially in order to meet some of his needs in the domain of social human coexistence (for example the state with its extensive network of multifarious institutions and facilities; family as a human coexistence cell; religion with its churches, etc.). These various products, produced by man consciously for the purpose of meeting some of his needs, always function within the framework of a given period's social life and the mechanisms and laws governing it (various "robinsonadas" have been put in the museum of human thought a long time ago). The certain functioning of these governing mechanisms and laws in a certain period of social life can cause--and indeed do cause--man's various products cease to function according to his purpose and intentions. They deny these intentions and in some instances not only threaten the interest, but even the security and life of their creators (this is a verbatim repetition of a classic definition of alienation, which Marx presented in the "German Ideology," that is, in the work which is often superficially cited as proof that Marx then rejected (it was in 1847) the alienation theory because when speaking harshly of his former allies among the young Hegelians, he placed the word "alienation" in quotation marks).

But after all, it is not the word that counts, but the content, which Marx fully accepted in the definition given above. In any case, the word often returns up until the end of his work, particularly in the most important, in this respect, "Grundrisse," which after all came much later in time--1859. This we call--within the framework of the marxian theory--the alienation of man's products from their creator. We are therefore precisely calling this alienation an objective one, as opposed to the subjective alienation (self-alienation), in which man alienates himself (subject) in relation to other people (society) and his own "I."

As classical examples of objective alienation one can cite market goods (production surplus crises erupt as a result of their alienation within the framework of market mechanisms, the struggle for markets, and in extreme cases,

wars for those markets); hired labor, which was the main subject of interest to young Marx, and in the period of his maturity, the theme of his reflections in "Capital"; products of man such as science (for example, the discovery of nuclear energy and the present threat to human existence posed by nuclear war), ideologies (for example, "inquisitions" destroying the creators of these ideologies in the name of purity), religions (they supply models for "inquisitions" against their own believers and dissenters) alienate themselves.

In a very dangerous way various social institutions alienate themselves, above all the state with its organs of coercion and the bureaucracy ruling it; family with its implications in the sphere of social oppression of women, and so on and so forth. From the above follows a clear answer to the questions: "In what areas of marxist thought has the alienation theory in the sense of objective alienation, found its application?" Of course it has found it in the area of economic studies. It is enough to say that for Marx, market goods and hired labor were classical alienated products, in order to understand the role which the theory of alienation plays in marxism as a theoretical economic system.

Of course in a broadly understood area of political science, in the questions of state, it has found it in its organs and bureaucracy above all. Again it is enough to emphasize that within the framework of marxism, the state is an alienated product and an example of alienation par excellence in order to understand the role of the (objective) alienation theory in marxist analyses in this sphere. Of course it has found it in broadly understood studies of ideologies, among which marxism includes religion.

This enumeration of the areas of application of the alienation theory in marxism--historically speaking, in the sense of the work of Marx and Engels, but contemporarily, in the sense of marxist thought--is not meant to be exhaustive, but only as an example. Nevertheless it certainly suffices to explain the role of this theory in marxism and its usefulness: both in theory and in practice, taking into consideration that the theory of alienation is also a theory of disalienation, which we will ponder later in our reflections.

From objective alienation we must distinguish subjective alienation, (which refers to the subject itself), or self-alienation of man.

In this case again we are dealing with a relationship in which man finds himself a link in a certain relationship with society and its institutions, other people, and his own "I" which he experiences as the subject of his own evaluations. The breaking of the bond in this relationship, a separation characteristic of alienation, occurs in this case in the link "man." Here man himself, not his product, is alienated; man himself, the subject of this relationship, feels like a "stranger" in relation to other people, feels unconnected with them. He feels like a "stranger" even in relation to his own "I," as it realizes itself in his life in a way divergent from the model which--in his opinion--it ought to be and is therefore negatively evaluated by him. We encounter in life, as we can see, a broad palette of questions variously intense, extremely important for each man, particularly when the symptoms are on the borderline of pathology.

