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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2160

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HUNGARIAN-ROMANIAN TENSION OVER TRANSYLVANIA CONTINUES

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 13 May 83 p 3

[Article by Mihaly Sukosd: "Countering Phantasms"]

[Text] 1. The symbolic Martian arrives on earth, in central and eastern Europe. Certain things he finds difficult to understand. For his information, therefore, he takes a broad glance at the general situation.

The obvious facts of the situation are as follows:

Given are two neighboring countries in central and eastern Europe, Hungary and Romania, or more accurately, the Hungarian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania. In World War II, both were allies of nazi Germany. In 1944-1945, both were liberated by the Soviet Union. The period of bourgeois democracy and coalition parties lasted in both countries approximately the same length of time, a few years. As of 1948, both countries are people's democracies. They soon became, respectively, the Hungarian and the Romanian models of Stalinism, again sharing the well-known symptoms: industrialization with over-emphasis on heavy industry, forced collectivization, staged trials, and all the phenomena of intensifying class struggle. In the second half of the 1950's, after the 20th party congress, this period ends and is replaced by another in both countries.

In other words, two neighboring socialist countries. Both are members of the Warsaw Pact. A multitude of political, economic and cultural agreements link them together. On the basis of his abstract (Martian) knowledge, the imaginary guest would think that the two countries must be existing and developing side by side amidst ideal relations. Even if the educated Martian knew that the two countries' recent and more distant pasts were by no means free of conflicts.

After all these historical events, a book harping on some factors that have disturbed the Hungarian-Romanian past and present appeared in Romania in 1982. In response to it, an explanatory book has appeared in Hungary in 1983.

2. I have been able to read Ion Lancranjan's famous book in a Hungarian translation. In comparison with the details known so far, the complete text causes no surprise, neither to the author's credit nor to his discredit. This genre is known as a pamphlet. The two most important characteristics of the pamphlet as a literary form are overintensification and a one-sided view. True facts and the given phenomena are subordinated to a single dominant view, that of the pamphleteer.

Lancranjan's thinking can be outlined in general as follows. He is a Romanian citizen, literate, born in Transylvania. Transylvania's original population --"initially Dacian, then Roman and subsequently Romanian, in natural succession"--lived for centuries together with the Hungarians who arrived on this bit of land later, and mostly as armed conquerors. But this in itself would not have been an obstacle to the fraternal coexistence of the two peoples. The 20th century repeatedly caused a terrible twist in Transylvania's history, each occasion serving as an example of the brutality of Hungarian dominance. He, Lancranjan, would like to see finally dispelled the terrible shadow of bloody history, of Horthy's Hungary and the Romanian kingdom, over long-suffering Transylvania, so that the past will not disrupt good neighborly relations between the two countries. However, "some people," "many persons," "a certain public opinion" in Hungary, extending occasionally to the highest party and state leadership, are unwilling to let this historically closed matter lie, are maintaining on the agenda the situation of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, and are referring to the Treaty of Trianon as a dictate of the imperialists.

This is Lancranjan's message, and he tells it angrily and emotionally. The text --in its Hungarian translation--indicates a writer of average ability and a mediocre thinker. Lancranjan's digressive arguments show no trace of rational reasoning based on the philosophy of history, of any interconnected chain of definite historical factors and defined historical facts, although it may be assumed that the author studied Marxist philosophy somewhere at some level (his age and the pattern of his career make this assumption probable). Lancranjan's text and mental process recall an old typology of the past century, well known also in Hungary and in the Hungarian language: the romantic study of national character. The gist of this national characterology is that a given ethnic group does not project its common characteristics in the light of the changing historical conditions at any given time, but carries them in its ethnic essence. In the characterology of the Romanian nation the Romanian thus becomes "simple, noble, kind and implacable"; and in the characterology of the Hungarian nation the Hungarian "possesses the best physique of all the peoples in Europe, cannot be a hypocrite, is brave, frank and hospitable."

A mediocre writer and an outmoded thinker. If Lancranjan's book were about, say, the Basques and Catalonians, it would be rated as a poor one. I would not recommend it for a Hungarian edition to the Europa Publishing House, perhaps to the Gondolat Publishing House, and by tomorrow or the day after I would forget about it.

However, Lancranjan's book is not about the Basques and Catalonians.

3. Gyorgy Szaraz has responded to Lancranjan's pamphlet with an essay. This again is a well-known genre. Its prime was in the 18th century, during the golden age of French and German enlightenment. If the pamphlet is the screenplay of indictment and accusation, the essay is the screenplay of interpretation and explanation. While the pamphlet attempts to present its message from a single dominant point of view, the purpose of the essay is to present the truth from as many different viewpoints as possible, objectively and free of prejudice.

I do not think that Gyorgy Szaraz much enjoyed the drafting of his reply to Lancranjan. He probably could have found other work closer to his heart: he has not written for some time a new historical play, and the biography he began of

General Gyorgy Palffy has yet to be finished. On the other hand, in the spirit of an objective answer, he had to adjust to some viewpoints of his debating partner. In his book Gyorgy Szaraz had to undertake two tasks. Both practically at the elementary level, almost with the methods of basic dissemination of information (because his debating partner forced him to this). He had to review 1000 years of Hungarian history, and in the course of this to correct Lancranjan's erroneous data, his inaccurate and distorted judgments. But after the information-disseminating corrections came the harder but unavoidable part: explanatory work, outlining the aspects of a rational interpretation of history, different from the viewpoints of Lancranjan's pamphlet.

Gyorgy Szaraz must explain the difference between the historical essay and the pamphlet as a literary genre and how Lancranjan, disregarding this difference, sweepingly generalizes certain questions over which there still is controversy between Romanian and Hungarian historical science. He has to explain how it necessarily follows from romantic national characterology that its practitioner sets up against each other enlarged and propped up phantasms, exaggerated minor differences that of course have some basis in fact, and which the two peoples and countries' histories, different in many respects, have helped to create, but which romantic phantomization has irrationally blown up to many times their original size. Furthermore, he has to explain how Lancranjan in his childhood was surrounded by the concepts and images of an anti-Hungarian mythology, just as Gyorgy Szaraz was embraced at just about the same time by an anti-Romanian mythology, equally vulgar and with similar demagogic slogans. And most of all he must point out that, approaching the end of the 20th century, it is no longer possible to understand the situation and decide debated issues on the basis of these romantic and mythological notions of race and people. All this is suitable only for old ghosts to haunt anew.

Since I agree with the obligatory didactic explanation of the essay form that Gyorgy Szaraz was forced to choose, I am unable to add anything meaningful to his reasoning on this issue. At most I can only add to his list of references and collection of examples. It was unnecessary for Lancranjan to invent his notorious character, the nonexistent Csaba Ducso, as the screenwriter of Hungarian chauvinism. He could have found also authors more readily verifiable bibliographically. From my childhood I remember a terrible item on my reading list, an adventure story for youths by a certain Gyoza Temessy, in which the cries of "Stinking Wallachian" or "Liar" alternately occurred in every chapter. This was customary after Trianon, between Horthy's Hungary and the kingdom of Romania, in the period between the two world wars. It should be and must be forgotten. Lancranjan does not want to forget, for reasons best known to himself. Gyorgy Szaraz lists the possible counterarguments and evidence, calmly and sensibly. There is nothing more he can do. The rest is not within his competence as a literate intellectual.

At this point, having read and annotated Gyorgy Szaraz's book, we might perhaps abandon this painful matter. But we cannot abandon it as yet.

4. As a final outcome of World War I, on the basis of the Treaty of Trianon, Transylvania ceased to be a part of Hungary and became a part of Romania. Toward the end of World War II, on 23 August 1944, Romania severed its alliance with Nazi Germany and pulled out of the war. The attempt of Hungary, another German ally, to sever its alliance and pull out failed on 23 August 1944. As a result, the Treaty of Paris in 1946 upheld the Treaty of Trianon.

These facts are common knowledge. It is likewise a fact that Lenin called the Treaty of Trianon "a dictate of the imperialists." Furthermore, that the Treaty of Trianon, and subsequently the Treaty of Paris, were a terrible shock to dismembered Hungary, and the aftereffects of this shock can be felt even today. And yet in the 1980's the idea of revising in some way the Treaty of Trianon and the Treaty of Paris, of entering into a new border dispute, can occur only in the minds of the mentally ill or of cokeyed barroom politicians. These too are facts, and it is regrettable that Lancranjan omitted them from his pamphlet.

We cannot stop even here.

The most shocking part of Lancranjan's text is probably the following sentence: "And if they (meaning the Hungarians living in Romania, Romania's Hungarian minority--M.S.) once ask us in the most democratic manner possible to take our rivers on our backs and move out of this country, what are we Romanians to do? Should we meet also this request or what?" Regardless of how many times and how we read this cleverly pseudonaive question, the implication is that the Hungarian minority living in Transylvania, Romania, and the unspecified "certain persons" and "somebodies" in Hungary are dissatisfied with the present borders and with the present distribution of Hungarians and Romanians in Transylvania. This is what Lancranjan suggests with his direct sentence above, and also with his book's entire viewpoint that is pompous, pathetic and rhapsodizing but nonetheless can be expressed in a chain of thoughts.

From this suggestion, however, there follow very rigorous conclusions. If the Hungarian minority in Romania is dissatisfied with its situation, and if these feelings are gaining support also from the mother country, then the logical answer from the Romanian side can only be swift and successful assimilation. Naturally, Lancranjan does not state this harsh final conclusion openly. But this is what his ominously rambling yet purposeful line of reasoning diabolically suggests, contrary to all historical facts and to the given historical situation. This is why this mediocre writing is dangerous and cannot be left unanswered.

And we still are not finished.

5. When the first version of Gyorgy Szaraz's reply--much shorter than the present book, but identical in its line of reasoning and its basic points of view--appeared in a journal over six months ago, it attracted wide attention in the medium and among the public. His matter-of-fact writing reached even persons who usually have better things to do than to read an essay published in a journal. This polemic did not remain confined to literature and the social sciences; it became an event of entire society. Because of the resurrected ghosts. Because of the intention to overtake the resurrected ghosts.

Some time has elapsed since then, and it is perhaps possible to truthfully assess the response to the essay of Gyorgy Szaraz at that time. Two extreme variants were discernible. These two variants are certain to emerge also now that the book has been published; they will become subjects of debate before various public forums, and even behind the public's back. To use Gyorgy Szaraz's own words, one answer was probably: "Finally, at last." In other words, the time has finally arrived when a provocation from over there receives the first answer from here, although a milder, more self-restrained and more moderate answer than what would have been desirable. Hopefully the next message will be stiffer, more unambiguous and will set also practical tasks. This passionate voice that

hardly listens to historical and logical arguments (and who can deny that it does exist behind or beneath what is said in public) is the new voice of old nationalism.

The other, opposite view is quieter and argues with finer distinctions. It believes that it was a mistake to accept the challenge and join the debate. Regardless of how clever and calm Gyorgy Szaraz is in his explanatory essay, his arguments can be misinterpreted or misread, and the debate will only open wide the gate, already expecting to be opened, to centuries-old traditions of hate. On this occasion let us not waste words on the domestic representatives of nationalism, whether they are wearing fur coats or not (although attention ought to be devoted to their views on another occasion, elsewhere). Advocates of the other variant--let us improvise and call it abstract, esoteric internationalism--frequently refer to Montesquieu's famous statement: "I am primarily and necessarily a human being, and only secondarily and accidentally a Frenchman." This statement may be quoted validly in many kinds of historical situations, but hardly in the present one. The advocates of this view seem to be expecting more than what is reasonable of the abstractly true readings of their youth, and they seem to be devoting less attention than they should to the current events of practical reality.

I concur with the guiding principles and methods of Gyorgy Szaraz's earlier essay and present book. If he felt obliged or was forced to write them, this is what and how he had to write.

6. Who knows why Lancranjan wrote his book. Who knows why a more prominent writer was not chosen to produce the text. And if a voice had to be heard and a text published, then why a cheap mass edition by the Bucharest Publishing House for Sports and Tourism. Who knows why the ghosts of the past had to be revived specifically now when the world political and economic crisis of the given period is beginning to be felt also by the socialist countries of East Europe, more by one than by the other.

Objective posterity, perhaps free of ghosts once and for all, will decide. We do not know when. Once certainly, according to the hopes of our basic principles derived from the philosophy of history. Until then, however, I would persistently adhere to some of my views--again according to the basic principles derived from the history of philosophy--even if my views might be regarded as obsessions by confused minds (over there as well as here). Thus let us reply to drugged speech with lucid speech. Let us attempt to answer erroneous views of the philosophy of history with thinking that we regard as less erroneous. Let us remain convinced that new countercharges of one type of old nationalism are no argument for new charges of another type of old nationalism. Let us not respond to provocation in kind, but let us not leave unanswered any provocation that distorts our principles and practice.

Lancranjan, who reads Hungarian, probably knows how often this line from Ady has been quoted, both here and over there: "The Danube and Olt have but one voice." On this occasion I will quote a view that now is encountered more rarely. Aladar Jekey, a forgotten Transylvanian poet, wrote in 1911: "Time in its wisdom/Will eventually rearrange the pieces/The illusions of You and Us/And there will be witnesses to it." I recommend these words to the attention of Lancranjan, and of every partner in the debate.

ORDER ON DESIGN, EXECUTION, FINANCING OF INVESTMENT PROJECTS

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 6, Dec 82 pp 118-143

[Order of the Council of Ministers On the Study, Design, Planning, Execution and Financing of Investments and Basic Constructions and on Delivery of Projects, passages between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The Council of Ministers

Order No 5, of 22 October 1982, On the Study, Design, Planning, Execution and Financing of Investments and Basic Constructions and on the Delivery of Projects

In the execution of the policy of the Albanian Workers Party in the field of investments and basic constructions, aimed at improving the effectiveness of the use of financial, monetary, technical and material means stipulated for investments and basic constructions, at further strengthening the state discipline, at raising, to a higher level, the level of studies for the necessity, advantage and extent of investment funds for every project, so as to precede their planning with the most studied designs and estimates and at increasing the role and responsibility of investors, designers, constructors and producers of machines, pieces of equipment and technological materials, so that we will build with less expenditures, quickly and better, the Council of Ministers enacts this order:

/I. On the study and planning of basic investments and basic constructions/

Article 1

Investors, guided by the party policy, must establish the needs for basic investments and basic constructions and precede their planning with complete technical-economic studies based scientifically on a strict system of savings.

Article 2

The investing ministries and other central institutions must present, to the State Planning Commission, their study on the necessity and social-economic advantage for every limit project and group of sub-limit projects, together with the preliminary five-year draft plan for investments and

basic constructions, after preliminary examination with the plan and financial organs of the enterprises and institutions, according to relevant nomenclatures.

Article 3

Investments and basic constructions are included in the five-year draft plans, when the draft project and preliminary estimates for every limit project, as well as the value of total investments for every project and for every item of investments separately, are guaranteed.

The sub-limit projects are included in the five-year draft plan grouped with the complete value of investments for every group and for every item of investments.

Article 4

The annual draft plans must include the limit and sub-limit projects or the important sub-projects and stages of the large projects stipulated in the five-year plan and which have their final estimates and plan of execution for June of the year before the year set for construction.

In regard to the limit projects, which are not stipulated in the five-year plan, but which are found necessary to be included in the annual plan, appropriate studies must be carried out about the necessity and economic advantage of everyone of them; they must be preliminarily examined by the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finance. The plans of execution and final estimates for these projects must be assured within June of the year, before the beginning of the construction-assembly works.

/II. For the study and design of the technology of machines, technological pieces of equipment and basic constructions/

Article 5

For the reconstruction, extension or construction of new lines, units and projects, appropriate technical-economic studies are carried out, for which, according to the cases, experimentations are made, the technological, constructive and social-cultural requirements are calculated and debated and so forth.

These studies are carried out by study and research institutions and by the enterprises or work groups, on the basis of the study task given by the investor in the scientific work plan, and are approved by the responsible organ.

The investors must draft the blueprint of the project with a strict regime of savings, together with the study and research institution or with the work group which has carried out the technical-economic study, also, cooperating with the designing-constructing institution which will cooperate in the design work.

The design task relies on the technical-economic study and includes the value of total investments for the project and for every item of investments, the future development of the project, the stages of construction of the project and of its putting into operation, the approved construction site, and the special requirements set in the tasks for the model blueprint, in accordance with Article 45 of this order.

Article 6

The task for designing limit and sub-limit projects is approved by the head of the investing ministry or of other central institution, with the exception of the sub-limit projects which are under the jurisdiction of the executive committees of the district people's council in the districts of the enterprise and of the commands of unified military units, and which are approved respectively by the chairman of the executive committee of the district people's council, regardless of where the investing enterprise is depending, and by the command of the unified military unit.

Article 7

The blueprint of the construction area and the extent of the building site of the project, within this area, are studied by the investor in accordance with the methodical instruction given by the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of Agriculture, and are approved:

a) for the sub-limit projects, built within the limit lines of construction, in accordance with the regulation plans or with their participating urban studies, by the responsible executive committee of the district people's council, by the investor or by the unified military unit; while, for the limit projects, by the Ministry of Construction.

b) for the limit and sub-limit projects (with the exception of dwellings) which are built outside the approved boundary lines and which, in general, occupy a construction site of less than 0.5 hectare, by the executive committee of the district people's council and by the investor; for those, which occupy from 0.5 hectare to up to two hectares, also by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Construction; while, for those from two hectares and more, after their examination by these organs, they are sent for approval to the Council of Ministers.

In both cases, the approval of the Ministry of People's Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Health, of the other ministries and other central institutions, which are interested, or of the responsible organs authorized by them--is required.

For the cases, according to "a" and "b" letters, with the approval of the draft project of the project by the organ, under whose jurisdiction it is, the site of construction to be taken by the project, temporarily or permanently, is also definitely settled, on the condition that it is within the boundaries and area established in the blueprint of the approved construction zone.

c) In regard to automobile roads, railroads, and ports, the draining and irrigation projects, watermains, canalizations and air and underground electric, telegraph and steam lines, the hydroelectric power stations, the high tension lines and the limit and sub-limit electric sub-stations, the area which they occupy, temporarily or permanently, is, de facto, approved as a result of the approval of their draft projects.

The investing ministry or other central institution, before approving the draft project of the limit projects of the abovementioned type, in any case, must first obtain the approval of the executive committee of the district people's council, where the project will be built, and of the Ministry of People's Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Health and, according to the case, of the ministries and other central institutions, which are interested, or of the organs authorized by them; while, for the sub-limit projects, only the approval of the executive committee of the district's people's council, where the project will be built, is needed.

ch) For the limit and sub-limit projects to be constructed on tourist and climate areas and for cultural monuments, the approval is done in accordance with special provisions.