Because of their intensity in contemporary society, these phenomena have become the favorite philosophical domain (appearing mostly in literary form) of existential thought. These phenomena are treated in a different way by psychology, and in extreme, pathological cases, by psychiatry. Recognizing the importance of this domain of thought on the life and mental health of an individual--because it is the mental health that matters in the final account--thus recognizing the importance of this broad domain of self-alienation for the life of men and of reflections on it, we must be very well aware of the fact that--as we have said above--apart from the area of mental illnesses expressing themselves in autism, self-alienation is derivative in relation to subjective alienation, the understanding of which has an enormous significance to our struggle for disalienation in this area. Self-alienation and the feeling of strangeness, noninvolvement in public affairs, generates and develops when the state and social institutions become alienated in relation to man, his needs and interests; the feeling of strangeness in relation to other people is formed and develops in the mechanism of "mass society," which breaks formerly existing direct ties between people and condemns--subjectively--an individual to loneliness. Man begins to feel the strangeness of his own "I" (we are not talking here about cases of psychic pathology) when he cannot realize his life plans because of financial limitations, national or social oppression and the like, and as a result lives a "broken" life, the cause of which is a subjective situation.

Everything speaks for the thesis that subjective alienation (self-alienation) is secondary to and derivative of, objective alienation and is of decisive significance for our reflection on the possibilities of overcoming alienation (or else: on the possibilities of disalienation) and for taking appropriate steps to that effect.

It is clear that, considering the social orientation of marxism, the essential sense of the alienation theory is disalienation, that is, the discovery of a mechanism of overcoming alienation. The question is: "What ought to be done in order to overcome the phenomena of alienation oppressing man?" The answer to this question is: "We must remove from social life the causes of alienation, and since they are rooted in the mechanism of social life, in its actual form, we must reshape this mechanism." How? There is no general answer to this question and, to be universally applicable, the answer must always assume a concrete form, considering the phenomenon in question and the social conditions of place and time.

With reference to what has been said above, three things must be noted:

First, in light of what has been said so far about alienation and disalienation, it is clear that the most profound essence of socialism as a social direction is an all-round disalienation of people's lives. He who has not understood this, has not understood (and as a consequence does not put into action) the humanistic contents of marxian socialism, the fundamental (and how important in practice, when it is belittled) postulate that socialism is to be built for people, which means, considering man as the highest value.

Second, from the reflection on alienation and disalienation it results that alienation "in general" cannot be overcome, only concrete cases of alienation can be overcome. This is possible. But from this it does not follow either that all simultaneously-occurring forms of alienation have been overcome, or that new forms cannot appear as a result of a new social mechanism. Some people are disappointed by this, expecting final and absolute solutions. It is just as unjustified as the feeling of frustration of someone on hearing the news that we can cure him of an illness, for example pneumonia, but cannot guarantee that he will not become ill with another disease, cancer of the liver for example.

We must draw the following conclusion from this with regard to social phenomena: since "absolute" disalienation is impossible, we must incessantly struggle with possible forms of alienation, including new ones, because the danger of the transformation of the objectivization of human thought and action into alienation is permanent and one cannot foresee the ways of social development in this regard. Therefore, if socialist revolution is a disalienating revolution, it must be a permanent revolution. Marx also stated consistently that communism is not some kind of an ideal state (in the static sense), but a continuous movement of criticism of the deficiencies of reality.

He also developed the theory of permanent revolution, which--as must be remembered among the vicissitudes of current political struggles--is neither trotskyist or maoist (although in both cases it has been especially applied), but authentically marxian.

Third, as the result of the above, the alienation theory finds application not only in the analysis of capitalism, but also--and in some cases above all, if not exclusively--in the analysis of socialism. In fact all the phenomena of alienation, despite the elimination of the private ownership of the means of production, also remain in force in socialism, although in a changed form.

Hence the fact of the conservative milieu in socialist countries--this phenomena occurs there too--of the alienation theory, resulting at first in attempts to deny its existence in marxism, and later to discredit it or at least pass it over in silence. He who takes up these issues still risks the label of "revisionist." There still exist troglodytes of stalinism who affirm that Marx saw the alienation theory as exclusively applicable to capitalism, and they even quote passages from the "Manuscripts" which after all refer to the "premarxian" period in Marx's activity. Is it not clearly a crime in relation to marxism and the cause of socialism to reject such a sharp and effective tool of analysis as the alienation theory? It is obvious nonsense. It is clear that the alienation (disalienation) theory must be applied to socialism as well, despite the resistance of the bureaucracy defending its private interests. We shall try to do this in the conclusion of our reflections on the workers movement's present acute problem of crisis in the international communist movement.

IV. If the alienation theory also applies to socialism (the questions of state, bureaucracy, hired labor, ideology and so on), it is therefore no wonder

that it applies as well to man's products such as revolution, particularly the socialist revolution. The revolution too can alienate itself, that is it can slip out of its creator's control and even start acting against his will and intentions, canceling them and, in extreme cases, threatening its creators.

In a letter to Vera Zasulich of 25 April 1885, little known to wider circles of readers, Frederic Engels wrote, significantly, that the creators of a revolution usually noticed the day after that the revolution they achieved differed from the one they had intended. And he added the sentence which he later crossed out but which remained in the text and points to what he thought on this issue: "Perhaps this will happen to us as well."

It happened indeed and while there can be no doubt as to the good and noble intentions of the revolution's creators, there can also be no doubt as to the fact that the work achieved differed from the one intended. In this situation those, to whom the cause of socialism is dear and who know marxist theory cannot refrain from using the tool of its analysis, the alienation theory, to apply to the phenomena of the crisis of socialism and the communist movement.

The first result of such analysis is a diagnosis that we are dealing with the phenomenon of the alienation of the revolution--the genie has been let out of the bottle and now control over its further actions has been lost.

The diagnosis in the light of the alienation theory is simple and clear. However what matters is not just the diagnosis, but also the answer to the question "Why?", which is important from the point of view of the socialist movement's further revolutionary activity. The answer to this question is not difficult in the light of marxism: "Because these revolutions have until now been carried out in an arbitrary manner, without taking into consideration the rigorous objective conditions (Marx) and subjective ones (Gramsci), which marxism puts forward as necessary for the success of the socialist revolution."

First, the objective ones. Marx enumerated them clearly in the "German Ideology": a high level of economic development, so that immediately after the revolution the distribution of wealth can take place (the egalitarianism of poverty does not equal socialism); a working class at a high level, so that it can cope with the demands of modern technology; victory of the revolution simultaneously in countries which are decisive, in order to protect the revolution from external danger and the flood of nationalism (Lenin later changed this requirement to read that the revolution does not necessarily have to begin simultaneously in all these countries. Nevertheless he did not eliminate this requirement as a condition for the full success of socialism, and neither did Stalin; despite the ardor of the fight with Trotsky on the issue of the possibility of building socialism in one country).

Marx wrote pointedly in this passage that if these conditions are not met, "die ganze alte Scheisse" will return. He was right, it did.

The second group, objective conditions, was developed by Gramsci. He already had at his disposal the experience of the first years of socialist revolution in the USSR, in the form of social consensus. The point was not only to have

this consensus in the struggle against the old regime, but also in the cause of building the new, socialist one. For this were needed the enlightening of the masses and a special group to bring it about--the intelligentsia. From this follows the postulate of revolutionary patience, probably the most important lesson to teach revolutionary minds. The internalization of this postulate must take place if the cause is to achieve success.

Looking back, we can easily establish that in the cases of the countries of "real socialism," all the requirements and postulates of marxism have been ignored. Action was undertaken in spite of them, often (in case of Poland, for example) with full awareness of this fact, since a situation downright contrary to the postulates of Marx and Gramsci was very well known to those who made the appropriate decisions.

Therefore placing the burden of responsibility for the current crisis of "real socialism" on marxism is unjustified. Not marxism itself, but those who apply it falsely, acting in fact as antimarxists, bear the responsibility.

Having the diagnosis and the etiology of the disease we ought to know whether the alienation theory arms us also with an appropriate therapy. Yes, it is the theory of disalienation and its recommendations. The point is simply to change the functioning of the social mechanism by removing the negative causes and by realization of the positive recommendations of the marxist theory.