Article 8

The investors must send the tasks for the blueprints of the new projects to the designing institutions after their preliminary examination by the State Planning Commission, in cooperation with the Ministry of Finance, and the studies about the necessity and the social-economic advantage for every one of them, so that designs and estimates be terminated in accordance with Article 4, but always not later than 30 days before the deadlines set in Article 21 of this order.

Article 9

Blueprints and estimates of projects are drawn up in the following stages:

- a) The complete draft project of the project (technological and constructive) and the preliminary appropriate estimate are drawn up in a single stage, at least in two solutions, including the investments for the whole project and the investments for every item [of the project].
- b) The draft execution plan for the technological and constructive parts and the final estimate [are drawn up in other stages].

For the sub-limit projects, the blueprints are drawn up in the stage of the draft execution plan, with the exception of those which have technology and require studies, for which the draft project and preliminary estimates are drafted in agreement between the parties.

c) The blueprints for the production of machines and technological pieces of equipment, which are installed in the project, are assured as follows:

--For the limit projects built within the year, the sub-limit projects, machines and pieces of equipment, set up in the first year of the construction of the projects, whose construction continues more than one year, [the blueprints are assured] within November of the year before the deadline of the completion of the draft execution plan.

--For the limit projects, whose construction continues more than 1 year, with the exception of the abovementioned case, and for machines and other technological pieces of equipment, [the blueprints are assured] within the deadlines of the conclusion of the technological and constructive draft execution plan.

Article 10

The investor insures the clearing slips of the machines and pieces of equipment for which the blueprints exist in the country; while, for those to be imported, he makes plan for the necessary funds so as to assure, through the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the necessary documents within the deadlines set in the contract for the blueprint of the project.

For drafting the draft execution plan for the projects which have technological machines and pieces of equipment, different from those of import, when, although the appropriate funds have been designed, the necessary documentation cannot be assured for designing within the deadlines, then, the investing ministry of the other central institution produces the necessary data, in accordance with the technological solution accepted in the draft project. The accuracy of projects and of estimates, in these cases, is insured by the documentation or the machines and pieces of equipment from imports.

Article 11

The designing institutions must draft the blueprints and estimates for the projects, as shown below:

a) The technological and constructive study and design institutes must draft the blueprints and estimates of projects in stages, in accordance with the "a" and "b" points of Article 9 of this order.

Such blueprints for sub-limit projects can also be drafted by the technical bureaus and branches of the enterprises when they are authorized by the ministry or the other central institution, under whose jurisdiction they are, or by the responsible executive committee of the district people's council, according to jurisdictions.

b) The technological study and design institutes draft the blueprints and estimates of projects at least up to the complete technological and constructive draft project, in cooperation with the design and constructive institutions, as well as the appropriate draft execution plan and estimates for the technological parts.

Such blueprints for sub-limit projects can also be drafted by the technical bureaus and branches of the enterprises and, they can also be drafted for the limit projects, when they are authorized by the ministry or the other central institution, from which they depend, or by the responsible executive committee of the district people's council, according to jurisdictions.

c) The constructive institutes of studies and design cooperate with the technological design institutions for drafting the complete draft project of projects and also the draft execution plans and appropriate estimates for the constructive part. For the projects which have no machines and pieces of equipment, the constructive institutes of studies and design draft complete blueprints and estimates in all stages.

Such blueprints are also drafted by the district urban and designing offices for the limit and sub-limit projects, when they are authorized by the Ministry of Construction. Also, the technical bureaus and branches of the enterprises have the right to draft such blueprints for sub-limit projects, when they are authorized by the ministry, the other central institution or the responsible executive committee of the district people's council, according to jurisdictions.

ch) The blueprints for the production of understandardized machines and technological pieces of equipment are drafted by all institutions, in accordance with "a", "b" and "c" points of this article.

d) The Academy of Sciences and the University of Tirana have the right to draft blueprints and estimates in all stages stipulated in Article 9 of this order.

dh) When the investing ministries and other central institutions do not have, in their jurisdiction, designing institutions of technological aspect, the work groups set by them, after having drafted the design tasks and that the latter have been approved, are assigned to the technological-constructive institutions for design or to the technological institutions of the appropriate field, regardless of jurisdiction. In regard to other cases, the Ministry of Construction chooses the designing institution of its own system, where these groups will cooperate under the responsibility of the ministry or of the other central institution, until the conclusion of the draft execution plan and estimates of the project.

Article 12

Within 10 days of the reception of the design tasks, the designing organs and institutions sent, to investors, their contracts in two copies and the observations which they may have on the drafting of blueprints and estimates. When the investor has an objection, he puts it down in writing and, together with one of the copies of the signed contract, returns it to the designing organ or institution within 10 days from the date of its reception. The designing organ or institution contacts the investor and

the state organs, from where the two parties depend, within 10 days. When there is no agreement reached on the conditions of the contract, the matter goes to the State Arbitration Commission.

The designing institutions and organs, which have not the possibility for completely drawing up the draft execution and conclusive technological and constructive estimates, within 10 days of the conclusion of the contract with the investor, send, to the designing institutions and organs which would cooperate with them for the draftint of blueprints and estimates of projects, the contract with appropriate deadlines in two copies and, the latter return one of the copies of the signed contract to the institution that has sent it, within 10 days.

Article 13

Blueprints and estimates of projects are approved, as follows:

a) The preliminary draft projects and estimates of limit projects, with a total value of investments of 20,000,000 leks and more, or of construction-assembly works of 10,000,000 leks and more, [are approved] by the Council of Ministers.

b) The preliminary draft projects and estimates of limit projects, with a total value of investments less than 20,000,000 leks, or of construction-assembly works of less than 10,000,000 leks, and the sub-limit projects, [are approved] by the authority that has approved the design tasks.

In every case, the draft project (technological and constructive) and preliminary estimates, before they are presented for approval, are discussed by groups of specialists, including experienced economists, producers and constructors, and are examined by responsible technical and scientific councils.

c) The draft execution plan and conclusive estimates of the main projects, set in the contract, as a rule, are examined by the technical-scientific councils of the responsible designing institutions which have drafted them.

The draft execution plans are presented to the investor for approval by the institution to which the design task has been handed over.

Article 14

The projects built according to standardized projects, in harmony with the area of construction, are accompanied by technical documentations suitable to geological, seismic and climatic conditions, the outside aspect, the works, the engineering system and final estimates by the designing institutions and organs or by the construction enterprises (when the latter are authorized by the responsible executive committee of the district people's council) and are approved by the investor.

Article 15

Changes in blueprints, which are given for execution, are allowed only in those cases which do not touch the criteria of the draft project, do not increase the total value of investments and of construction-assembly works of the project and do not affect its functional and aesthetic aspect. These changes are carried out in agreement between the investor, the designing institution (technological and constructive) and the construction enterprise, and are shown in the final estimates.

Article 16

The investors are responsible and are obliged:

- a) To coordinate the tasks between the institutions responsible for the drafting, in all stages of technological-constructive studies and designs, of machines, pieces of equipment and so forth, and to exercise a strict and continuing control so that they are executed on schedule, to satisfy the functional aspect and production capacity within approved funds.
- b) To provide, within the set deadlines, the designing institutions of the technological aspect and the designing institution of the construction aspect (when, according to "dh" letter of Article 11 of this order, work groups are assigned to the latter institution), with the design tasks and approval for the draft projects for the projects which have machines and pieces of equipment, and the designing-constructive institutions for the projects which have no technological machines and pieces of equipment.

Article 17

The designing institutions and organs are responsible and are obliged:

- a) To draft designs and estimates with advanced technology, of good quality, within the deadlines set in the contract, and at low costs and, in any case, not to exceed the total value that has been approved;
- b) To execute the line of the masses during the designing process and to take into consideration the observations of the construction and utilizing enterprises in regard to improvement and simplification of blueprints of projects and to document them;
- c) The designing institutions of the technological aspect must draft and approve the design tasks of unstandardized technological machines and pieces of equipment or of those which are produced for the first time in our country which, with the exception of those with a specific nature, are sent to the Institute of Mechanical Studies and Design, regardless of the system of jurisdiction of these institutions, in order to eliminate duplications in their designing.

The designing institutions of the technological aspect must send the approved design tasks to the production institutions or enterprises so that they may draft the blueprints and sketches of work for the production of technological machines and pieces of equipment, in accordance with the specification of the ministry or of other central institutions, in whose jurisdiction the abovementioned institutions or enterprises are, concluding contracts with appropriated deadlines with them.

ch) The institution or enterprise which has drafted the blueprints and estimates for the production of unstandardized technological machines and pieces of equipment are obliged to send a copy of their work to the Institute of Mechanical Studies and Design so that it may properly organize the technical and scientific information.

d) To exercise control over all the stages for the execution of works with good quality, in accordance with the final blueprint and estimates, for the conclusion of tests, and for maintaining the necessary technical documentation, and to provide documented technical instructions for the organization and technology for the execution of important construction-assembly processes, of tests with load and without load, and for putting the project into operation.

dh) The ministries and other central institutions, which have the designing institutions under their jurisdiction, are obliged, within 10 days from the date of the handing over of the written request for the blueprint by the investor, to designate the designing institution which will deal with the drafting of blueprints, in accordance with articles 9 and 11 of this order.

Article 18

For accomplishing supplementary hydrogeological, hydrometeorological, geological, topographical, seismic studies and so forth, which are necessary for drawing up blueprints, the research institutes and responsible enterprises, which accomplish these studies, are obliged to conclude contracts with the designing institutions, taking into consideration the necessary deadlines needed for drafting blueprints and estimates of projects.

Article 19

When investors observe shortcomings in the execution of blueprints, they give instructions for their rectification with the expenses of the executing enterprise, complete the appropriate documentation, and join them to the original blueprint which is kept in the files of designing institutions.

When the further development of works presents a danger for the stability of the project or seriously affects its functional, aesthetic and economic aspects, designers immediately suspend works and immediately notify, by writing, the designing institution from which they depend, the investor and, according to the system of jurisdiction, the ministry or the responsible executive committee of the district people's council, in order to adopt the appropriate measures.

The guilty persons for the incorrect execution of blueprints, according to the case, have material or penal responsibility.

Article 20

The designing institutions have the right to authorize the executing enterprises of the construction-assembly works and the utilizing enterprises of the project to conduct observations, measurements, supplementary works and experiments in regard to the stability of the project and in regard to the keeping of the technical documentation, supplying them with the necessary technical assistance.

Article 21

The maximal normative deadlines for drafting and the delivery of design tasks, blueprints and estimates of projects with a constructive-assembly value of up to 50 million leks are below the limits which are given in the annex below [Translator: annex omitted].

For the projects with a total value of construction-assembly of over 50 million leks, the deadlines for the drafting of blueprints and estimates are set by the Council of Ministers.

With the exception of the limit projects which are not stipulated in the five-year plan, but which appear to be indispensable to be included in the annual plans, blueprints are drafted in accordance with the deadlines set in the agreements between the investing ministries and other central institutions and those ministries and other central institutions which have the designing institutions under their jurisdiction, but always within the requirements of Article 4 of this order.

The deadlines for drafting the blueprints of special technological and constructive parts, as well as the plans for the necessary studies, which must be carried out for drawing up the blueprints and estimates of projects with a total value of construction-assembly of up to 50 million leks, are set in the contracts which are concluded between the designing institutions or the institutions and enterprises which undertake studies in accordance with Article 18 of this order, but always within the abovementioned normative deadlines.

For the complete projects of import, the deadlines for drafting appropriate blueprints and estimates are set in dependence of the deadlines of the purchasing contract of the project.

/III. For the execution of basic construction and for the production of technological machines and pieces of equipment for the projects/

Article 22

The construction enterprise sends, to the investor, the general and annual draft contract in three copies for the blueprints of execution and the final estimates for the projects which have been handed over to it, not later than July of the coming year.

When the investor has objections and changes in regard to the five-year plan, he puts them down in writing and, together with one of the copies of the signed draft contract, returns them to the construction enterprise, within 15 days from the date of its reception.

The construction enterprise must come into agreement with the investor within 10 days and, when there is no agreement reached, it presents the issue for solution to the State Arbitration Commission, otherwise, the contract is considered as concluded with the observations made by the investor.

In any case, contracts are concluded within August and are finally defined within 15 days from the approval of the draft plan by the Council of Ministers.

Article 23

For the production of machines and pieces of equipment in the country, for the supply from import and for their delivery to investors, contracts are concluded with the foreign trade enterprises and with the production enterprises of the country within February of the coming year, so as to settle the normal development of construction-assembly works, and the putting into operation of the project. Technological machines and pieces of equipment are sent to the project site in various parts by the investor, in accordance with drawn up schedules stipulated in the contracts concluded between the investor, the foreign trade enterprises and the production enterprises of the country.

The list with the deadlines of the delivery of machines and pieces of equipment is presented to the construction enterprise by the investor within June of the year before the year scheduled for construction. The construction enterprise must send the observations it may have to the investor within 15 days, otherwise, the deadlines given by the investor are considered as being approved.

The final precisions are made within 15 days from the date of approval of the draft plan by the Council of Ministers.

Article 24

The completion of construction of the project within the deadline stipulated in the state plan is set in the annual contract by agreement between the parties concerned. When the parties do not agree, the deadline is set according to the case by the executive committee of the district people's

council or by the Ministry of Construction and by the investing ministry or other central institution, but always below the normative deadlines approved by the Council of Ministers.

Article 25

Investors assume the responsibility and are obliged:

a) to exercise their control so that the project will be constructed with good quality, in accordance with the draft execution plan and final estimates, within the planned funds and approved total value and for its commission on the set deadline. When they observe that works are of poor quality or other violations of the design, they interrupt the work immediately and inform the designing institution and the responsible state organs.

b) to check the value of the work done, relying on work sketches, the other technical documentation and the final estimates.

c) to deliver the documentation, machines, pieces of equipment and technological materials on time, in accordance with the order stipulated in the contract for basic constructions. When, because of justified reasons, he does not fulfill these obligation for a period of more than 3 months, the investor must pay, to the construction enterprise, the expenses caused by putting the project in safe keeping postponement until the restarting of works, without affecting the funds for investments and constructions;

ch) to coordinate work with the communal, energy resources, communications, and post and telecommunication enterprises for the connection of the projects under construction, within the limit lines of construction, with watermains, canalization, electric power, roads and connections within the deadlines set in the contract concluded with the construction enterprises.

Article 26

The construction enterprises assume responsibility and are obliged:

a) to complete all works with good quality and at low costs, within planned funds stipulated in the contract, and in accordance with blueprints, estimates, schedules and technical conditions for execution, with their own construction means and materials and through the specialized enterprises with which they conclude special contracts;

b) to examine the draft execution plan and final estimates with the working collectives which will complete the work and, when they have observations about them, even during the execution of works, they must convey them to the investor and the designing institution not later than 30 days from the date of their reception or from the date of the execution of works;

c) to request the destruction or even alteration of the existing projects in the grounds which are needed for the projects under construction outside the limit lines of construction; and, these works are executed by the enterprise which is building the project (cases are exempted by special provisions) and the necessary funds are included in the project's total value under the item "construction-assembly" work. For other limit and sub-limit projects under construction within the limit lines of constructions, the funds for the destruction of the existing projects, within their ground, are covered by the total value of the project under the item "other investments and studies" and, as a rule, are executed by the enterprise which is building the project or by other enterprises authorized by the executive committee of the district people's council, where the project is being built.

The executive committees of the people's councils in the districts and responsible inventors must adopt measures for the preparation of the grounds disposable for the beginning of works for the construction of the limit projects not later than 3 months, and of the sub-limit projects not later than 1 month, before the planned deadline for the beginning of their construction assembly works.

/IV. For the test run, delivery and commission of projects/

Article 27

Projects are tested and taken charge of by the investor and a commission composed of the investor, the executor, the designer and the experts. For large projects, the commission is created according to special provisions.

To take charge of roads, railroads and so forth, which will be used by the enterprises of the system of the Ministry of Communications, the commission set for taking in charge is obliged to be composed of specialists authorized by the Ministry of Communications and of road circulation specialists.

Article 28

The investor, at the request of the construction enterprise, is obliged to present himself within 15 days for taking charge of the project.

For taking charge of the project for the hidden works, for the tests run and so forth, the commission, that has been set, relies on the reports drawn up by the construction enterprises in the presence of the investor; and it checks the quality of the achievement of works and the final condition of the project.

The abovementioned documents are prepared by the construction enterprise and sent to the investor when the latter presents the request for the delivery of the project.

When, during the checking process, shortcomings are observed, reports are drawn up, where the tasks to be executed by the construction enterprises are noted, including the deadlines of their execution and, only after their completion, the appropriate act is drawn up and the project is taken in charge.

Article 29

For the projects whose machines and pieces of equipment have to undergo technological tests, the partial and complex tests, without load, are carried out by the construction enterprise in the presence of the investor; and the expenses involved are met by the fund for the construction-assembly work of the project.

The tests with load are carried out by the investor with the assistance of the construction enterprise; and the expenses involved are met by the funds for other investments and studies, within the labor force, the wage fund and so forth which are drawn up for the investor.

The movements of trains without load and with load, carried out for the test run of railroad lines and of the new railroad branchings are considered as testing and the expenses involved are met by the funds for other investments and studies.

Article 30

In regard to land improvement and irrigation projects, whose construction continues more than 1 year, the first, second and third draining and irrigation canals, when in the contract it is not stipulated otherwise, are handed over at the time of their completion, including the masonry works, with the condition that the draining canals keep running and the irrigation canals have the possibility to receive water according to the project.

Roads, railroads, watermains and canalizations of white and black waters, whose construction continues for more than 1 year, are delivered one by one when they are definitely completed, in accordance with the conditions of the project, when they serve to be put in utilization.

Article 31

The damage caused by natural cause during the execution of works, damages, which cannot be eliminated by preliminary measures taken by the construction enterprises, are evaluated by a commission composed of representatives of the investor, of the designing institution and of the construction enterprise. The volume of works for the elimination of damages is met by the fund of the project, after it is approved by the organs under whose jurisdiction it is.

Article 32

The construction enterprises are obliged to repair, with their own expenses, the shortcomings which have been caused because of their mistakes and which could not be discovered during the process of the handing over of the project, charging the responsible persons with material responsibility, in accordance with the appropriate provisions, when the investors have informed them;

a) within 12 months from the date of the delivery of the project, about shortcomings in the assembly work of the pieces of equipment, of the technological piping and construction work, of the electric installation and monitoring work, of the thermoisolations of pipes, and of apparatuses and so forth, in the installation of air conditioning and of ventilation and in the network of watermain, and of internal external and connection canalizations;

b) about the system of central heating within a period of heating;

c) about the dams of earth, about roads and railroads and about holding constructions of timber, and of metal, concrete and reinforced concrete walls, as well as about the hydroisolation of terraces, within 24 months from the date of the delivery of the project;

ch) and about other works, within 6 months from the date of the delivery of the project.