In this domain, two spheres of questions must be distinguished: those connected with the countries which are facing the problem of carrying out the socialist revolution, and those of the countries with "real socialism," which suffer the disease of the deformation of socialism.

In the first case we must sharply demand that the requirements for the realization of socialism, formulated by marxism, be followed very closely.

Of course we are talking here only about a fragment of the question; the number of these requirements is much higher; but this "fragment" is decisive from the point of view of the issues involved. With this is of course connected the requirement of the revolutionary patience, which implies the thesis that socialist revolution is not made ad libitum, when in fact other forms of revolution are available, but the abolition of the old regime is to take place when this becomes a social necessity. With this is also linked the requirement of not creating socialist regimes of the honoris causa kind, when state interests require that we look for allies and bases in the struggle against imperialist influences. It must be done sometimes, but there are also other, more appropriate methods of achieving this task.

Much more difficult is the question of the disalienation "therapy" in the case of countries with "real socialism." Since the "original sin" of realizing socialism without the necessary objective and subjective conditions has already been committed, the only possibility of keeping the system alive is by force. This leads to multiplication of alienated products: the bureaucracy, the apparatus of coercion, etc. The system is too weak to allow for democracy--it would sweep it off the face of the earth. This cannot be helped, and the

dialectic of the situation consists in the fact that in view of the existence of democracy and fascist tendencies connected with it, progressive movements cannot wish for such "cracks" in socialist countries, nor can they allow them. Thus this state of things continues, even when the strengthening of socialist countries permits a gradual democratization of the regime. There is a real danger of ossification of the alienation situation and a struggle against it must be led inside the workers' movement: through criticism and pressing for reforms, while bearing in mind that the process can take place only gradually and slowly.

The alienation theory gives us therefore not only a diagnosis and etiology of the situation, but also points out the possible direction for the disalienation theory. And this is what we are concerned with today.

We are celebrating the 100th anniversary of Marx's death not only with the awareness of the vitality of his ideas (what enormous changes have taken place in this period on their basis!), but also with the full awareness of the fact that by making new discoveries from the old contents of marxism, we are writing today its history anew. The economic contents of Marx's theory have long dominated the picture of marxist doctrine, due to the place of "Capital" in Marx's work, among other things. We continue these interests today as well and we can surely say that we are further today from the deformation of "economic materialism" than the followers of marxism have ever been. Only starting with a certain moment in history the followers of marxism everywhere began to take an interest in the philosophical content of the doctrine and the battle under the banners of dialectical marxism dominated a certain period in the theoretical battles of marxists. We are continuing, and justly so, these interests in all the areas of philosophy cultivated on the basis of marxism, but they are no longer treated today as a novum or as being dominant.

The problems of marxist sociology and political science began to gain independence relatively late, cultivated on the ground of historical materialism but not identical with it. This took place on the basis of increasing need for social research, in close relation with the practice of building socialism and the needs of the workers' movement. We are continuing, and justly so, these interests, which constitute a certain novum, although they are rooted in the old marxist tradition. A real novum, on the other hand, (although we are dealing with a "discovery" of the oldest and most profound contents of marxism) are new interests of the marxists in philosophical anthropology, particularly the problems of the human individual and connected with the questions of the alienation theory. They will certainly dominate marxism in our period, because it follows from the needs of social practice which, as it always happens, will break down the resistance of dogmatized tradition. And thus life is writing the history of marxism anew, when new situations force us to bring into life its continuously new creative layers, even if they had been heretofore unnoticed and passed over in silence.

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POLISH MEDICAL DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Success of Polish Medicine on Infertility

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 7 Jul 83 pp 1,2

[Text] Physicians of Poznan have achieved unprecedented success in world medicine. The many years of effort devoted by doctors to treatment of male sterility have been crowned with success. Small plastic receptacles, called "artificial spermatoceles," which are tolerated by the body's immune system, have been implanted in the vicinity of the testicles of a man unable otherwise to become a father, by application of modern microsurgical techniques. This made it possible later to carry out artificial insemination by the wife with her husband's sperm taken from these receptacles by means of a syringe. The daughter who was conceived in this way is now 4 months old and is developing normally. The authors of this success are Dr Grzegorz Szymczynski, an andrologist, and a well-known surgeon, Prof Roman Geral. It should be pointed out that West German andrologists in Hamburg originated this surgical method.

Although the results of implantation of these receptacles in experimental animals and livestock had been satisfactory, no success had been achieved in initiating pregnancy in humans by this method. Success was reached at the center in Poznan, where the surgical experience of West German and American andrologists and the results of original research were put to use.

Availability of Insulin Shots

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 11 Jul 83, pp 1,2

[Article by mr]

[Text] The affair of the insulin hypodermic syringes produced by the Mechanik cooperative in Chojnice is coming to a successful conclusion. We will repeat, as we have written many times in these pages, that the Chojnice product was not widely distributed, and speculators exacted from persons needing it a price several times higher than that set for an insulin injection.

We have received a letter signed by the deputy director of the department of medical equipment and medical transportation of the ministry of health and social welfare indicating that:

--the CEFARM Pharmaceutical Supply Enterprises have been required to make the injections universally available through the network of pharmacies throughout the country;

--the Central Medical Supply Depot has been required to take action to increase orders for the Mechanik products,

--information on the injection has been forwarded to all province health and social welfare departments, along with a request that the needs for this item be determined.

The same letter contains information on complaints made by users of the injection, but, as we read further on, "the ministry has adopted the principle of marketing the injection in 1983 as a practical test of the actual suitability of this article."

We are pleased by this approach to the matter. The diabetics who have searched for the Chojnice shots in vain should be satisfied with it. We also think that the Mechanik cooperative will take the ministry's suggestion to heart and will institute production control so that the number of complaints will drop to a fractional percentage.

Health Status of Polish Community

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Jul 83 p 6

[Article by KL]

[Text] (Original dispatch). How long are we living? What makes us sick? What essential changes took place in the demographic and health situation of the population in 1982?

The health problems of the Polish community was the subject of a press conference held by Ryszard Brzozowski, deputy minister of health and social welfare. At the end of 1982 the population of Poland numbered 36.4 million. In this year 702,400 children were born. There was a slight and overly slow decline in infant mortality, from 20.5 per 1000 live births in 1981 to 20.4 in 1982. The mortality of infants born in a rural environment is still 1.3 per 1000 higher than that of infants born in urban areas. Infant mortality in the five provinces of Wloclaw, Piotrkow, Lodz, Szczecin, and Katowice is also above the national average. At the beginning of life 14,000 children died of congenital defects, septicemia, and contagious diseases of the digestive system.

The average lifespan of the Polish male is 67.2 years, and of the Polish female 75.2 years. The hypermortality of males, the differences in their disadvantage in comparison to the lifespan of females of 8 years, is a very disquieting phenomenon. The most frequent causes of death are diseases of the circulatory system, diseases of the newborn, accidents, traumas, and poisonings. The number of persons who died in traffic accidents is estimated to be around 40,000. Accidents, poisonings, and traumas also represent the greatest

threats to the life and health of children and teenagers between the ages of 10 and 19. They are frequently the cause of permanent disability.

A serious problem from the community viewpoint, because of the frequency of its occurrence and marked tendency to increase, is that of mental illness. The number of cases recorded for the first time at mental health clinics amounted to more than 156,000 and was 20 percent higher than in 1982.

Contagious diseases on the whole represented no serious problem in Poland, as was the case in other European countries. There was, however, a worrisome increase in the number of cases of viral hepatitis (4,000), a fivefold increase in cerebrospinal meningitis, and a total of 23,685 cases of tuberculosis, including 500 cases of infant tuberculosis.

The state of health of the community was adversely affected by alcohol abuse, drug addiction, and tobacco smoking. There are 12 million habitual smokers in Poland, 70 percent of whom are men. The habitual smoker smokes 2700 cigarettes a year. Figures show that as many as 37 percent of malignant tumors in men and 12 percent in women are linked to tobacco smoking. The children of smoking mothers need at least 10 years to make up physical and mental losses. Cirrhosis of the liver is occurring with greater frequency among alcoholics. This disease caused 4300 deaths last year.