The shortcomings, which must be rectified, are determined by a commission of experts, set up by the group of investors, designers, and executors with the participation of one representative from the executive committee of the district people's council, where the project is under construction.

[The representatives of] the construction enterprises are obliged to show up [at the commission] within 15 days from the date of the reception of the notification from the investors, and they must rectify these shortcomings within the deadlines to be set by the commission.

/V. For the financing of investments and of basic constructions/

Article 33

Financing of investments and of basic constructions is made by the investors within the planned annual funds.

a) for the construction-assembly works, on the basis of work volumes carried out in fact and stipulated in the draft project of execution and in the final estimation for every project and sub-project, evaluated with the prices of the manuals of estimation in forces, of the special analyses approved by the Directorate of Design and of the manual-estimation of the Ministry of Construction and of the investing central institution. When, between them there is no agreement, the Committee for Prices and Standards at the Council of Ministers makes the final decision;

b) for the works with the nature of construction covered by other investments and studies, on the basis of the work volume carried out and stipulated in the final estimate, evaluated with the prices of the manual of estimation in force and of the special analyses approved by the investing ministry and other central institution.

Article 34

The payment for the work done is carried out by the investors on the basis of 15-day notifications drawn up by the enterprise that executes the work; while, at the end of every 3-month period, at the end of the year and when the project is terminated, [the payment for work is done] on the basis of 3-month, 6-month, 9-month, annual and final situations; and a copy of these is deposited at the bank branch which makes the financing. The 3-month and annual situations are drawn up with kinds, volume of works and unified prices only for the works carried out during the current year; while, the works during the previous years are noted in value with a single figure. The final situation is drawn up with kinds, volumes of work and unified prices for the works carried out from the beginning of the construction of the project and, therefore, is signed by the investor.

For the projects which are composed of some sub-projects, the final situation is drawn up with the delivery of each sub-project.

The reserve fund is used by the designing institution only with the approval of the investor, in order to meet the works unforeseen in the final estimate and which appear necessary during the construction of the project. The savings of the reserve fund of a sub-project can be used for the expansion of another sub-project of the same project only after the appropriate expansion is drawn up in the estimate.

Article 35

The payment of the value of machines, pieces of equipment, apparatuses and expenditures for studies, designs and other investments is carried out within the annual funds planned on the basis of bills or of other documents approved by the investor.

For machines, pieces of equipment and apparatuses, produced by the enterprise itself and used for its own use, when they have approved prices, financing is made according to the situation, on the basis of estimates drawn up for every machine, piece of equipment or apparatus.

The value of packeting is billed separately and is paid in accordance with special provisions.

The technological materials of complete projects are initially financed by the fund for machinery and become refund of expenditures in the investments fund for machinery within 15 days and, compulsory, within the same year; while, those for other projects are not financed in any way from the fund of investments for machinery, but by the personal means of circulation of the investor.

Article 36

Financing of expenditures of setting up construction sites in sub-limit projects is made of percentages over the estimated value; while, for the limit projects, it is made of the draft organization and appropriate estimates, in accordance with the regulations and criteria defined in the manual of estimation.

Article 37

For the limit projects which have not been delivered since last year, financing of works for their completion is covered by the funds to be approved by the Council of Ministers within February. Until they are approved, works cannot be interrupted.

For the sub-limit projects which have not been delivered since last year, the investors must foresee appropriate funds for terminating their works, within January, from the funds for the sub-limit construction planned for the current year, but always within the total value of the project.

The annual expenditures of investments are banked within January 20 of the coming year.

/VI. On bank controlling/

Article 38

The State Bank of Albania and the State agricultural Bank exercise economic and financial control in the field of investments over the investing, designing and executing organs, including the enterprises, units, unified units and sections of the Ministry of People's Defense, as well as the enterprises and departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. They have the right, when they deem it necessary, to also exercise technical control, especially, over the production projects, activating, according to the case, responsible specialists.

Article 39

The State Bank of Albania and the State Agricultural Bank do not allow financing over the annual plans planned in appropriate kinds of investments deposited by the investor, the use of construction-assembly funds of one project for other purposes, the execution of works without a draft execution plan and without final estimates and the violation of other provisions on the financing of investments and basic constructions; they do not finance the execution of works over the total value of the project, investments which are not in the State plan and the use of their own circulating means and other funds for investments.

When they notice the abovementioned violations, the State Bank of Albania and the State Agricultural Bank immediately interrupt the further financing of investments and inform the investor and, according to the case, even other responsible state organs so that measures be taken against the violators, in accordance with the provisions in force.

Article 40

The ministries, the other investing central institutions and the executive committees of the people's councils in the districts choose the enterprises and other institutions in their jurisdiction, as well as the units, unified units and section of the Ministry of People's Defense and those of the Ministry of Internal Affairs as the investors, which, within January, deposite the following documents in the bank branches;

a) The annual plan of investments (form No 1), which is attached to and is an inseparable part of this order.

b) The final estimate.

The other enterprises and institutions, the military units, unified units and sections, and those of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which are investors, are obliged to present immediately, to the bank branches, the changes that are made to the documents deposited in the bank.

Article 41

The State Bank of Albania and the State Agricultural Bank, during the process of their controlling, analyzing and studying for the fruitful use of investments, have the right to request the draft execution plans, other documents and data connected with the study, designing, planning, executing and financing of investments and of basic constructions.

Article 42

The State Bank of Albania and the State Agricultural Bank, when they observe disrespect for the norms of designing during the drafting process of designs, and disharmony between the design and final estimate, as well as other acts of violation of the criteria of estimation, have the right to seek, immediately, their restification or completion,

The bank, when it notices that, during the execution of works, the conditions of the blueprints have been violated or poorly executed and that the further continuation of works would affect the stability of the project and the effectiveness of investments, it immediately demands, from the organs in charge, their rectification, the finding of the responsible elements and the adoption of measures for the normal continuation of works.

/VII. The sanctions/

Article 43

For failing to execute the tasks set in the contract, the guilty party pays, to the other party, a fine of 100 leks for every delaying day until the fulfillment of the obligation and, according to the case, even a disciplinary punishment which may go up to 13 percent of the total value of the undelivered project.

The directing administrative, technical-engineering and economic personnel of the enterprises and the institutions, as well as other commanding and military cadres, that hold leadership functions in the military units, unified units and sections, and those of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, who violate contractual tasks, have personal responsibility and can be penalized up to one monthly of salary by the State Arbitration Commission.

Article 44

The directing administrative, technical-engineering and economic personnel of the enterprises and institutions, as well as other commanding and military cadres, that hold leadership functions in military units, unified units and sections, and those of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in regard to the violation of the provisions of this order, which do not constitute contractual obligations, have a material responsibility [fine] which can go up to one month of salary, when:

- a) they do not deliver their design tasks within the deadline;
- b) they execute or finance investments and basic constructions which are not planned or which are in contraction with other legal provisions in force;
- c) they allow the execution of works which are not in the blueprint of the project, or are without blueprint and without final estimates, and are above the approved total value;
- ch) they allow draft blueprints and estimates of poor quality, above the total value that has been approved, and when they violate the deadline for the drafting of the blueprint, the normative deadline for construction and the deadline for the planned delivery of the project;
- d) they do not present, in due time, their 3-month, 6-month, 9-month and annual situation reports;
- dh) and they do not come on schedule to receive their projects. A material responsibility [fine] of up to one month of salary is also given to the workers of the bank branches in the districts, of the executive committees of the people's councils in the districts, and of the ministries and other central institutions for allowing the abovementioned acts of violation, although they knew about their existence.

The directing administrative, technical-engineering and economic personnel, as well as other commanding and military cadres, who have leadership functions in military units, unified units and sections, and those of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, when they cause damage because of their mistakes, have complete material responsibility, according to special provisions.

For the responsible persons, who have permitted violation of the regulations in the field of designing, planning, executing and financing investments and basic constructions, when these violations have had serious consequences, the organ that has discovered them, must immediately report them so that penal pursuit can be taken against them.

/VIII. Final provisions/

Article 45

The investing ministries and other central institutions, which exercise the main activities, in cooperation with those which have study and design institutions in their jurisdiction, and the Ministry of Construction, are authorized:

- a) to approve model designs and sections, the competent organs for their changes and adjustments and the list of model designs in force at the beginning of every year;
- b) to approve the content of model tasks of design for every kind of project and of blueprints and estimates of their various stages and the content of criteria for designing, for producing machines and pieces of equipment, for executing their construction-assembly works and so forth;
- c) and to determine the criteria and ways for the examination of blueprints and estimates in the technical-scientific councils.

Article 46

1. The State Planning Commission is authorized:

- a) to draft the directive for the execution of studies about the necessity and social-economic advantage of projects;
- b) to draft the directive for the criteria of determining the structure of investments;
- c) in cooperation with the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Construction, to draft the directive for drawing up, recording and financing their assembly works and other expenditures of investments, so that financing be carried out in accordance with the factual expenditures.

ch) and, in cooperation with the ministries and other central institutions, to set forth the methodology for the technological materials to be insured by the construction enterprises.

2. The Ministry of Finance is authorized to give instructions on the execution of the provisions of this order, provisions connected with the bank control in the field of investments.

Article 47

The plan and financial organs in the enterprises, the agricultural cooperatives, the executive committees of the people's councils in the districts, and the ministries and other central institutions and the bank branches in the districts, are obliged to examine the studies carried out about the necessity and the social-economic advantage of the projects and to give their opinion about their effectiveness, in accordance with their jurisdiction, before they are included in the plan, these organs, in the process of the execution of the plan, must pursue and control the use, with economic effectiveness, of investments.

Article 48

The organs and enterprises of the system of the Ministry of Communal Economy, relying on the demands of the investors, must study and determine the nearest point for the connection of the projects, which are built within the limit lines of construction, with the system of water, electric power, canalizations, roads and so forth.

The works for the connection of projects with the existing network for supplying water, electric power, canalizations and roads, within the limit line of construction, are executed by the enterprises of the system of the Ministry of Communal Economy and are not included in the total value of the project; while, the other works up to the point of connections are executed by the construction enterprises and are included in the total value of the project. Also, for dwellings, these works are executed by the construction enterprises and their financing is provided by special funds set for this purpose; while, for the projects built with voluntary work, these works are executed by the enterprises of the Ministry of Communal Economy.

Article 49

For monitoring the design work, the execution of works and the production of machines and pieces of equipment, and the assurance that they will be in the construction site, for checking and financing the construction-assembly works of the project, for executing tests, with load and without load, and for training the necessary cadres for putting the project into operation, the investing ministries and other central organizations, in cooperation with the State Committee for Prices and Wages, must approve their representations with the approved number of workers.

Article 50

The production enterprises of machines and pieces of equipment are obliged to send their representatives to the projects at the time of their technological tests for the normal functioning of the machines which they have produced.

Article 51

The provisions of this order are recommended to the agricultural cooperatives for the investments and basic constructions which they carry out with their own financial means and with bank credits.

Article 52

The Order No 8, of 15 November 1976, "On the Study, Designing, Planning and Financing of Investments and Basic constructions" is abrogated.

Article 53

This Order comes into force immediately.

[Signed] /Adil Carcani/, Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

9150

CSO: 2100/51

BULGARIA

POLITBURO MEMBER TODOROV ON GROWING ROLE OF PARLIAMENT

Sofia ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 4 Jun 83 pp 1,3

[Article by Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and National Assembly chairman: "Development of Socialist Democracy and Role of the National Assembly"]

[Text] The development of socialist democracy in our country is a truly important and relevant topic. In formulating the overall concept of the development of socialist democracy at the present stage, the BCP is guided by Lenin's idea that socialism is impossible without democracy and that democracy must be manifested fully under the conditions of victorious socialism.

The broadening of socialist democracy is the party's strategic task at the stage of building a developed socialist society. Deliberately, therefore, in recent years, at the 12th party congress in particular and in the post-congress works of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, such problems have been formulated broadly and profoundly. Forthcoming tasks are being defined and methods of action are being drafted.

Let us attempt to trace the main directions along which socialist democracy is developing in our country.

The first is that of improving the political system by enriching the forms and mechanisms of socialist democracy. This problem affects not individual aspects of political life but the political system in its integrity, with all of its structural components. That is why the need to improve the activities of the party, the socialist state and the social organizations was substantiated in at the 12th congress and the post-congress works of Comrade Todor Zhivkov. In developing its democratic nature, our political system not only proves its advantages compared with capitalism but becomes an increasingly mandatory factor in building a developed socialist society.

Another main direction is that of developing and enriching representative and direct democracy. These two aspects of the single democratic nature of our society are inseparably interrelated and must be developed simultaneously. Accordingly, this increases the role of the National Assembly and the people's councils and expands their function as organs which stem from and serve the people.

In the course of the efforts to develop and enrich the forms of direct democracy, better opportunities appear for the citizens to participate in the management of society. In this respect the sociostate principle in management, the creation of collective management organs in the economic organizations and the development of criticism and self-criticism are important.

The development of economic democracy is another basic direction. It is a tried means not only for the solution of economic problems but for involving the people in the policy of the party and the state. The application of the economic approach and the concept of being the owner and manager of socialist property and the conversion of labor collectives into self-managing units are reliable ways and approaches in the development of economic democracy. They enable us to interrelate more completely individual, collective-group and social interests. This is the base for increasing the activeness and interest of the socialist working people. The economy, social life and all other social areas are thus managed more efficiently.

The role of the social organizations and movements is of decisive importance in socialist democracy. Through their status in the social management system they constitute a real force. The present stage calls for the creation of qualitatively new prerequisites and conditions for the enhancement of their role. The documents of the 12th party congress and Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speeches at the trade unions, Fatherland Front and Komsomol congresses formulate the concept consistent with the current stage as to what the social organizations are and what they should be. They are viewed as guarantors for the implementation of the economic and social policies of the party and the state in the various areas of social life. The trade unions are a factor in the application of the economic approach and the drafting and execution of labor legislation. In a certain sense, the Fatherland Front will play the role of guarantor in the development of socialist democracy in the residential areas and in the enrichment of the democratic nature of the people's councils and the development of the conurbation systems. The Dimitrov Komsomol will assist in the comprehensive development and social realization of the young generation. These concepts provide new opportunities for work by the social organizations and the elimination of formalism in their activities.

The main direction in the development of socialist democracy is the enhancement of the role of the person not only as the object but also the subject of social management. The 12th congress recommended that the participation of the working person in resolving problems related to the workplace, the settlement and all units of state and social life be increased. This task is being implemented on the basis of the economic approach and by eliminating the shortcomings in management, which hinder the initiative of the individual working person. It is tremendously important to create conditions for the advancement of the people at their workplace. This makes it possible not only to realize one's potential through his work but also to become an active public figure and a subject of management.

These direction in the development of socialist democracy can be followed on the basis of the alliance between the working class and the farm workers, and the fraternal unity and cooperation between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union. Our political history of the last 6

decades provides all the necessary proofs "for" and not a single one "against" this conclusion. That is why the BCP and the BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union] are expanding and intensifying their joint activities in resolving domestic and international problems.

The 12th party congress gave a high rating to the position of the BZNS in the socialist political system. It expressed its confidence that through its full harmony and cooperation with the party the BZNS will play an active role in economic and political life in reducing weaknesses in our society and resolving more efficiently the problems of the self-support of the conurbation systems and the development of the private plots.

The activities of the National Assembly are consistent with the stipulations of the 12th BCP Congress. No other way is possible, for they reflect the party's contemporary strategy and the fundamental problems of the theory and practice of building a developed socialist society in our country.

The steps taken to enhance the importance of the National Assembly must be assessed within the context of the line of developing socialist democracy. No real democracy is possible where parliament does not function at full capacity and does not properly fulfill its role as the spokesman for the will of the people. Regardless of how energetic the steps to develop socialist democracy in other areas of life may be, it cannot reach the required level unless we enhance the importance of the National Assembly and the representatives of the people. That is precisely why the 12th congress substantiated the need for upgrading the role of the National Assembly and the people's representative, and creating conditions for their active participation in preparing the problems to be discussed and resolved by the parliament.

The congress emphasized the development of the control functions of the National Assembly regarding the government as a whole and the individual ministries. At the same time it called for asserting the role of the individual people's representative in such a way that every citizen may know that he can appeal to him for aid and protection of his rights and the legal and just solution of problems.

Significant changes took place in parliamentary activities after the 12th congress. They are consistent with the directions and lines of development of socialist democracy.

What has been accomplished and what remains to be done?

The legislative activities of the National assembly are improving. A study of the most important laws passed by parliament in recent years would show that their main point has been precisely the development of socialist democracy and the manifestation of the supremacy of the National assembly in the entire system of power and management authorities. Let me cite as examples the amendments to the Penal Code, the Penal Procedure Code, the Law on the Structure of the Courts and, particularly, the Law on the Popular Referendum.

The Law on the Popular Referendum is an act of important consequences in terms of socialist democracy. It enables the people to resolve problems of national

and regional importance and to have a say on laws to be passed by the National Assembly. Problems of local importance can be resolved better through general population meetings and referenda. This also enables the people to act as the full subject in management.

Democracy will reach a higher level following the adoption of the new Labor Code. The nationwide discussion of the fundamental stipulations of the party's concept regarding the new code indicated the tremendous opportunities for development through improvements in labor relations and management and the extent of the responsibilities of the legislator.

The National Assembly is not a legislative organ only. It has the constitutional authority to exercise supreme control over the executive branch.

This aspect in the activities of the National Assembly has been considerably expanded. It has become a practice for ministries and other senior state officials to report on their activities to the National assembly or its permanent commissions. The Eighth National Assembly, which was elected in June 1981, expanded its functions and has debated so far six ministerial reports. The permanent commissions have reviewed 68 reports submitted by ministers and heads of central departments and 15 reports submitted by chairmen of executive committees of okrug people's councils. Querries submitted by people's representatives, which have become more frequent lately, are one of the control methods used. Let me particularly emphasize the increased role of the permanent commissions, which are developing as effective institutions, as "small parliaments."

Naturally, a great deal remains to be done before the control function of the National Assembly becomes fully manifested. We are trying to make the investigations which precede the reports submitted by the various officials at commission meetings and parliamentary sessions more extensive.

Relations between people's representatives and voters are an expression of democracy. Meeting between them have become more frequent and effective. The people's representatives submit annual reports on their activities, which also provides the opportunity for resolving a number of questions asked by the population. The debates on the implementation of voters' instructions, which took place in December 1982, provided an impetus along this line as well.

As a guiding principle in the activities of the National Assembly, democracy is manifested in the extensive publicity of its work through the mass information media. The development of socialist democracy is also related to the elimination of contradictions, difficulties and shortcomings. The BCP does not shut its eyes at omissions but seeks means and approaches for their elimination. This is one of the sources of the strength and dynamism of our democracy, increasingly expressed through the improvement of social relations and the building a developed socialist society.

BULGARIA

MATERIALS ASSOCIATED WITH FOURTH CONGRESS OF CULTURE

Politburo Meets New Culture Committee

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 May 83 p 1

[BTA report]

[Text] The BCP Central Committee Politburo met with the newly elected Committee of Culture at the Boyana residence last night.

Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman was given an exceptionally warm welcome.

The meeting was attended by Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Dimitur Stanishev, Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Misho Mishev, Vasil Tsanov, Chudomir Aleksandrov and Kiril Zarev.

Also present were the members of the Soviet delegation to the Fourth Congress of Bulgarian Culture, headed by Petr Demichev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR minister of culture, and the other foreign delegations and guests of the congress.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized that the Fourth Congress of Bulgarian Culture was held on a high ideological and creative level, in accordance with the great problems being solved by our socialist state and the democratic spirit and revolutionary traditions of Bulgarian literature and art. He stressed that the congress proved the loyalty of the Bulgarian artistic and creative intelligentsia to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and its cohesion with the general April party line. The congress clearly proved the great advantages of socialist culture and its upsurge in Bulgaria as a result of the application of the sociostate management principle.

In thanking the foreign guests for their attention to Bulgarian culture, the leader of the party and the state stressed that the Bulgarian people will continue to dedicate their forces to the preservation of peace in the world, the prevention of nuclear war and the understanding and cooperation among nations.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov congratulated the newly elected Committee of Culture and wished it fruitful work in implementing the resolutions of the Fourth Congress of Bulgarian Culture.

The atmosphere at the meeting was exceptionally warm.

New Culture Committee Members

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 May 83 pp 1-2

[BTA report]

[Text] The newly elected Committee of Culture held its first plenum yesterday.

The plenum unanimously elected Georgi Yordanov chairman of the committee of Culture.

The following were also elected: Svetlin Rusev, first deputy chairman of the Committee of culture; deputy chairmen: Valentin Karamanchev, chairman of the Bulgarian Book and Press State Creative-Production and Economic association; Vladimir Zhivkov, general director of the Banner of Peace Center; Dimitur Tupkov, general director of the Theater and Music State Trust; Ivan Milushev; Milen Marinov, general director of the International Cultural Activities General Directorate; Nikola Nenov, general director of the Bulgarian Cinematography State Trust; and Peyo Berbenliev, general director of the Plastic Arts, Cultural Legacy and Library Work State Trust. Stefan Ganev was elected general secretary of the Committee of Culture.

The following were elected members of the Bureau of the Committee of Culture: Aleksandur Raychev, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Composers; Aleksandur Neynski, chairman of the Union of Music Workers in Bulgaria; Atanas Stoykov, director of the BAN [Bulgarian Academy of Sciences] Scientific Trust for Art Studies; Bogomil Raynov, first deputy chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Writers; Boyan Traykov, BTA chief director; Velichko Minekov, director of the Nikolay Pavlovich BIII [Higher Graphic Arts Institute]; Veselin Yosifov, chairman of the Bulgarian Union of Journalists; Vladislav Panov, TRUD editor in chief; Georgi Stoilov, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Film Workers; Diko Fuchedzhiev, director of the Ivan Vazon National Theater; Dimitur Metodiev, poet; Dimitur Filipov, director of the Institute of Culture of the Committee of Culture; Emil Petrov, deputy chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Film Workers; Leda Mileva, chairman of the Union of Translators in Bulgaria; Liliyana Stefanova, chairman of the Council of Esthetic Education of the Ministry of Public Education; Lyubomir Kabakchiev, chairman of the Bulgarian Actors' Union; Lyubomir Levchev, chairman of the Bulgarian Writers Union; Milena Stamboliyska, member of the BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union] Standing Committee; Panteley Zarev, deputy chairman of the BAN; Petur Karaangov, director of the Kiril i Metodiy National Library; Svetoslav Genev, chairman of the Plovdiv Okrug Cultural Council; Svetoslav Donev, chief director and chief artistic manager of the Sofia National Opera; Stefan Dikin, deputy chairman of the Sofia City People's Council and chairman of the Sofia Cultural Council; Stefan Tikhchev, chairman of the Committee for Television

and Radio; Filip Filipov, deputy chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Actors; and Yana Markova, deputy chairman of the Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation.

Statements on Culture Development

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 May 83 pp 1-2

[BTA report compiled by Simeon Simeonov, Nadezhda Sokolenko, Mariya Velkovska, Dushana Kostova, Tsveta Ivanova and Lyudmil Mitakev]

[Text] The Fourth Congress of Bulgarian Culture ended yesterday. For 3 days the congress delegates and guests representing thousands of creative workers and people involved in the spiritual advance of our country engaged in fruitful discussions on the most topical problems of Bulgarian socialist culture at the Lyudmila Zhivkova People's Palace of Culture.

Welcomed with exceptional warmth and shouts in praise of the party-leader, the morning session was attended by Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Karadzhov, Dimitur Stanishev, Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Misho Mishev, Vasil Tsanov, Chudomir Aleksandrov and Kiril Zarev.

The session was chaired by Honored Actor Georgi Stoyanov, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Film Workers.

Vladimir Zhivkov, general director of the Banner of Peace Center and chairman of the Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation, spoke on the deeply humane and international nature of the Banner of Peace movement. As a system for the overall development of creative gifts in children and adolescents, it is contributing to the advancement of human aspirations to progress and realization in various social areas and fields of life.

The first and second assemblies, which were held under the honorary patronage of Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman, and Amadou Mahtar M'Boou, UNESCO director general, were a manifestation of the great party support and international recognition of this noble project.

The speaker stressed that the Banner of Peace movement has broadly entered the field of education where, through suitable means and methods, its ideas are enriching the training and education process and overall extracurricular work. The "School, the Child and Beauty" first national children's exhibition was a vivid manifestation of the mass artistic and creative activities carried out in Bulgarian schools. The ideas of the movement will be applied even more broadly in the new unified secondary polytechnical schools and will become an important factor in communist education. Particularly important in this respect is the role played by the established Banner of Peace okrug centers and the Ropotamo Creative Ecological Center in Arkutino.

The extensive international support enjoyed by the movement in many countries and the contacts established with many prestigious national and international organizations offer favorable prospects for its future development. Equally very important is the recommendation to member countries, which was adopted at the Second World UNESCO Conference on Cultural Policy, which was held in Mexico, and which calls for helping the Banner of Peace Center, so that its international activities as a center for scientific research and theoretical and practical work in the field of the artistic creativity and education of children and adolescents and for friendship and mutual understanding among the growing generation, may expand and develop.

Genoveva Mikhova, secretary of the Varna Okrug BCP Committee, stressed that Lyudmila Zhivkova's lasting participation in Varna's sociopolitical and cultural life coincided with the period of qualitative reorganization in the spiritual area and the period during which that city became accepted as a center of international and national activities. The speaker interpreted the decentralization of spiritual life as a manifestation of the party's April cultural policy and a factor in the spiritual renaissance of the okrugs.

For quite some time to live outside the capital has stopped being an exploit or a model for emulation. It is a natural necessity realized by an increasing number of creative workers and a matter of a profoundly considered choice on their parts. This was the opening of the statement by Honored Worker in Culture Nedyalko Yordanov, secretary of the Union of Bulgarian Writers and first deputy chairman of the Burgas Okrug Cultural Council. In his presentation, which dealt with the problems facing creative workers outside the capital, he stressed the change which our dynamic times have made in the concept of provincial life and, hence, the role of the cultural worker living outside the capital. Today the country has 28 okrug theaters; the 360 writers in the country are rallied in 17 Bulgarian Writers' Union societies, and the graphic arts in the various cities have had an extraordinary creative blossoming. This is a true victory for the party line of cultural decentralization.

Honored Worker in Culture Stefan Prodev, member of the Sofia Cultural Council Bureau and editor in chief of the magazine SOFIYA, discussed the problem of decentralization of cultural life in the capital. The concentration of cultural institutions within a single center hinders the implementation of the esthetic education program. The time has come, therefore, for such institutions to be dispersed throughout the city. This is both a cultural-esthetic and political problem. It is most closely related to the democratization of culture, its social renovation and its truly greater closeness to the common man, he said.

St. Prodev pointed out that Sofia is the city which is leading the nation and which feeds it ideas. Sofia is one huge construction site, a giant in motion, the true world of the future. In that sense, the speaker stressed, the representation of the Sofia theme is not a secondary but a central problem most closely linked with the contemporary development of our artistic culture.

The next speaker was People's Painter Prof Velichko Minekov, rector of the Nikolay Pavlovich Higher Graphic Arts Institute. He presented the report of the Credentials Control Commission.

A total of 2,504 of the 2,568 elected representatives of the artistic and creative intelligentsia attended the congress. Their age-group breakdown was the following: 261, 35 years of age or under; 1,180, 35-50 years of age; 766, 50-60 years of age; and 361, over 60.

The congress delegates included 11 Heroes of the Bulgarian People's Republic, 127 Heroes of Socialist Labor, 185 Dimitrov Prize laureates, 309 and 572 people's and honored workers in the arts, culture, science and education, respectively, 1,784 order bearers, 2,098 medal bearers, and 272 laureates of international distinctions and awards.

People's Painter Svetlin Rusev, first deputy chairman of the Committee of Culture and chairman of the Bulgarian Painters Union, reported on the motions for additions to the draft resolutions. The resolutions were adopted unanimously.

They state that the national and territorial culture complexes, literature, the theater, motion pictures, graphic arts, music, architecture, artistic criticism, the creators and workers in Bulgarian culture and the entire cultural front must concentrate on upgrading the social effectiveness of culture through the further enhancement of the ideological and artistic standards of creative and cultural activities, works of art and cultural manifestations, the socialist and universal content and national originality of which should contribute even more efficiently to the communist, patriotic and international upbringing of the people and the youth, enhance their labor and social activeness, sharpen their intolerance of deviations from the socialist way of life and assert their faith in the truth of communism.

The congress deems that at the present stage it becomes particularly necessary to strengthen the ideological function of culture. All creative and cultural work must be skillfully related to the struggle against the reactionary manifestations of bourgeois culture and ideological subversion. It must actively contribute to the shaping of a Marxist-Leninist communist outlook and class awareness and the assertion of the socialist way of life.

Bulgarian culture must develop on a broad social basis. It must be organically related to the problems and tasks resolved by the people at the present stage. It must make its worthy contribution to high social labor productivity and discipline and the comprehensive intensification and acceleration of scientific and technical progress. It must increasingly assert itself as one of the basic factors in the development of man and society and the development of a many-sided and, in the future, a comprehensive and harmonious individual. Efficient measures must be earmarked for the most successful participation of the cultural front in the solution of the national task of reaching high quality in all activities.

The need is stressed for creative and other workers in Bulgarian culture to direct their attention to the further mastery of contemporary topics, to enhancing the ideological and professional standards in artistic creativity and organically combining artistic and esthetic with class-party principles.

Socialist realism must develop even more profoundly and systematically as the method for the artistic and historically specific recreation of social phenomena, for penetrating into reality and reflecting it in its revolutionary change. A firm barrier must be erected in the field of artistic creativity against mediocrity and the "gray flow" of indifferent works.

A new stage must be reached in the work with and concern for the young artistic and creative intelligentsia and in enhancing its role in cultural construction. Constant concern must be shown for the timely discovery and comprehensive sociopolitical, moral and professional molding and highly efficient social realization of young talent.

In accordance with the resolutions of the 12th party congress, communist esthetic education must be developed on a broad social basis and related even more closely to the problems and tasks resolved by the party and the people in all fields of life.

The resolutions stress that the attention of the creative unions, creative-production organizations and all cultural institutes and social organizations engaged in cultural activities must be directed toward enhancing the social role of culture in the socially useful activities of all labor collectives. Artistic creativity must help to stimulate the constructive activities of the working people and to upgrade their esthetic criteria and the development of relations within the collectives. Greater concern must be shown for the further enrichment and implementation of the ideas of the Banner of Peace movement. The social efficiency and ideological and artistic standards of amateur art must be raised.

Culture must help more actively to surmount the passive consumerist acceptance of social processes and phenomena and the development of an active life stance in every person. The mass information and propaganda media -- the press, radio, television and book publishing -- must mobilize more energetically the working people in the implementation of the party's April cultural policy and in achieving greater successes in the socioeconomic and cultural development of the country. Esthetic education must assume a greater place in their work.

In accordance with the changes in the country's social system and spiritual life, the congress considers the further development of the sociostate principle in cultural management and administration an urgent task. The efforts must be directed toward the development of the means and methods leading to the even more active involvement and participation of the creative workers and the entire public in the management and administration of cultural processes on all levels. The development of the sociostate principle must be paralleled by the further democratization and decentralization of cultural and creative activities. To this effect the Committee of Culture must transfer some of its rights, obligations and functions to the okrug cultural councils.

The congress finds that the entire public has the duty to show steady concern for enhancing the role and significance of the people's reading clubs during the stage of building a developed socialist society, and for their conversion into unified comprehensive centers of cultural activity and the communist esthetic upbringing of the people and the youth in the conurbation systems.

The entire material and technical base for cultural activities must be used even more fully regardless of departmental affiliation. The further intensive development of Bulgarian culture and the enhancement of its efficiency demand the even fuller utilization of the national creative potential and the gradual application of the economic approach and its mechanism in cultural activities, applying contractual and competitive principles and improving conditions for upgrading the skills of and providing moral and material incentives to creative workers.

The resolutions' section on international cultural activities stipulates that in the future as well it must serve the international work of the party and the state and the lasting national interests of the people and socialism. It must contribute to fruitful spiritual exchanges, peace, security and understanding on earth.

The processes of interpenetration between Bulgarian and Soviet culture must be expanded, enriched and intensified. Cultural cooperation with the USSR must be continued on a long-range comprehensive basis. Cultural cooperation with the members of the socialist comity must be developed on an even broader base. Bulgarian cultural relations with the Balkan, capitalist and developing countries must be strengthened on the basis of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act.

The Fourth Congress of Bulgarian Culture expresses its confidence that all creators and workers in culture, rallied around the Leninist April line of the BCP, and following the personal example of dedication of Lyudmila Zhivkova, the loyal daughter of the people, will continue to create and work inspiredly for the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th party congress, in order to implement the general tasks included in the party program for building a developed socialist society in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

A draft report on amendments and supplements was submitted by Prof Boris Spasov, BAN corresponding member and chairman of the Jurists' Union, on behalf of the Commission on Amendments and Supplements of Bylaws of the Committee of Culture. The draft stipulates that the Committee of Culture is an elective sociostate organ with ministerial rank and a general functional range of competence, the purpose of which is to implement the unified party and state policy in culture and guide the Artistic Creativity, Cultural Activities and Mass Information Media National Complex.

The section on the structure, tasks and activities of local organs stipulates that the accountability and election conference is the leading organ in charge of all cultural activities on the territory of an okrug or obshtina. Cultural councils are set up in the okrugs and obshtinas (rayons), in charge of the management, coordination, organization and control of cultural activities. They are the unified sociostate specialized organs of the Committee of Culture and the respective people's council. Cultural activities in settlements with a municipal council are directed by the people's reading clubs as the unified and comprehensive centers of culture and the communist esthetic education of the people and the youth.

The delegates unanimously approved the motions for changes and additions to the bylaws of the Committee of culture.

The participants in the congress unanimously adopted the Declaration of Peace and International Cultural Cooperation (full text published separately).

On behalf of the delegates' council, People's Actor Lyubomir Kabakchiev, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Actors, presented the motion on the number and composition of the Committee of Culture. The delegates unanimously resolved that the new Committee of Culture will consist of 276 members, 127 of whom new, and approved the number of committee members.

The members of the Committee of Culture were then elected by secret balloting.

The concluding session of the congress opened at 1230 hours. It was chaired by Hero of the Bulgarian People's Republic, Twice Hero of Socialist Labor, People's Worker in Culture Mladen Isaev.

The floor was given to Stefan Dikin, deputy chairman of the Sofia City People's Council and chairman of the Sofia Cultural Council, who reported on the results of the balloting and the resolutions adopted at the first plenum of the Committee of Culture (the list of members of the new leadership of the committee of culture published separately).

The concluding speech at the Fourth Congress of Bulgarian Culture was delivered by Georgi Yordanov, committee chairman. He emphasized that this was a good and fruitful congress held in a constructive spirit. This most representative forum of the artistic intelligentsia developed into a highly responsible discussion on the vital problems and tasks of Bulgarian socialist culture. The collective thinking, constructive efforts and inspired desire displayed at the congress for the sake of further cultural progress are a true ideological and spiritual accomplishment. The creative spirit of the speeches, their principle-mindedness and the frankness and support of our cause, expressed in the greetings of our dear guests, raised the congress to the level of an important event in the people's life.

We are pleased to report that we are inspired by the high party trust and attention which were convincingly and eloquently manifested during these last few days once again through the participation of the Politburo in the work of the congress and the greetings presented by the BCP Central Committee, the speaker went on to say.

In the course of the congress, the strong unity and moral and political cohesion of the artistic and creative intelligentsia of all generations, rallied around the party's Central Committee, headed by the remarkable architect and builder of the April policy and the greatest friend of the cultural creators and workers, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, were reemphasized.

Important conclusions and lessons may be drawn from our work, the committee chairman said.

The resolutions of the 12th party congress and the theoretical developments and practical approaches of the leader of the party and the state will remain a manual for action. Our attention will remain invariably focused on concern for the communist upbringing of the working people and the youth. Under the

conditions of the steady democratization of social life, our efforts will continue to be directed toward ensuring the broadest possible participation of the people in spiritual creativity, making cultural achievements accessible to all and turning them into a source of socioeconomic progress.

The fourth congress makes it incumbent upon us to support the innovative nature of socialist realism, imbued with the communist ideal of the new individual and his advancement from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom. Artistic culture can resolve increasingly broader and more difficult problems on the basis of the principles of party- and national-mindedness. This is another of the congress' conclusions. The instruction formulated at the 12th party congress to the effect that the future of the homeland depends on improving individual qualities and man's steady self-advancement as a citizen, worker and creator, is our true compass. This is also the purpose of the demand for the artistic representation of our contemporary and his work, struggle and ideals. G. Yordanov stressed the need for works of lasting national and human significance, which must become part of the treasury of socialist culture, of the culture of our memorable 20th century.

The congress singled out the most significant conclusion related to the further development of contemporary culture: the defense and steadfast implementation of the present policy in the spiritual area, the April Leninist policy, the speaker stressed. It was to this policy that the unforgettable Lyudmila Zhivkova dedicated her youth, strength and talent. Respect for national and universal progressive traditions, freedom of individual expression of the artist and stylistic and genre preferences for the sake of reaching the loftiest ideological and artistic results are essential features of this policy.