During the second half of the press conference, following the report delivered by Brzozowski, newsmen asked detailed questions, among other things about the frequency of contraception, the artificial kidney, the pediatrics institute in Katowice, and so forth. One of the questions concerned a subject dealt with in this paper (in the article headed "...And Please Keep This Clinic Open") but not answered. It relates to the plans to do away with the Geriatrics, Hematology, and Immunology Clinic at the hospital in Barska Street. According to Brzozowski, the clinic will be kept open.

New Hospital in Operation at Znin

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jul 83 p 2

[Text] The municipal hospital in Znin (Bydgoszcz Province) was opened on 18 July 1983.

The new hospital was established in a building completely reconditioned and adapted to the modern needs of the health service. Together with the annex built several years ago, the hospital can accommodate 280 patients in the internal disease, surgical, gynecology/obstetrics, ophthalmology, and children's wards.

It will serve not just the residents of Znin but also people living in the surrounding towns. The new facility was built virtually from the ground up in a period of 4 years. To speed up construction, hospital personnel joined in a collective project to participate in auxiliary activities.

The opening ceremonies for the new facility were attended by Deputy Premier Zenon Komender.

EMIGRE HISTORIANS ACCUSED OF FALSIFYING HISTORY

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 15 Jul 83 p 21

[Article by Vasile Netea: "Today, Like Yesterday Fighters for Truth and for Justice"]

[Excerpts] Just like all the great events in the history of peoples, which are an object of interest for the historiographies of the country and of neighboring countries, the historic act of the union of all Romanians, achieved in 1918, continues to receive the attention of Romanian and foreign historians. Obviously, not all these historians start from the same premises and, especially, not all of them reach the same conclusions. For Romanian historians, and we are referring, at this time, to historians from the past, Nicolae Iorga, Gheorghe I Bratianu, Const C Giurescu, Ion Lupas, the union is depicted as a natural culmination of a millenial process, based on the struggle for freedom of an entire people, on unity of language and national civilization; but for some historians abroad, under the shelter of foreign citizenship, the union was only a rape, or, at best, the result of a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, a gift of the victorious great powers in 1918, a political act without contact with the historic and ethnic realities of Eastern Europe.

Such insolent ideas, whether they have been stated at international history congresses or in different publications or works, have been manifested ever since the union and they have always received appropriate and substantial replies from the Romanian specialists.

The high point of these insolent ideas, which were never based on scientific interests but exclusively on political interests and goals -- aiming at Transylvania, in particular -- was reached at the moment of the Diktat of Vienna (30 August 1940), when, supported by the fascist powers of Europe, Germany and Italy, our adversaries received a part of Transylvania -- by threat or force. The occupation of the "ceded" part was followed by numerous massacres and expulsions of the population. Neither the USSR, nor England, nor the United States recognized this infamous sentence and it was abrogated as soon as the fascist powers were defeated. By the Treaty of Paris of 10 February 1947 -- signed by all the great powers and their allies --, taking into consideration the number of Romanians in Transylvania, and the contribution made by Romania in the war against Hitler, our borders returned to where they were when the diktat was announced.

After 23 August 1944, when the people's government was established, the national minorities were given the political and cultural rights they claimed and thus a perfect equality among all Romanian citizens was achieved. Never did the national minorities in Romania have more rights than they have now, more schools, more artistic and scientific institutions, more newspapers and reviews and even their own publishing house, and, at the same time, more obvious participation in the leadership of the state, of the cities and of all enterprises in the country. These facts have been recognized by the authorized representatives of the workers councils, both Hungarian and German. We will not give the names of these representatives but they are known to all our readers and to the readers of other periodicals.

The repeated statements of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu are also guarantees of respect for all these rights and for their protection.

Nevertheless, abroad, especially in the United States and Canada, some so-called historians who are on bad terms with the system of justice and the laws of their country of origin, engage in various anti-Romanian demonstrations and issue numerous slanders against the Romanian state, questioning the very origin of our people, its level of civilization and culture, the handling of the national minorities in Romania and, at the same time, by the falsification of statistics and historical documents, they question the bases and conditions on which our national unity in 1918 was established.