Our class enemies are preparing the death of the planet, the doom of civilization. Rising against us are recurrences of cowardice, idleness, egotism, jealousy, money-grubbing and philistine well-being. We do not have the moral right to ignore our duty as citizens and tireless sowers of communist faith and truth.

It is a question of what is most important. It is a question, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov says, "of loyalty to the people and its destinies and struggle and its future; of loyalty to the people and its struggle for building socialism, and responsibility to the people. If this is lacking everything else comes from the devil, as the Bible says."

The speaker stressed that the forthcoming national party conference calls for steadily upgrading the ideological and artistic standards of literature and art, improving comprehensive cultural and educational activities and fighting with all possible means for quality, productivity and efficiency. The party calls us to inspired labor and creativity.

Comrade Georgi Yordanov concluded by saying that if someone were to ask with what thought in mind and feeling will the delegates and guests leave this wonderful hall, the answer would be optimism, faith in the new accomplishments of Bulgarian culture. We deeply believe in the bright future of our socialist homeland, for we have clear and far-sighted party plans, for Bulgaria has an industrious and talented people and an intelligentsia boundlessly dedicated to

the ideal of communism, for we are guided by the BCP, and are following the path of peace and progress, heart to heart with the great Soviet Union and the other members of the fraternal socialist comity and the honest and progressive people the world over.

Standing, the delegates sang the anthem of Kiril and Metodiy, the Slavic prime teachers, "March, Oh People Reborn," and the revolutionary march "Quiet White Danube."

This concluded the Fourth Congress of Bulgarian Culture.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CRIME PROMOTING FACTORS SEEN PRESENT IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 79, 28 May 83 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Jurist Warns Against Illusions About Criminal Behavior Development." A translation of the East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] East Berlin jurist Prof Erich Buchholz has warned against illusions about future criminal behavior development in the GDR. One should face the fact, he wrote in the East Berlin journal NEUE JUSTIZ (No 5, 1983), that for the long stretch "there would always again be crime, too." Even if, in the Marxist sense, the abolition of the private ownership in the means of production "essentially eliminated the main socioeconomic causes" for crime in the GDR there "continued as before" material preconditions for crime that would remain "for a long time." Crime promoting mainly were shortcomings in family education, inadequate protection of socialist property and weaknesses in the enforcement of order and security. All that did not contradict the social order of the GDR but could certainly "go together" with the socialist system and its development. A different matter were the causes of crime that were in principle "alien" to socialism but were still in evidence as after-effects of the done-away with capitalist social order and because of western influences. That included in particular "antisocial, individualistic and egoistic modes of thinking and behavior."

GDR Jurist's Analysis

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 37 No 5, May 83 pp 199-201, 202

['Discussion' feature article by Prof Dr Erich Buchholz, Department of Jurisprudence, Humboldt University, East Berlin; member, NEUE JUSTIZ editorial board: "On the Causes of Criminality in the GDR"]

[Txt] Mainly there is a drop in the crime rate in the GDR, which is good.¹ According to a survey commissioned by the UN, the GDR is among the ten countries in the world with the lowest crime rate.² Especially by comparison with the FRG which, like almost all West European countries and, mainly, the United States, has had an enormous and continual increase of crimes, socialist social relations and their impact on crime and on the social causation of crime have been very apparent.

The crime incidence rate is at least 9 times higher in the FRG, per 100,000 inhabitants, with its more than 4 million registered crimes,³ than in the GDR. That provides concrete evidence for real socialism's superiority, in principle, also in this field. It also forms the background for raising the question about crime promoting factors in socialism.

For answering the question why in our country circa 100,000 citizens commit crimes each year, we can get worthwhile help from Marx, Engels and Lenin. That mainly pertains to the method they developed for approaching an analysis of social phenomena and processes, the methodology of dialectic and historical materialism. It allows us even to understand phenomena Marx, Engels and Lenin could not comment on. A phenomenon has to be approached in a concrete historic manner, which also applies to criminality in our times.⁴ One must also determine what kind of a phenomenon one is talking about, crime promoting factors as a social phenomenon as such, for criminal groups, or for a single and specific crime.⁵

Criminality as a Social and Historically Conditioned Phenomenon

As to Marxism-Leninism, criminality is not innate, nor is it necessarily germane to human society. So, it seems to me, we first must ask where criminality comes from altogether in human history.

Here the basic Marxist-Leninist answer remains valid: Criminality as a socio-historically conditioned phenomenon⁶ came from the social division of labor, the genesis of the private ownership in the means of production, and the exploitation of (antagonistic) classes.⁷

These socioeconomic phenomena are the decisive and basic main cause of crime, its arising and its recurrence. For this context the concept of cause is apt. It defines a (necessary) causal genetic connection and process inevitably determining the crime phenomenon. Yet this context must not mechanically be oversimplified and misinterpreted. First one must remember that the main socioeconomic cause for criminality embraces a whole complex of phenomena (division of labor, private property, exploitation, classes and class antagonism) and evolved, developed and is further changed in a historic process taking millenia. Furthermore, crime as the product of these causes is subject to extremely diversified and large changes. Moreover it must be taken into account that whatever can be said about the connection between private property and criminality is rather broad and highly generalized. The point is, as Marx and Engels put it so clearly, that merely in their "last instance" are socioeconomic phenomena crime causes.

Making sense of this web of determinants is done dialectically through various, even contingent, concrete interconnecting links and steps, which makes it extremely tough to comprehend the basic inevitable essential connection. In any case, this connection between private property and crime certainly does not mean that every private proprietor or every individual in the exploiter systems are bound to become criminals.

So the crime promoting factors require further differentiations to comprehend criminality in the various social systems.

The most significant thing first is the basic assertion about the inevitable connection between the private ownership in the means of production and criminality. This means, for one thing, that as long as there is private property, and that includes exploiter systems, there will necessarily be criminality. This, in fact, we see today at ever higher levels. This makes criminality germane to exploiter systems, makes it inherent in the system from which it cannot be eliminated.

On the other hand, the basic thought of the classics of Marxism-Leninism implies as a real objective possibility and optimistic perspective, that with the abolition of the private ownership in the means of production criminality also can and will be abolished so that mankind can, in principle, be freed from the scourge of criminality. How and when, in which forms and tempo, this new inevitability will prevail over the old, that depends on the concrete historic conditions and also on how the correlation of forces as between socialism and imperialism shapes up in particular during the historic stage of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism.⁹

Abolition of the Basic Socioeconomic Main Causes for Criminality in Socialism

After the foundations of socialism were laid and the class antagonism was done away with by the formation of socialist, urban and rural, production relations, we entered a penetrating revolutionary and historic process of shaping the developed socialist society.¹⁰ Having reached this state of social development, the basic socioeconomic main cause for criminality is (essentially) done away with in our republic. To quote Engels, we "put the axe to the root of crime."¹¹ Criminality is no longer a product inherent in the system.¹² It already is something alien to socialism.

Under these fundamentally changed social conditions, the question no longer is what causes crimes but why such social phenomena still survive.¹³

The point in this new type of inquiry is not to seek any sort of "new" causes for criminality in socialist society but to find out which main socioeconomic cause for criminality, by now adequately understood in its essence, keeps breaking through. Then we will find that an intricate dialectics between "external" and "internal" has to be coped with, where "external," it seems to me, has a geographic-political as well as a historic meaning. Our continuity with our past must not be overlooked here. As little as our criminality, in its scope, manifestations and degree of danger, is comparable to the officially registered, let alone the unrecorded, criminality of and in imperialism, the fact still is, it seems to me, that in its social character it is an appendix of the past. Given all the differences in criminality in its historic course and under various historic-concrete conditions, criminality in substance, as something destructive and anarchical, retains its identity as a phenomenon evolving from the private ownership in the means of production.

Impact and After-Effects of the Main Socioeconomic Cause of Criminality

The main historic crime cause affects the GDR in two ways: For one thing, it comes from the capitalist countries, especially the imperialist one next door,

where the main socioeconomic cause for crime is in full swing and from where hostile attacks also are launched against real socialism, mainly ideological and psychological. The danger of such attacks should not be underestimated. They are seen in crimes directed against our state order and also more or less directly in almost all offenses of general crime, even in crimes that do not stem directly from the antagonistic class contradiction between imperialism and socialism.¹⁴

And then the main socioeconomic cause of crimes still has an after-effect from the past. One must not mechanically assume that when the socioeconomic causes for crime are gone, there should no longer be any crimes today at all or that one would have to find "new" causes for it. We already mentioned the thought of Marx and Engels that private property in the means of production and exploitation are the crucial causes for crimes "in the last instance." The "genetic crime promoting" process is really very much round-about, so that when the primary and actual causal link is gone, it does not mean that this makes disappear the whole flux and web of criminality. The private ownership in the means of production which for millenia formed mankind and controlled its social relations and modes of behavior, its modes of thought, behavioral stereotypes, models of thought and so forth had so much social strength that the patterns of thinking and conduct it produced survive long throughout generations¹⁶ and entire historic processes, even when the basic and crucial socioeconomic facts can in the country itself still be found any longer only in history books.

The old patterns of thought and conduct vanish only to the extent that they are deliberately replaced through struggle and confrontation by new, socialist or communist, modes of thinking and conduct. And here any advances in this intellectual-moral process of confrontation depend on concrete historic, political, economic and ideological conditions within the GDR as well as outside our republic. One must not only understand the dialectics between essence and consciousness within our national borders but on a global scale as well.¹⁷ At the prevailing international state of communications, more or less the whole essence and consciousness of the world bombard our citizens. That massively assists the continued effects of old modes of thinking and conduct in the GDR.

Causes and Conditions for Crimes in the Socialist Society

We have to face the fact that throughout the whole historic epoch of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism the main socioeconomic cause from "outside" has a lasting impact on the socialist countries and will always again give rise to crime through various internal, objective and subjective, social conditions--presumably until the higher phase of communist society has taken full shape. Neither can we directly attack nor eliminate or cancel that main socioeconomic cause of crime in the capitalist-imperialist countries. So the practical task of crime fighting in our republic, it seems to me, lies in gradually changing and transforming internal social conditions so that we increasingly deprive crime in the GDR of its feeding ground and leeway and let the "external" effect of the main crime cause do less and less to us.

K. Marx saw this problem in offering his foresight that the "first phase of communist society, as it just emerged from capitalist society after protracted labor pains" but "not as it developed . . . (or; more accurately, will have developed) on its own foundation,"--"will in every respect, economically, morally, intellectually, still be afflicted with the birthmarks of the old society, from the womb of which it evolves."¹⁸ The far-reaching significance of this explanation by Marx lies in that there too he consistently applied the Marxist dialectics, the evolutionary doctrine, in looking at communism (Author: as a unified form of society) as having evolved out of capitalism.¹⁹

Today also, in the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, we certainly still have to deal with those birthmarks, and they also helps us greatly in explaining our criminality.²⁰ Establishing the political and economic power of the workers class simply does not mean that everywhere one then works socialistically. Many inherited production conditions, partly for a long time, still cause such forms in the division of labor that do not let the new character of labor prevail everywhere, nor the new relationship toward work. Nor has the practice of socialist democracy reached everywhere the kind of level where it would foster every citizen's shared responsibility and clear out old thoughts and conduct. Similarly, there still are disparities in the level and efficacy of socialist education in the educational institutions, in family education, and in everyday social education. Empirical crime surveys confirm that not a mean part of our (general) criminality by persons is found where citizens grow up under family and educational conditions and live under working and living conditions that have not been sufficiently affected yet by socialist social development.

For practical crime prevention it is necessary carefully to analyze in various criminal cases the concrete conditions that would promote or explain the crimes of individuals. Great discrimination obviously is called for in studying such conditions, notably in terms of how they relate to criminality.²¹

Especially that kind of differentiation seems meaningful to me that places a concrete social phenomenon concerned in relation to the fundamental social determination context between private property and criminality. In this sense--to put it roughly--one could emphasize the material and mental, social and personal phenomena existing in real socialism through which this basic social determination context is directly channeled, which, in other words, constitute direct and necessary intermediate stages or links in this context. They, it seems to me, may be called the internal causes of (general) crimes. Quite in this sense Soviet criminologists designate such phenomena as causal determinants which are bound to produce crimes and criminal acts.²² That includes anti-social, individualistic and egoistic modes of thinking and behavior ("private proprietors' psychology") alien to the socialist way of life and other inherited traditions and habits.

In contrast to these phenomena that have direct roots in the basic social determination context, those phenomena and processes can also be called conditions which, while not producing crimes, encourage, support, facilitate or intensify criminality.²³ That includes shortcomings in family education, inadequate protection of socialist property and weaknesses in the enforcement of legality, order and security.²⁴

Of importance of course furthermore is how these (internal) causes and conditions for criminality relate to the socialist society. Not only crime is alien to socialism but so are those internal causes that directly connect the fundamental social determination context between private property and criminality. That is neither part of the economic nor of the political system of socialism. Those causes are rudimentary in character.

In contrast to that, however, it seems to me, those social and personal phenomena and processes that may become effective conditions in the overall context in which criminality arises in socialism certainly may have something to do with the system and the structural and developmental inevitabilities of socialism, with its systematic and contradictory development. The various concrete "crime promoting" conditions--such as a young person's unfavorable family conditions--thus must be integrated with any given social relations.²⁵

Here one must also look at the dialectics between the old and the new, of which Lenin wrote while explaining Marx' "Critique of the Gotha Program," and especially Marx' evolutionary dialectics: "But actually, life shows us step by step residues of the old in the new."²⁶ And old is not only what comes down to us from the capitalist past but also what was still fine and correct yesterday but no longer accords with current requirements.

And finally, causes must not be reduced to mental entities (such as consciousness). The basic position of materialism always applies here that even "crime does not wholly come out of caprice,"²⁷ but is materially conditioned--in a complicated dialectics between essence and consciousness. Thus, it seems to me, one can also not talk of self-sustaining "residues in consciousness." Although in the GDR the fundamental and main socioeconomic causes of criminality have essentially been eliminated, there continue to be material conditions for crime and will continue for a long time. And here one must not only think of objects--old means of production, buildings and similarly materialized working and living conditions. Material relations, as the Marxists understand them, are mainly production and other economic relations, created, produced and reproduced by what the people do. With all the primacy of socialist economic relations in the GDR, other exchange relations are realized here and there as well that are typical of private proprietors. (Extreme cases, e.g., are business speculation deals, which are diametrically opposed to socialist economic relations.)

The performance principle, it seems to me, has to be approached the same way. Undoubtedly it is a socialist principle, serves progressive social development and to that extent objectively also works against crime. At the same time, however, one must not overlook that the performance principle is geared to the material interest of the members of socialist society. It is natural and causes no special problems as long as the material and the mental stimuli are properly linked with each other. But when ideological work has been neglected and the performance principle is distorted in practice, negative effects might be evoked.²⁸ So one always has to see to it that the new socialist inevitabilities are brought to realization in a diversity of phenomena and contradictions. Along with processes and phenomena socialist in quality, some nonsocialist in kind also may exist or break through, and some of them might give rise to crimes.

These considerations also, it seems to me, conform with sociological data. T. Hahn and L. Niederlaender refer to "differentiations in modes of thought and conduct, one pole of which finds its causes ultimately in conditions that are historically obsolete, alien to socialism and yet still exist there. To one extent or another they are unavoidable, while they are not necessary. One must seek to surmount them."²⁹

Nor must one, finally, ignore that the advantages and features in the inevitabilities have an impact on the citizens and their personality development to the extent that they themselves experience them in their immediate environment and in their personal life. Hahn and Niederlaender include in that, and I think they are right, certain personal "experiences with the violation of socialist principles of law, morality, democracy, and the distribution according to performance."³⁰

The concrete situations in which the citizens live and act are, thus, certainly diverse. This explains to me why under conditions that are generally identical one becomes a criminal and another one does not, one seeks to resolve personal conflicts the criminal way and another manages to avoid that "mode of resolution."³¹

By way of summary, this may be said: Internal causes of general criminality in the GDR that allow the main socioeconomic cause of criminality coming from the outside or having an after-effect whatsoever are as alien to the essence and system of socialism as is criminality itself. They specifically appear in inherited modes of thinking and conduct and traditional material and ideological relations that are characteristic of private property relations. They must be fought against, and the aim must be gradually further to plug up this (internal) source of general criminality. That can be done only by an all-round shaping and developing of socialist social relations and the socialist mode of production and of life, including socialist democracy and the forming of socialist personalities--just as posed as a task in the SED Program.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR 1982," Berlin, pp 379 ff.
2. "Synonymy: Ten Countries with the World's Lowest Crime Rates. Consultant Paper Prepared by Freda Adler," 1982.
3. Cf. "More Than 4 Million Crimes 1981 in the FRG," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1982, No 10, pp 454 ff.
4. In his lecture, "Concerning the State," V. I. Lenin affirmed: Anyone who "wants to approach a question from the scientific point of view, must not ignore the basic historic context." One must "look at every question from the standpoint of how a certain phenomenon has arisen in history, which main stages that phenomenon has gone through in its development, and then must examine from that developmental standpoint what the matter has now turned into." ("Werke," Vol 29, Berlin, 1961, pp 463 f).

5. Soviet criminology astutely differentiates between criminality and its causes on the one side and "causes and conditions for a concrete criminal act," which in turn are closely related to "the personality of the offender." Cf. Authors' Collective, "Criminology" (in Russian), Moscow, 1979, pp 49 ff, 90 ff, and 100 ff.
6. Cf. *ibid.*, p 49. Here criminality is described as a "historically perishable and changeable social and legal phenomenon of the class society." A similar definition is given by the "Soviet Criminal Law Textbook" (in Russian), General Part, Moscow, 1982, p 64.
7. Cf. also W. Hennig and J. Lekschas, "The Historically Conditioned Nature of Criminality and the Basic Line of Crime Research in the GDR," STAAT UND RECHT, 1977, No 11, pp 1147 ff.
8. Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 39, Berlin, 1963, p 206.
9. V. I. Lenin wrote: "By eliminating this main cause (Author: of the riots, which constitute a violation of the rules of societal fellowship) the riots inevitably will begin to die out. We know they will even if we do not know how fast and in which sequence." (Cf. "State and Revolution," "Werke," Vol 25, Berlin, 1960, p 478.)
10. Not by chance the SED Program as ratified by the ninth party congress, defines "the shaping of the developed socialist society" as a "historic process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes" (SED Program, Berlin, 1976, p 19).
11. F. Engels, "Two Elberfeld Speeches," "Werke," Vol 2, Berlin, 1962, p 541.
12. So also W. Hennig and J. Lekschas, *op. cit.*, pp 1147 ff. The SED Program states: "Modes of action as expressed in egoism and greed, philistinism and the desire to enrich oneself at the cost of society are alien to socialist society" (*op. cit.*, pp 55 f). This also comports with the view of Soviet criminologists (e.g., A. B. Sakharov, "Concerning the Causes for Criminality in Socialist Society," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT/GESELLSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE, 1977, No 5, pp 516 ff, 523).
13. This question also was raised by A. B. Sakharov, cf. *ibid.*, pp 520 f.
14. R. Hartmann and J. Lekschas pointed these distinctions and connections out in their "Kriminalitaetsursachen und Probleme der Kriminalitaetsforschung in der DDR" (Causes of Criminality and Problems in Crime Research in the GDR), Berlin, 1975, pp 10 f.
15. F. Engels cogently defined this condition as it evolves through millennia as follows: "Present day society, which pits an individual in enmity against all others, this way produces a war of all against all, which is bound to assume among some, especially the uneducated, a brutal, barbaric and violent form--the form of crime." (Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 2, p 541).

16. E. Buchholz, R. Hartmann and J. Lekschas, in their "Sozialistische Kriminologie," Berlin, 1966, pp 166 ff, already called attention to these social reflex actions by the main socioeconomic cause of criminality in the overall process that gives rise to criminal phenomena. W. Hennig and J. Lekschas (op. cit., p 1150) rightly refer to corresponding traditions and traces.

J. Lekschas understands criminality "as the result of the mode of life produced by exploitative relations, where exploitation in the last instance appears as the basic social cause" (cf. "Sozialistische Lebensweise und Vorbeugung der Kriminalitaet" [Socialist Lifestyle and Crime Prevention], Berlin, 1977, p 11). Cf. also V. I. Lenin, "Joint Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee," "Werke," Vol 27, Berlin, 1960, p 432.

17. Cf. E. Buchholz, "Some Ideological-Methodological Questions of Marxism-Leninism and Their Importance to the Different Sciences," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, 1980, No 2, pp 182 ff, 187.
18. K. Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Program, "Werke," Vol 19, Berlin, 1962, p 21.
19. V. I. Lenin, "State and Revolution," "Werke," Vol 25, Berlin, 1960, p 83.
20. Cf. W. Eichhorn I, "Idea and Reality in the Socialist Revolution," EINHEIT, 1981, No 10, pp 1001 ff, 1005.
21. Cf. A. B. Sakharov, op. cit., pp 517 ff: "To explain this problem, one has to consider three categories of phenomena that reflect the complicated hierarchical character of the causes of criminality in the socialist society: First those that make it possible for individualistic consciousness and other views, mores and habits that contradict communist morality to survive in socialism; second, those that turn that possibility into reality in individuals or groups of persons; Third, those that have individualistic views end in concrete criminal acts.

The first group of phenomena has generally to do with the social inevitabilities and particulars in the development of socialist society and causes the abstract possibility for criminality to survive in socialism. The second group has to do with such conditions for the moral development of individuals or groups of persons as create the real possibility for criminality. The third group, finally, has to do with the concrete situations in which crimes are committed."

22. Cf. Authors' Collective, "Criminology, " op. cit., p 67.
23. Ibid., p 68.

24. Such a distinction between causes and conditions for criminality in socialism is, however, not without problems, it seems to me, because the understanding of it might be undialectical and mechanical in that certain phenomena become static and are absolutely or alternatively attributed to the one category or the other. Against such an idea our own complex definition of crime promoting factors is aimed and is to be understood as a methodological handle only ("Sozialistische Kriminologie," op. cit., p 100). The Soviet Criminal Law Textbook (op. cit., p 66) in defining crime promoting factors likewise emphasizes the complex character, but also the genetic aspect.
25. Cf. E. Buchholz, "Some Ideological-Methodological Questions . . .," op. cit., p 189.
26. V I. Lenin, "State and Revolution," loc. cit., p 83.
27. K. Marx/F. Engels, "The German Ideology," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 3, Berlin, 1959, p 312.
Against a one-sided orientation merely toward subjective-mental causes, E. Buchholz, R. Hartmann and J. Lekschas already argued in "Sozialistische Kriminologie," op. cit., pp 176 ff.
28. K. Hager, in "Der IX. Parteitag und die Gesellschaftswissenschaften" (The Ninth Party Congress and the Social Sciences), Berlin, 1976, p 29, goes into this matter with the following words: "We do not overlook the fact, of course, that at the current status of our society modes of thinking and conduct may arise that are not in accordance with socialism. The inherited evils of the old, obsolete society prove to be terribly persistent. Furthermore, the enemy constantly tries to export his ideology and lifestyle into socialism. All the more necessary it is then not to count on 'automatic' effects of the performance principle. Socialist effects come about only through proper ties with effective ideological work. For that one must also ensure a rigorous enforcement of socialist legality and of order and security in all sectors."
29. T. Hahn and L. Niederlaender, "On the Urban Lifestyle." ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, 1982, No 6, pp 754 ff, 765 f.
30. Cf. ibid., p 766: "Those practical experiences play a special role that indicate to individuals or whole groups that the advantages of socialism can be misused--which is the case when the accomplishments of socialism are not made effective in their totality. That is the case, e.g., when socialist rights are ensured, to be sure, but not all norms of socialist legality are used or the control and sanctioning of attitudes and the use of all organizational forms of the political and ideological system are not respected. Under such circumstances it becomes possible that personal prosperity acquired legally and through one's own performance may be accompanied by petty bourgeois aspirations. Or it may also be that an individual still does not understand enough of socialism and his own place in this society."

31. I have already called attention to the importance of conflict research, the theory of (socialist) conflict and the problems in negative or positive conflict settlement for criminology and special crime prevention ("Some Ideological-Methodological Questions . . .," op. cit., p 188). On the problems of conflicts in giving rise to crimes, see also "Sozialistische Kriminologie," op. cit., pp 185 ff.
32. There it says (op. cit., p 53): "The SED sees to it that the ways and means of public life and individual conduct that comport with the developed socialist society shape up more and more in all sectors of life-- on the job and at leisure, in the work collective and within the family, and in one's habitual way of living."

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CHELM PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Chelm PZPR-ZSL Preplenum Preparations

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 24 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by gaj: "Working Visit of Comrade Zbigniew Michaleki]

Text] Yesterday, 23 March, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR Zbigniew Michalek was in Chelm Province. Accompanied by the province's hosts, first secretary of the Executive Committee of the PZPR in Chelm, Jerzy Szukala, and Governor Alojzy Zielinski, he visited a private farm of a Central Committee member, farmer Jozef Niewiadomski, from Jozefow Village (Wola Uhruska Parish) wanting to find out about machinery on the farm, results obtained in crop and livestock output as well as readiness for the spring work on the farm.

In the same parish, the secretary of the Central Committee also visited an agricultural complex in Macoszyn which belongs to the Urszulin State Farm (PGR) as well as an Experimental Agricultural Department of the Lublin Agricultural Academy located in Uhrusk. He was interested, in this case, in unsatisfactory working conditions and unsuitable facilities for the state farm's workforce, its housing problems, achievements in agricultural output and results of experiments in the fields and livestock buildings of the Uhrusk department.

Other agricultural complexes visited yesterday by the Central Committee's secretary were two agricultural producer cooperatives--in Petrylow, in Sawin Parish and in Za-roda, in the parish of Siennica Rozana. The first of the cooperatives, established in 1980, operates on almost 500 hectares of land from the State Land Fund [PFZ] and, not having any facilities and supplies, grows only grain and produce. Last year, members of the Petrylow cooperative harvested four basic crops in the amount of 18.3 quintals per hectare of land, i.e. lower than the average obtained by the remaining Agricultural Producer Cooperatives [RSP] in Chelm Province. However, land farmed by 23 members of this cooperative is poor--94 percent of it falls into the fifth and sixth category and, as tests indicated, part of it is

suitable only for brickmaking. Therefore, still this year, a construction of a brickyard will be completed and the cooperative will produce this year 300,000 high quality bricks. The bricks will be used primarily for the development of base facilities which the RSP, with the exception of one administrative building, does not have.

On the other hand, the cooperative in Zagroda belongs to a better managing group. The cooperative has 180 members who farm 1251 hectares of land, 902 hectares of which are arable. Grown is grain, corn (for fodder and seeds) and sugar beets. Also hogs, fedder cattle and dairy cattle are raised. Members of the cooperative have quite good facilities which aid in the growth of their production. Relatively recently, i.e. in 1981, two new housing facilities were put to use of the workers and now their own construction group builds machine facilities, repair shops among them.

Both agricultural producer cooperatives are managed without losses and reach their projected revenues despite certain difficulties. While becoming familiar with the problems and achievements of these cooperatives, the secretary of the Central Committee spoke of the need for continuing efforts of their members in further cultivation of the PFZ lands, thus not allowing for more loss or land to nonfarming, a problem prevalent in Chelm Province.

At the end of his visit, comrade Zbigniew Michaelék met in Zagroda with the farmers and party activists of the Siennica Rozana Parish. Report of that meeting will appear in our paper separately.

Chelm Joint PZPR-ZSL Plenum

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 25 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by gaj: "Joint Plenary Debate of the Executive Committee of the PZPR and the Provincial Committee of the ZSL in Chelm"]

[Text] The goals of echelons of both the party organizations and the United Peasants Party and government and economic administration in the implementation of resolutions of the Eleventh Plenum of the Central Committee of the PZPR and the Supreme Committee of the ZSL were the subject of plenary session of the Executive Committee of the PZPR and the Provincial Committee of the ZSL which took place on 24 March in Chelm.

In sessions chaired by the first secretary of the Executive Committee of the PZPR, Jerzy Szukala, and chairman of the Provincial Committee of the ZSL, Jan Sokolowski, participated: secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, Zbigniew Michalek, member of the presidium and secretary of the Supreme Committee of the ZSL, Ryszard Nowak, minister of Forestry and Timber Industry, Waldemar Kozlowski.

Report of the executive body of the Executive Committee of the PZPR and the presidium of the Provincial Committee of the ZSL was read by the secretary of the Executive Committee, Stanislaw Adamiak. The report emphasized that plenary session was preceded by five environmental meetings

of authorities of both parties, secretaries of basic party organizations and chairmen of the ZSL groups as well as farmers, representatives of agricultural associations, the Rural Women's Circles [KGW], branch unions and associations, activists of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth and the Peasant Youth Union. At the meetings, the state of agriculture in Chelm Province was analyzed and the possibilities for increase in its productivity through better utilization of land and means of production at hand were discussed. From these analyses one can conclude that since 1980 in Chelm agriculture, a deep regression has been taking place. Global production in 1981 calculated in comparable prices amounted to 6,751 million zlotys and was lower by 2.2 percent than in 1976 and by over 13 percent than in 1979, a year that was advantageous to agriculture. Drop in commodity production took place in all sectors of agricultures. In the collective sector the drop amounted to over 15 percent while in individual sector, it amounted to 16 percent. Procurement of grain decreased within the last three years by over 60 percent and of cattle by one third. Procurement of milk has also been lower. In 1981, in Chelm Province, procurement of cattle on the hoof was less by 50 percent than the nation's average, and of milk by 32 percent from one hectare. Number of farms which did not sell any of their products to the government increased by 18 percent.

Such a deep drop in production cannot be justified by objective factors, i.e. unfavorable weather conditions, unstable sociopolitical situation, or shortages of supplies. Chelm agriculture, despite the fact that it continues to fall short of funds and lags behind the national average in machinery, is today different than 5 or 7 years ago. There are more housing and livestock buildings, more tractors and other farm machinery; diligence and involvement of farmers have not diminished either. The important thing then is to come together to a conclusion, as stated in the report, how to most productively utilize the production potential of agriculture as it is the fundamental goal of the Eleventh Joint Plenum of the Central Committee of the PZPR and the Supreme Committee of the ZSL.

Large dispersing of farms run in large portion by farmers of advanced age without heirs, low level of farm sophistication and technology, over 32 percent of total crop land with poor and very poor soil, and low level of technological armament of agriculture are the main factors responsible for the unstable level of agriculture production in Chelm Province. That level is characterized by significant fluctuations and too large a dependence on external factors, in particular the atmospheric ones. Agriculture with high level of sophistication and technology is less susceptible to unfavorable conditions. The greatest reserves, as stated in the report, lie in proper and rational use of land. In addition, low results in agriculture were also the result of considerably lesser use in recent years of lime and fertilizers as well as low use of certified seed material. Thus, it is necessary to eliminate these negative factors.

Livestock output is also low in Chelm Province. There are big differences between individual parishes, villages and farms. For example, procurement of butcher livestock last year, from one hectare, in parishes of Wierzbica and Wlodawa exceeded 120 kg, in Lopiennik it was lower by over 40 kg, in Dorohusk by 50 kg. These matters should become of high priority to unions of cattle and hog raisers and companies involved in the evaluation of livestock use.

Much attention was also devoted to the use of equipment in Agricultural Circles Cooperatives [SKR] which are looking for ways to increase their profitability through price increases for farm services or sale of equipment at auctions instead of looking for savings through better use of equipment, its economical use, development of new services, and better work management.

Next spoke the lieutenant governor of Chelm Province, Jan Sabanowski, who presented the most essential goals of government administration aiming at the acceleration of increase in commodities output and profitability of agriculture. The worst situation exists in the eastern and northern parts of the province where, due to poor soil quality and shortage of land reclamation equipment, a quick fall of land from the private sector takes place.

Lieutenant Governor Jan Sabanowski has also presented administration's goals in regards to the escalation of land reclamation, utilization of reserves through correct application of proper farm technology, and integrated fertilizing as well as in taking action which aims to halt the drop in live-stock output.

Issues raised in the report of the executive body of the Executive Committee of the PZPR and Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the ZSL together with the presentation of the lt governor became the subject of discussion which began at the time our paper was going to press. Report of that part of the debate will be published in the Saturday-Sunday edition.

Chelm PZPR-ZSL Plenum Discussions

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 26-27 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by gaj: "Problems of Country and Agriculture Are Subjects of Discussion"]

[Text] As we have informed the readers, on 24 March a joint plenary session of the Executive Committee of the PZPR and the Provincial Committee of the ZSL took place in Chelm. As it was announced, today's edition of our paper reports the discussion. The following people took part in the discussion: Jozef Niewiadomski, farmer from the parish of Wola Uhruska, member of the Central Committee of the PZPR. Tomasz Adamczuk, farmer from the parish of Lesniowice, member of the Provincial Committee of the ZSL, chairman of the [text not clear]. Wieslaw Dederko, director of Lumber Enterprise in Zawadowka, chairman of the Parish Committee of the ZSL in Rejowiec Osada. Grazyna Farynska, Dorohusk parish manager. Ludwig Golebiowski, farmer from Siedliscze Parish, deputy chairman of the Council of Provincial Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations [WZKIOR]. Henryk Weremokowicz, secretary of the Provincial Office of the ZSMP. Andrzej Kubina, first secretary of the Supreme Committee of the PZPR in Siennica Rozana. Adolf Czajka, chairman of the ZSL in Krasniczyn. Ryszard Nowak, member of the presidium and secretary of the Supreme Committee of the ZSL. Piotr Wysokinski, driver from the Rural Transport Cooperative [STW] of Wlodawa,

member of the Executive Committee of the PZPR. Feliks Kus, farmer from Wola Siemienicka, member of the ZSL. Marian Tycak, chairman of the RSP in Zagroda. Jan Sokolowski, chairman of the Provincial Committee of the ZSL.

Many speakers emphasized that in agricultural policy too many errors have been made to allow oneself any more experimentation. The fact that farmers of Chelm Province do not sell projected quantities of grain at the procurement centers does not imply that agriculture is on the brink of collapse; its achievements in, for instance, procurement of cattle on the hoof, potatoes or sugar beets need to be remembered.

Discussion about the need for improvement in the village stores' supply in articles of everyday use also took place. Critical remarks were made in regards to price policies particularly for equipment and farm tools as well as recently introduced price hike for oil and gasoline without any consultation with the farmers.

Considerable portion of the discussion was devoted to the need for improvement of the standard of living in the country in order to prevent further emigration of peasant youth to the cities. In the opinion of the debaters, criteria governing the allocation of farm equipment should be changed giving younger people a greater chance in obtaining it.

Representatives of cooperative agriculture pointed to the necessity for a quick conclusion of earlier investments incorporated into plans without the knowledge and approval of the workforce of these cooperatives.

Also necessary, said Stanislaw Kozak, was the development of the social amenities in the PGRs and the RSPs in particular of housing as there is a deficit in this sector throughout the province. Without housing and better social amenities, the cooperative sector in Chelm Province has no great prospects for development. With the present financing and credit policies, unions of agricultural circles and organizations find themselves in an almost catastrophic situation. They attempt to survive by selling equipment, out of necessity passing of earlier received land, and have great difficulties in securing jobs for themselves.

Representatives of Siedliszczce Parish who also took part in the discussion presented a specific proposal, i.e. to expedite land reclamation works the start of which has been postponed for years. Next, the Dorohusk Parish manager, Grazyna Farynska, presented difficulties encountered in her parish with development of land which "fell" from cultivation. This problem intensifies year after year for the village grows older and farmers in large numbers give up their farms and the cooperative sector with low capital finds it difficult to properly develop poor quality land. This problem will not be solved in Dorohusk without additional fund allocations for cooperative farms in the parish.

Secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR Zbigniew Michalek who spoke at the close of the discussion, took a stand in regards to several problems. He also explained present agricultural government policy based on full equality of all sectors of agriculture whose top priority should be maximum harvest crops. The secretary of the Central Committee also explained that soon nationwide criteria of farm machinery and equipment allocation will be established.

In his remarks he devoted a lot of attention to the actual problems of Chelm Province, particularly the "fall" of land from cultivation. Such land should be cultivated to a larger degree than today by individual farmers. For the increase in agricultural production is indispensable as our agriculture is still far from being self-sufficient.

Members of the joint plenary session of the Executive Committee of the PZPR and the Provincial Committee of the ZSL ended their discussions adopting a resolution which stated, among others, that Chelm Province agriculture has great potential for productivity increase and increase of its participation in achieving food self-sufficiency. The plenum considered it appropriate to present a proposal to establish, on a central level, a fund designated to aid farms taking over the lowest quality lands from the PFZ. In the resolution the goals pertaining to the implementation of laws of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the PZPR and the Provincial Committee of the ZSL have been outlined emphasizing that in case of Chelm Province improvement in effectiveness of agriculture and food economy management should become fundamental goals in the political and managerial work of the echelons of the PZPR and the ZSL as well as government and economic administration.

Conference ended with the signing of the "Internationale" and the ZSL anthem "When the Nation Rose to Battle".

Joint PZPR-ZSL Plenum Comments

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 29 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Denisiuk: "The Land and the People"]

[Text] Grazyna Farynska is recently having, as she publicly confided, terrible dreams. Her peace of mind has been disturbed by the nightmare of land falling on top of her. Of course, not the ordinary earth on which we walk, but the peasant's kind, the arable land.