Neither the origin and place of formation of the Romanian people nor its political acts, which led to the union of 1918, can be contested since they have a sound historical base, and are unanimously recognized by European historiography. They were not acts of certain personalities, social classes or institutions, but of all our people on both sides of the Carpathians, of its language everywhere.

The insolences and slanders from abroad only provoke new replies from real historians. Today's historians of the Romanians are continuing, with the same intransigence, the orientation, based on the truth, of the chronicle writers, of the generation of the "Transylvanian School", of the generation of N. Balcescu, and M. Kogalniceanu, of N. Iorga and V. Parvan, of C C Giurescu, C Daicoviciu and others.

Recently, such a work was written by the historians Mircea Musat and Ion Ardeleanu--"De la statul geto-dac la statul roman unitar (From the Geto-Dacian State to the Unitary Romanian State). It rejected, once again, the new insolences, which are, in essence, the old ideas, condemned by history, of some pseudohistorians and pseudopatriots.

The territory and the intellectual and national unity of Romania are a product of the centuries, of "everything which grows in this country, the river, the branch", having the same strength and endurance as the cliffs of the Carpathians and the valleys of the Danube. Just as no cataclysm was able to put an end to these geological elements, no historical cataclysm or invasion was able

to put an end to our principalities, since their purpose was to merge and become cemented into a single state, into a single national formation: the Romanian state. The highest summits are reserved for it in the future.

Today, just as yesterday, Romanian historians have been unflinching fighters for the truth, for justice.

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WORK OF CEAUSESCU'S BROTHER ON MILITARY HISTORY HAILED

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 5 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Mircea Suciu: "A Reference Work in Romanian Military Historiography"]

[Excerpts] Ever since its publication in 1980, the work of Lt Gen Dr Ilie Ceausescu "Razboiul intregului popor pentru apararea patriei la romani" (The War of the Entire People for the Defense of the Homeland in Romania) has been hailed as a great scientific event. The wealth of information and the innovative character of the conclusions have been unanimously praised and the passage of time has confirmed the fact that its publication has been a benchmark in the evolution of Romanian historiography. Its translation into languages of wide circulation has assured its international dissemination, arousing interest everywhere in this specific aspect of the Romanian military effort of defending the country. A proof of the esteem given to this valuable work is the appearance of a new edition -- in English -- published in India.

The distinctive character of this research work is the erudition of the author in his knowledge and utilization of the sources, as well as the analytical spirit of remarkable precision and the broad horizon of the integration of the Romanian military phenomenon in the framework of European and world history. The guiding idea of the book is the fact that, in all the dramatic circumstances of the history of the Romanian people, when freedom and state and political institutions ran the risk of foreign conquest, all the social categories and classes reacted in a spirit of perfect solidarity to drive out the invader.

The investigation of the author goes to the distant origins of the Romanians and this move is perfectly justified by the well-known episode, related by the father of history, Herodotus, of the resistance of the Geto-Dacians to the great expeditions undertaken by the Persian emperor Darius I in the Pontic regions in 514 BC. Their decision, unique among the Thracian peoples, won the praise of Herodotus who called them the "bravest and most righteous of the Thracians".

Whenever their land was violated by foreign invaders, the Romanian people rose up en masse to defend the ancient homeland. In modern and contemporary periods,

in which there has been an accelerated development of military technology culminating in the sophisticated weaponry of our days, the war of the entire people has remained a specific form of struggle for the independence and national unity of the Romanian people.

The complete involvement of all forces of Romanian society ensured the victory of the war of independence of 1877 and 1878 and of the war for the reunification of the country from 1916 to 1918. The same mass character, resulting from the policy of the Romanian Community Party for uniting in a coalition all the anti-fascist forces in the country, resulted in the victorious execution of the revolution for social and national, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist liberation in August 1944.

Romania of the Ceausescu period has made the war of the entire people the foundation of the military doctrine of our country, which involves the participation of all citizens of the country in the defense of the revolutionary achievements of our socialist society. Lt Gen Dr Ilie Ceausescu has given Romanian historiography a work of high scientific value, along with a political, patriotic and educational message intended to ensure a large audience for the book and to present to the world the glorious history of a people impassioned with the defense of national independence.

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