Comrade Farynska is truly afraid of nightmares for they can in fact become a reality. But why is it that just this matter worries her so? As a parish manager she is also responsible for land management in her parish, i.e. that every piece of land is cultivated and gives the highest quality yield.

In Dorohusk Parish, said comrade Farynska at the recent joint plenum of the Executive Committee of the PZPR and the Provincial Committee of the ZSL in Chelm, difficult situation emerges in the area of proper management of land of the PFZ. We have low quality, marshy soil, so there are not many people willing to farm under such conditions. On the contrary, individual farmers, and even the ones from the cooperative sector, get rid of the land...

In fact, this is a headache of not only one parish on the Bug River but the entire Chelm agriculture. Between 1974-1980, holdings of the PFZ in this province increased by over 41,000 hectares and from parish records almost 8,500 individual farms have been crossed out. Considerable portion of the PFZ lands were taken over those years by state farms, cooperatives and the SKRs. Some of them were thus made happy by force. At present, there are no more such possibilities of getting rid of the land. Independent and self-financed agricultural units which the PTR's, the RSPs and the SKRs have become, in a new economic model, get rid today of some lands with great eagerness.

As far as Dorohusk Parish goes, the situation is particularly difficult. As much as 40 percent of its land is classified into the fifth and sixth categories, i.e., the lowest quality. As if it was not enough that land itself is of low quality--it is not improved either. The network of good, hard roads is rare there. It is no wonder that in such conditions only very few want to farm today. The result is an avalanche of individual farmers' land which within the last couple of years landed on the parish administration. In some villages only two or three authentic farmers remain. The succession of farms which "fall" out of cultivation continues. Already this year, five farmers presented petitions to pass their farms over to the state treasury in exchange for retirement pension.

And who, asks dramatically comrade Farynska, is to cultivate this land? Our preliminary findings indicate that about 100 hectares will have to be taken over from individual farmers but only 20 have takers. Even though we do have in our parish a state farm and three producer cooperatives, they cannot be taken seriously because they themselves are struggling with great problems.

One of such producer cooperatives struggling with serious difficulties is Agricultural Producer Cooperative in Wolka Okopska. It has over 500 hectares of land but only six workers. Maybe there would be more people willing to work if it were not for an acute housing shortage and no brighter prospects for the future. The cooperative is under a heavy debt of about 3 billion zlotys which is a heavy burden on the entire cooperative economy. But, after all, it is a typical situation for all producer cooperatives.

State farms of Chelm Province, complained at the plenum worker from the Swain State Farm, Stanislaw Kozak, buckled under the weight of the debts. They carry the weight of debt in the amount of about a billion zlotys. Interest alone to be paid by the state farm in Sawin amounts to about 16 million zlotys a year. In fact, we are paying for obligations of others and that drives people away from working on a state farm.

Speaking of "obligations of others", comrade Kozak had in mind large cattle, hog and sheep farms which at one time were started on some state farms. These were projects imposed from above. Today not all of them can be utilized. And for numerous reasons--for lack of suitable feed supplies, for high operating costs or senseless savings made on them. Such an "economical farm" for 3,000 heads of cattle was built in Busowno. The economy was in not building housing for the workforce. Now such economy takes its revenge on production. Housing problem is the most burning issue in the majority of state farms in Chelm Province.

We need, summed up comrade Kozak, at least 1,000 units. Maybe then we will keep the crews and stop the outflow of people. If we don't do it, state farms will be as deserted as some Chelm villages. Already today in some agricultural enterprises, employment stands at seven people per 100 hectares...

Even though statements of comrades Farynbska and Kozak dealt with different issues, they could be brought to a common denominator, namely, that in Chelm agriculture systematically number of working hands decreases while the amount of "unwanted" land increases. This would not be so terrible if the manpower losses could be compensated accordingly through increase in the mechanization level in agriculture. However, these two things do not go hand in hand. Even though the number of tractors have doubled since 1975 (and tripled in the individual sector) and the number of combine harvesters quadrupled, it still remains a fact that for every tallied tractor in the province there are 7 hectares of land more than a national average of 22, and the use of electricity on one hectare is by 23 percent lower than in the nation. Also, the degree of meeting land reclamation needs is unsatisfactory. Worse yet, there is no quick improvement in sight.

Without land reclamation and mechanization, stated at the plenary session the first secretary of Chief Headquarters of the PZPR in Siedliszczce, Andrzej Stefanski, we will not intensify agricultural production. For some 2 years, we have been stiving for land reclamation in our parish. It has always been pushed aside for later. This year we want to start sector improvements ourselves and do what can be done through our own efforts...

Well, but not everything can be done by oneself. For instance, tractors will not materialize through tinkering... and they are badly needed. In Siedliszczce Parish there are about 70 hectares of arable land for every tractor. In the meantime, tractor allotment is small. The parish authorities always face a difficult problem, to whom allot so that it is both just and in accordance with the allotment criteria. But the criteria themselves raise serious objections.

In my opinion, said in the discussion one young farmer from Lesniowice Parish, Tomasz Adamczuk, there should be more machines for young farmers. Now seldom a young farmer gets machinery for he seldom meets the requirements. One of the basic requirements for allotment is the size of the farm which should be from 8-10 hectares. Few of the young farmers meet his

requirements. Many of them have small farms because they have not made it yet. But they do not want to farm with horses like their fathers. Not having prospects for getting the machinery soon, many simply turn their backs on working the farms and seek different, lighter work...

Thus, the circle of difficult problems with which Chelm agriculture struggles daily closes. These problems, as the recent plenary session indicated, are also the object of true concern of province echelons of both the PZPR and the ZSL. It found its reflection in a joint declaration. It states that "in the case of Chelm Province, further improvement of effectiveness in agriculture management and food economy continues to be the fundamental goal in the political and management work of the echelons of the PZPR and the ZSL." It found its reflection in a joint declaration. It states that "in the case of Chelm Province, further improvement of effectiveness in agriculture management and food economy continues to be the fundamental goal in the political and management work of the echelons of the PZPR and the ZSL, in the activities of government and economy administration."

The plenum concludes that Chelm agriculture has great potential for increase in agricultural output and increase in participation in reaching food self-sufficiency of the nation. The necessary condition is, however, the decisive improvement in utilization of natural resources through increase in standard of agrotechnology and agricultural sophistication, acceleration of land reclamation and water supply, improvement in the service sector of agriculture. Better supply of agriculture in technological means, machinery and farm equipment as well as other industrial goods is indispensable.

The plenum, having in mind the benefits resulting from full arability of land in the province for the entire nation, deems it necessary to present a proposal to establish, at the central level, specific fund to aid those farms which take over the lowest quality lands of PFZ.

The plenum is also of the opinion that proper and full utilization of land on every farm should be the object of special attention of village self-government, socioprofessional organizations of farmers, echelons and organizations of both the PZPR and the ZSL.

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PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Tarnobrzeg PRON Regional Council Meeting

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 24 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by z. fl.: "Not Only About Community Problems"]

[Text] The regional Tarnobrzeg PRON council met yesterday, with over 200 delegates and invited guests present. Wacław Zimolag, ZSL activist and respected teacher, was elected to preside over the meeting.

The report that initiated discussion was read by the deputy chairman of the meeting's preparatory commission, Marek Indyk. The discussants were: Karol Slomka, ZSL activist from Jeziorko, Lieut Col Kazimierz Zeplin, deputy chief of the Voivodship Military Staff in Tarnobrzeg, Jan Reczek, employee of the Steelwork-Sulfur Line in Wola Baranowska, Marian Bryla, first secretary of the Grebow KG of PZPR, Tadeusz Sek, Tadeusz Wojteczko and Ryszard Pobochoa of KiZPS in Tarnobrzeg, Ryszard Franuszkiewicz, chairman of ZMG [City-Gmina Board] of ZSMP in Nowa Deba, Wiesław Popieluch of KiZPS in Tarnobrzeg and Józef Magon, a high school teacher from Nowa Deba.

The report and discussion covered the hitherto-attained progress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in Tarnobrzeg in towns and gminas of Baranów Sandomierski and Nowa Deba, as well as in gminas of Majdan Krolewski, Gorzyce, Grebow, Padew Narodowa and Zaleszany. There are at present 58 basic cells of PRON and OKON in the above places, their membership stands around 1,900, including 752 nonparty members. In all the towns and gminas of that region provisional coordinating councils of PRON were founded. However, it has been pointed out that representatives of youth and women, as well as of some social-professional groups, particularly of teachers and employees of medical services are underrepresented. Thus, the need of broadening the movement's social base has been stressed. In addition, many problems that are important for the inhabitants of this region have been discussed, PRON cells became involved with considerable success in solving these problems. Some of them are: expansion of the hospitals in Nowa Deba and Tarnobrzeg, improving the functioning of the retail trade, expanding the subdivision infrastructure in Tarnobrzeg, Nowa Deba and Gorzyce, better supplies for the agriculture of machines, tools, fertilizers and seeds, and an increase in the number of finished flats in towns and villages.

It was recognized that a particularly important matter, from the point of view of the prospects for PRON's development and strengthening, is to keep its activists in close contact with the inhabitants of towns and villages. It has been stressed that this movement was born out of a need to overcome social barriers, from a deep conviction that through a common effort of the citizenry the cause of socialist renewal on all levels of social activity can and should be continued and made to last. The openness of the movement to any initiatives that serve to explain and to solve all the problems through a dialogue and respect for the constitutional principles of the socialist state and Polish reason of state has been pointed out.

It has also been proposed that PRON cells, in the process of exercising their controlling functions, should participate in solving controversial problems pertaining, among other things, to expropriations practiced by the sulfur industry in the area of Grebow and Baranow Sandomierski. Proposals concerning making some of the language of the PRON's ideological declaration and draft statute more precise were also submitted.

During the meeting, 46 delegates to the voivodship congress were elected, while delegate mandates to PRON's National Congress were entrusted to Mieczyslaw Biernat from Tarnobrzeg, Karol Slomka from Jeziorko (Grebow Gmina) and Eugeniusz Durda from Suchorzow (Baranow Sandomierski Gmina).

Participating in the meeting were, among others, PZPR Voivodship Committee Secretary Stanislaw Pawlik, secretary of the Provisional Voivodship Coordinating Council of PRON, Jozef Pietrzak, as well as representatives of the Tarnobrzeg town authorities, including first secretary of the PZPR Town Committee, Piotr Foremniak.

Suwalki Province PRON Conference

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 25 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by J. Nowakowski: "To Believe in one's own Strength; PRON Conference in Suwalki"]

[Text] Delegates to the first voivodship conference, members of the provisional provincial council of PRON, as well as chairmen of the movement's gmina councils met in Suwalki at the regional conference of PRON in order to discuss the activity in their localities and to formulate conclusions.

Among other things, the draft of the programmatic premises of the provisional provincial council of PRON that was a subject of discussion by the conference's participants covers the problems of protecting and developing even the most insignificant initiatives, releasing one's activity, inspiring and controlling the authorities, and at the same time assisting them in solving sore problems, many of which have accumulated in the Suwalki region.

Recognizing the independence of the presently active OKONs and PRONs and providing room for an unhindered activity for various social initiatives, TWR PRON proposes to concentrate all the efforts, among others, on increasing society's influence on the activity of the administrative authorities, preventing occurrences of the "merry-go-round of positions," concern for the improvement of living conditions of working people, fighting against manifestations of social pathology, preventing conflicts between groups and individuals through an offer of good services, strengthening the family, counteracting the process of devastation of environment.

Chairman of the WK SK, Jerzy Gryko, stated during the discussion that the statute of PRON does not include the definition of minimum age of its members. PRON should be not only an opinionmaking movement but also a controlling and inspiring one, and this should be made more clear. He also expressed an opinion that the terms of the movement's elements should be defined. The basic elements should have a 2-year term, the national council's term should last 4 years. He has submitted a motion to replace a plaque in the Suwalki town hall that commemorated the participation of the local soldiers in the Vienna rescue.

TWR PRON chairman, Boleslaw Dziadziak, who presided over the debates, has pointed out that the upcoming 40th anniversary of the victory over the fascism would be a perfect occasion for the inhabitants of the voivodship to found a monument to those who took part in the struggle. PRON should oversee the repairs of the educational and health facilities as well as analyze their utilization. He has disclosed plans to organize an exhibit presenting the accomplishments of the movement in the particular centers of the voivodship.

Waldemar Brzezinski, commandant of the Suwalki unit of the ZHP, has indicated that PRON's ideas are being relayed on the daily basis by each of its members at his workplace. The movement's ideas stem from the same sources as those of the Boy Scouts. Thus, while they work for the town and for the society they work for themselves.

The difficult housing conditions for the 4,000-strong Suwalki unit was discussed by the ZHP Council commander, Mieczyslaw Jurewicz, while the advisory activity of LKP in the voivodship's seat and similar related troubles were presented by Malgorzata Chodunaj. Subsequently, Danuta Turowska raised the problem of broadly understood education of women in the villages, Henryk Krzesicki, in turn, is of the opinion that PRON councils could oversee maintenance and repairs of architectural monuments as well as speed up the execution of housing projects in Suwalki. He motioned that the administrative authorities should improve functioning of the city and voivodship transportation. According to Aleksander Wasilewski the educational authorities should be asked to restore the right to elect their head master to the pedagogical councils. The need to expand cultural and educational system was also discussed. All the PRON elements were called upon to actively participate in construction of the Monument of the Polish Mother.

A delegate from the Suwalki region to the National Congress of PRON has been elected in the course of the conference. He is Waldemar Brzezinski. A representative to the presidium of the voivodship conference has been also chosen, as well as candidates to the advisory, audits, and resolutions and motions commissions.

The conference's participants by a majority vote have supported the election of the new PRON voivodship council.

Interview With PRON Council Coordinator

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 28 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by Bozena Bryl: "We Have Convinced That We Are Needed; Conversation With Chairman of the Coordinating Council of PRON in Lubawka, Tomasz Bak-Dzierzynski"]

[Text] Tomasz Bak-Dzierzynski states: this is my town. He came to Kamienna Gora from Kielce in 1974 and began to work as a physician at the Health Center. When his colleague fell ill in Lubawka he was temporarily assigned to work there. Later on he decided to stay there. He took liking to Lubawka because, as he claims, it is not sleepy, it is somewhat militant, the first generation of settlers is very active and not indifferent to the fate of the locality where they happen to live. The surroundings are also very beautiful, it is hard to find other areas of equal attractiveness.

He has quickly gained popularity as a head of the town-gmina health center. The local residents call him "Doctor." They like and respect him. Although the center has been reinforced with several specialists (a gynecologist, a surgeon, a pediatrician), house calls are made mostly by Mr Tomasz. He has not bought a car because he does not like it. Between the hours of 8 and 13 an ambulance is available; in the evening, if necessary, usually somebody will give him a ride.

Tomasz Bak-Dzierzynski has never craved for peace. He was active in the student movement and joined the United Peasant Party. At present he holds the position of a vice-chairman of the Town-Gmina Committee of ZSL, he is the chairman of the local PRON council and a member of the presidium of the voivodship coordinating council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

When difficult times had arrived he initiated the organization of the Citizens' Committee for National Salvation. Fifty individuals have joined it, how over 300 residents of gmina are active in it.

The Lubawka OKON, one of the earliest in Jelenia Gora Voivodship, started its work with splitting itself into commissions: [in charge of] propaganda, public peace and order, commerce; later on a consumers' council has been also set up. A fight for a room among the town's community started. It was necessary to convince [it] that OKON's activists are useful and needed. It was not easy. They made each effort not to be absent where town matters were at stake. The barrier of suspicion was overcome. More and more people would come with their problems.

"Please do not ask what we have done," Mister Tomasz cuts into the conversation, "I do not like enumerations. We are doing everything we can to help the gmina and its residents. Incidentally, we would not be able to achieve

anything just by ourselves. Our role consists in guiding, pointing out, looking after, controlling. The work itself is being done, however, by the people who are assigned to it. This most difficult period has ended in June last year. We did not have to attempt to participate in our community's life any more. Others start to take care that we are participating in meetings of political, social and youth organizations, to cooperatives', bank, and school meetings.

"Time passed," says Tomasz Bak-Dzierzynski, "and our OKON grew. We created a crafts section. It was really important. In all the endeavors dealing with crafts, on all the levels [of authority] of our gmina, the craftsmen are participating. They also have influence on the decisions that concern them. In turn, town and gmina gained an important ally. They help in many projects, quite often on a voluntary basis. Robert Dziurko, head of this section, since the beginning has been an OKON member and the town is considerably indebted to him.

"The moment also came when we could count among our ranks many young people. We set up a separate commission for them. Thus, youth struggles for its own concerns. After all, they know these problems best.

"In July last year we decided to found the National Accord Front. It was an embryo of the present PRON. On 21 July 1982, at a solemn People's Council session, we disclosed this decision. When the voivodship coordinating council of PRON was formed, we were transformed into an element of this movement. There are three OKONs that belong to PRON council: in Lubawka, Chelmsk, and an industrial OKON.

"I think that it is an opportunity to explain the structure of this movement in our gmina. After founding the national council of PRON we did not have any intention to disband the OKONs, neither did we want to do this. According to the statute, each of them is an element of the council. In our locality they concern themselves with everyday problems, while the PRON council concentrates its attention on matters of a broader scope. For example, it pays attention to the perspectives of Lubawka's development till the year 2000, struggles to protect the environment, looks after the growth of culture and arts, sport and tourism, as well as a more efficient implementation of the program of communal and single-family housing.

"Our Lubawka PRON," concludes its chairman, "has won a position of an opinion-making and advisory body that constitutes a bridge between the authorities and the society."

It is time to end our conversation; however, viewing the spread-out piles of folders, I have a disquieting thought: Where is the room for all this?

"Right here in my 'office'," explains Mr Tomasz, and he opens the drawer of his physician's desk. "Here also, in the health center, we meet after the work hours, here the clients often visit us. I am absolutely against any paid positions at the level of OKONs. After all, it is a voluntary work and one has to like it the way it is. Offices and paid employees can destroy OKONs. Whether, however, paid positions for PRONs councils at the level of a town or gmina will be required only time will prove."

Tarnobrzeg Precongress PRON Discussions

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 28 Mar 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by hl: "Precongress Discussions in Communities; on the PRON Documents"]

[Text] First stage of the precongress campaign of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth nears its end in our region. Meetings of movement activists were conducted in most of gminas and towns, during which delegates to voivodship conferences were elected. At the beginning of this week successive PRON meetings will convene in Krosno, Rzeszow, and Tarnobrzeg voivodships. In organizational sense, Tarnobrzeg Voivodship meetings will have somewhat different character. Instead of gmina and town conferences, regional ones are being organized in seven towns. They met already in Tarnobrzeg, Stalowa Wola, and Nisko.

Discussion of the PRON draft declaration occasions many interesting judgments and views. There are repeated proposals to make the movement's aims on its lowest organizational levels more precise, to formulate concrete tasks. The statutory tasks and prerogatives should be assigned to elements and councils. Would not, however, such structure of PRON make this movement one more social-political organization? This question is being asked by some other individuals. Thus, quite frequently there are controversial views.

In Mielec some improvements of the statute were suggested, among others, it was proposed that the authorities of PRON be subject to a mandatory, specified terms of office. A proposal concerning readability of the text of declaration should also be noted: it should be unequivocal for its readers.

Problems pertaining to the movement's practical functioning dominate the precongress debate. The need of resumption of voluntary work is being discussed, particularly work in village communities. Some PRON elements have succeeded in doing this. On the initiative of OKON voluntary work has begun, for instance, in Chechly and Borowa, in Rzeszow Voivodship.

The discussion amply reflects local worries, everyday problems that make one's life difficult. There were repeated complaints in Krosno Voivodship, particularly in gminas located in the Bieszczady area, about a lack of consistency in the interpretation of the order on tax credits for farms that are inconveniently located. In the Lipniki Gmina, farmers were reflecting on the ways of obtaining equipment for the agricultural circle, since the SKR after its dissolution left just junk as its inheritance....

At the same time, in the course of campaign, PRON has gained many new supporters. Conferences in some communities were attended by many young people, although there is still much to be done in this area.

On the 25th of this month, 120 delegates participated in the Town-Gmina Congress of PRON in Brzozow. Present were: Krono Governor, Tadeusz Kruk, and a plenipotentiary of KOK, Col Zygmunt Klimaszewski.

The congress has elected Maksymilian Dabrowski, vice-chairman of the provisional town-gmina council of PRON in Brzozow, to represent the region at the National Congress of PRON. In addition, 6 delegates to the voivodship meeting, and 3 members of the voivodship council of PRON were elected.

In the town and gmina of Brzozow, PRON brings together over 600 persons, including over 300 nonparty members. PRON councils exist in 7 villages that are seats of a soltys, as well as in 17 workplaces, establishments and schools.

PRON Programs-Elections Campaign in Lublin

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 29 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by kuz: "Programs-Elections Campaign in PRON Cells Continues; Election of Delegates to Congress, Discussion of Vital Problems of Country and Community"]

[Text] In all PRON cells a programs-elections campaign that precedes the National Congress of the Movement for National Rebirth is under way. In the course of numerous meetings and conferences present achievements and effects of social activity are being evaluated, particularly those of the earlier citizens' committees for national salvation.

Much of the attention of discussants is devoted to the drafts of the basic documents of PRON: its statute and its ideological-programmatic declaration. At the same time various initiatives are put forward, especially those facilitating solutions of diverse problems of citizens and community.

In Lublin Voivodship, an important forum for a discussion of problems of growth of the movement for national reconciliation as well as of the social and professional activity of working people are regional conferences of PRON which elect delegates to the congress. Last week, among others, the PRON regional conference in Lubartow and the Pulawy town conference were convened.

At the latter conference, representatives of five workplace elements and the Town Council of PRON discussed the programmatic-organizational premises of this movement, that is--the idea of understanding, they talked about the need of broadening PRON's social basis, particularly among workers, in the villages and among young people. A number of proposals concerning drafts of the PRON basic documents were submitted.

Much time during the discussion was taken up by the town's social and economic problems. Ways of faster execution of housing and educational construction projects were debated, as well as of municipal facilities, problems of stores' supplies and functioning of retail trade and services were discussed.

A significant length of time has been devoted during the discussion to the improvement of methods and forms of work of PRON cells. Among others, it has been decided to organize meetings of PRON activists with workforces of particular enterprises. As the delegates to PRON congress were elected: Czeslawa Gorska from Biowet and Boleslaw Jezyna, vice-chairman of the Provisionary Council of PRON in Pulawy.

Yesterday, on the other hand, a conference was held, with 76 representatives of PRON elements from 11 towns and gminas of Pulawy region participating. Present was chairman of the provisional voivodship council of PRON in Lublin, member of Sejm, Stanislaw Rostworowski. Among the debates' participants were also representatives of the political and administrative authorities from the Pulawy region, among others, first secretary of the KM PZPR, Stanislaw Jedrych. The discussion focused on the activities of PRON aiming at integrating particular communities, on finding ways of utilization of all the good experiences of FJN, while avoiding its errors and weaknesses. The speakers stressed also that force of social influence of PRON elements depends above all on the concrete results of their work for the good of community and citizens. Society expects them to be the spokesman who voices its opinion, that they will control the authorities, particularly in provincial localities, because the latter's actions do not always conform to the citizens' wishes and feelings.

Other demands concerned wider popularization, among others through the utilization of newspapers, of the problems of village communities, uniformization of organizational structures of the various institutions and organizations in the region.

There was also much talk about the needs of the particular communities. Among others, delegates from Kazimierz nad Wisla, postulated the necessity of expanding of housing construction as well as of finding a place for the library.

Three delegates to the PRON National Congress were elected (in a secret vote, out of 8 candidates) during the conference. They are: Jaroslaw Olejnicki, a graphic artist from Naleczow, Ryszard Prochniak, a young farmer, a ZSMP member from the gmina of Konskowola, and Tadeusz Augustynek, a civic activist from Kazimierz.

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CSO: 2600/753

PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Bialystok Pre-Province PRON Congress

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

[Article by: h.]

[Text] (Own Information) At the last session before the one announced for Sunday, 16 April by the Provincial Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], the Provisional Provincial Council [TRW] of PRON deliberated in Bialystok on Thursday, 31 March. The deliberations were devoted to a familiarization with the progress of the reports-elections campaign in Bialystok Province as well as the acceptance of assignments from the congress --the program draft, also the programs-reports paper and the statutes of the congress.

Information on the progress of the programs-elections campaign was presented by Antoni Grzeskiewicz, stressing that, thanks to great commitment on the part of PRON activists, wide circles of society became acquainted with the basic documents of the movement. Right now, PRON already rallies about 10,000 participants who voted their approval of this movement, and the circle of its followers is significantly larger. A continuous process persists in deepening national understanding. The programs-reports campaign, conducted recently, demonstrated that the questions of living conditions are not alien to the residents of Bialystok Province.

Problems afflicting especially the socioprofessional circles were vitally taken up in discussions at gmina [parish], municipal, and municipal-gmina congresses. Country residents said much on the subject of agriculture and the food economy, the supply of agricultural equipment and machinery, and the running of trade and local administration. A good deal of attention was also given to problems in the fight against speculation and drunkenness. The need for constant compliance with the laws of social justice was emphasized. Urban residents took up especially those issues of apartment construction, supplies and the functioning of trade, the fight against social parasitism and speculation. In both circles, a good deal of proposals--of the investment type, and relating to the construction of schools, nursery and preschool centers, roads and sewage treatment plants--were made.

The election of council and executive cells for PRON, as well as delegates to the Provincial Congress, took place at the congresses. All circles are represented among the over 500 elected delegates. A large group from among the delegates is composed of young people.

Dr Edward Grygo discussed the PRON program draft, completing the presented document with the motions and remarks made by both the presidium of the PRON Provisional Provincial Council and the programs committee.

The issues of youth and their participation in PRON, apartment construction as an important social issue, and the need for broader popularization of PRON, among other things, were touched upon in the discussion on the program draft. It was ascertained that the basic sphere of activity by PRON should be the residence. The representative of the Department of the Polish Catholic-Social Union, Mieczyslaw Horosz, presented the position of that organization toward the most urgent and most important socioeconomic issues, simultaneously expressing full support for the cause of national understanding.

The propositions of the reports-program paper, which will be delivered at the Provincial PRON Congress, were presented by Mikolaj Kozak.

The Provisional Provincial Council of PRON accepted the propositions of the reports-program paper and the statutes of the congress, as well as the program draft, obligating the Program Committee to complete this document with the arising motions, remarks and proposals, and suggestions.

Bialystok Newspaper PRON Commentary

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 5 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by: R. K.]

[Text] With each day, the precongress campaign of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is unfolding in the areas around Bialystok, Lomza and Suwalsk. Municipal and gmina conferences are taking place and provincial PRON congresses are also beginning, preceding the First Congress, which will take place during the first days of May in Warsaw.

The beginnings of this social movement were difficult--for they took place under difficult conditions. The movement was born out of concern for the present and future of the socialist state. In the complicated socioeconomic, as well as political, situation--to which was added the brief length of its existence--the people could not, therefore, obtain adequate results for their needs. It can be said that the movement is still seeking its place and role in the whole life of the native land.

Nevertheless, in activities until now--through the basic cells of the Citizen's Committees for National Rebirth [OKON]--the PRON movement solved or was instrumental in solving a great many problems that were troublesome to the people. At least some mention should be made of the valuable initiatives of

the patriotic and social workers from the individual districts of Bialystok, Hajnowka, Zambrow, Szczuczyn, Pisz and Ruciane Nida. These people supplied the documentary evidence to show that understanding is not an empty word, that as a result of mutual understanding and joint efforts, much good can be done toward surmounting the crisis, renewing life, and leading the nation onto the road to proper development. As Tadeusz Blasiak aptly said at the First Provincial PRON Congress in Lomza, the soonest possible breaking up of the crisis, as well as the liquidation of social stratification, and a breaking of the moral and economic impasse, depends on all of us.

In this context, the discussion under way on the statute proposals and the PRON program activities has vital significance. The main concern is so that PRON would become a nationwide opportunity for the successful fulfilling of our common goals and that society would unite, regardless of beliefs, views, age and social background. Just as we read in the declaration: "To be absent in the life of the country is a position leading nowhere."

Therefore, it is worth remembering that in the same declaration such directives for PRON activities are stressed as: democratization of the methods in the conduct of rule, expanding the influence by society on the activities of state organs, creation of democratic living conditions, consolidation of the broadest possible social echelons into voluntary and honest work for the common good.

It is not necessary to convince anyone when facts from distant and recent history demonstrate the significance of these factors, releasing the greatest qualities of our nation. So, we were able to do so much in cities and in the countryside of our region, and in the entire country, thanks to deep social consciousness.

Thus, it is not surprising that the discussion on the future model of the movement is so broad, penetrating, and often very polemical. Drawing conclusions from the past as well as from the current situation, changes and precise definitions are incorporated into the statutes of the draft, aiming --first of all--to assure the movement of a formal role by the public. Equally stressed are the rights of PRON participants, as well as their obligations, especially of a moral character. As Danuta Zyskowska stated at the PRON conference in Elk, to be a member of PRON, one must actively take part in its activities. The public, but especially the young, await hard facts. And as Prof Marian Orzechowski, PRON Provisional National Council [TRK] secretary general, recalled in one of his presentations, patriotism in Poland often limited itself to words of love for the "Provisional Homeland." He said: "We would like to move further in the sphere of activity for the benefit of our homeland, its interests and its good."

Rich and multidirectional discussions on the basic PRON documents at the conferences, carried on with large attendance, are instrumental in the popularization of the program-organizational foundations of the movement and, at the same time, the idea of national understanding among residents of our provinces. During the course of the campaign--which the municipal conferences in Bialystok,

Elk and Suwalki, as well as the provincial congress in Lomza, among others, demonstrated--social activism arose in certain spheres of activity. And this fact--considering various ideological orientations, and the skepticism of a part of the circle embittered by political enemies--has far-reaching significance.

Mindful of the bitter experiences perilous to the nation, the fact that even residents of the Bialystok, Lomza and Suwalki areas are sensing a gradual improvement is evident today: they are becoming increasingly aware of the need to maintain national traditions, to create a united front in defense of the "Polish reasons of state," to increase--despite the experienced troubles--at any rate, substantial postwar assets.

Bielsko-Biala Province PRON Congress

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 1 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by: SAB, KL]

[Text] "The credibility of PRON is a question of the people and their activities" is the most important thought that guided the proceedings of the provincial congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], which took place on 31 March of this year in Bielsko-Biala. Participating were 289 delegates and members of the Provisional Provincial Council [TRW] of PRON. They represented 102 local cells and about 4,200 members. Participating in the proceedings were: the vice-chairman of the PRON Provisional National Council; the vice-chairman of the Board of the Pax Association in Warsaw, Wincent Lewandowski; first secretary of the Provincial Committee [KW] of the PZPR in Bielsko-Biala, Andrzej Gdula; president of the Provincial Committee [WK] of the ZSL, Ferdynand Lukaszek; and the chairman of the WK SK, Zbigniew Gburek. Bielsk governor, Stanislaw Luczkiewicz and plenipotentiary of the National Defense Committee [KOK], Col Kazimierz Kesicki, were also present.

Prof Dr Jozef Chlebowczyk, Chairman of the PRON TRW in Bielsko-Biala, delivered the report.

Delegates to the National PRON Congress as well as candidates to the PRON National Council were elected. Bielsk Province will be represented at the congress jointly by 39 persons.

The progress of the pregress campaign was positively evaluated in the resolution of the congress. Among other things, it was ascertained that broad discussion was instrumental in the dissemination of PRON principles and goals, and it also influenced the reanimation of work by particular cells of the movement. The congress committed the TRW PRON and the presidium of the Provisional Council to prepare and carry out elections to the Provincial PRON Council after the conclusion of the national congress.

PRON in Gmina Commentary

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 31 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by: Maria Tokarska]

[Text] The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is carrying out its program. Such work, just as long-term goals, which PRON activists are placing before themselves in pre-congress discussions, cannot be indifferent to Poles. For the aim today is to create a foundation for the definitive repeal of martial law and a banding together of the public in overcoming the crisis. Their far-reaching goals, on the other hand, are to aid in the socialist processes of renewal and socioeconomic reforms, the result being a strengthening in the subjectivity and activity of our society.

The fulfillment of PRON goals and principles depends to a considerable degree on the active support of the public, the surmounting of passivity and indifference, the uniting of the efforts of people with various worldviews and beliefs, in work for the homeland. The movement is winning over this public support by concrete work on behalf of the citizen.

PRON efforts toward supporting and developing social and socioeconomic activity, aimed at improving living and working conditions for the residents are an extremely vital issue in the countryside. Here is an example from one of the Gdansk gminas: Pszczolk. Through the taking up of small and notable ventures on behalf of its circle, concrete practical activities, the patriotic movement is earning ever increasing credibility even here.

There is a need for the union of all activities for the good of the countryside, the strengthening of social ties and the building of platforms for confidence as well as the rise of responsibility by the people for public issues felt in this gmina for a long time already. That is why still before martial law set in, as today's activists in the PRON gmina Council--Wladyslaw Perfikowski, Bronislaw Pozniak, Jozef Pietrzak and Bogdan Dombrowski--are telling me, the front for cooperation, a collective body composed of representatives of the Village People's Council [GRN] as well as all of the political and social organizations, serving the gmina authorities with their counsel and aid in making the most vital decisions, investigating and solving the most difficult local problems, had emerged in Pszczolk.

Here are some of these problems: verification of fuel [ration] cards and bringing order into the rules for distribution of coal, and also the allocation of agricultural equipment, as well as making trade activity in the gmina more efficient.

In the gmina, this joint collective body is called the understanding of people of good will. It was the perfect base for the formation of the Citizen's Committees for National Rebirth [OKON] in February of last year. Under the leadership of Jozef Pietrzak, this movement continued the work, already begun earlier, on the building of social understanding and moving the residents to activism and work on behalf of their environment. In September of last year, the Provisional Council of PRON was established, which was--from the beginning--under the leadership of Wladyslaw Perfikowski, a farmer from the village of Suchy Dab. Gradually, the patriotic movement in the Pszczolk Gmina has taken on ever increasing significance in the life of the village people.

In the initial period of activity, issues connected with progress in the trade movement and the rebirth of autonomous cells took up much space. As a result, new peasant unions and agricultural circles arose in the villages, while initiative groups and founding committees for trade unions arose in places of employment. Today, from among the nearly 1,000 persons employed by 13 employers, 250 belong to the new trade unions, regaining faith in the substance of collective work.

From the very beginning, PRON activists in Pszczolk Gmina have tried to create a united front of social activity and to combine the efforts of village activists toward achieving understanding in the gmina community.

Several years since, Pszczolk Gmina grew with the inclusion of areas belonging at one time to the former gmina os Suchy Dab. Despite the efforts of local authorities, it could not dispense with certain friction and tension between the residents of both regions of the gmina. The problem was, for example, supplies of means of agricultural production; farmers from villages situated in the Suchy Dab region alleged that too little had reached them here in comparison with the variety of machinery, fertilizers and other articles in villages situated closer to the Gmina Office.

"We examined the issue," relate the activists from the PRON Gmina Council, "trying to understand the needs of this high-producing region and, in effect, we obligated the Village Cooperative [CS] to a uniform distribution of goods, and of housekeeping implements, furniture and other articles as well. It is difficult to deal with everyone, if there are shortages," they point out, "but this has to be done equitably. We accepted the so-called population indicators as a criterion for distribution."

It appears, and this is already seen today, that a marked improvement is occurring, (for example, a transfer of mineral fertilizers has been accomplished), although not everything has been able to be taken care of fully. Problems dealing with the running of trade consume quite a lot of the attention by activists in this social movement.

It is similar in the entire sphere of issues that could be called the front of activity with the youth. The concern here was especially the assurance of conditions for young people in which to spend free time after work and school. There were none in Suchy Dab, for example, where the local Farmer's Club was closed long ago and served the GS as a warehouse from time to time. Bogdan Dombrowski attended to this. Together with the youth, repairs on the place were begun and a club as well as a power plant were arranged. Thus, there is now a place in the village where young people can meet, if only to talk about common issues linking them or to practice a sport.

The youth from Kolnika, which likewise turned to PRON for help in securing a place, is now intending to follow the example of Suchy Dab. The issue here has turned out to be somewhat more complex, because of the demanded transfer of the milk center from its quarters in the Community Center and its relocation in another building--by the GS store, where the center for repairing

household implements was once situated. At the present moment, the formalities connected with the transference of the the place to the new holders have been settled and soon the youth will be able to begin managing the acquired building.

There is no shortage of problems even in Pszczolk itself--gmina villages number today already 3,000 residents, where the construction of a sewage treatment plant, gas main, railroad viaduct as well as a community center should be started. The gmina PRON activists intend to participate actively in the finalization--as quickly as possible--of these urgent investments, determining an improvement of living conditions in the village. In the entire gmina of 10,000, the problem of communication--especially that of linking the gmina seat [of government] with the marshland regions--also demands a solution. There are now 3 villages--Ostrowik, Osice and Steblewo--whose residents cannot reach Pszczolk and, in turn, farmers from Kozlin must travel all the way through Tczew to get there. The possibility of initiating a Polish Motor Transport [PKS] line to Ostrowik, where there is an asphalt road which will link this village with Suchy Dab, is being outlined.

Gmina residents, by coming in person or writing letters, are more and more often confiding their problems of difficult living conditions to PRON activists. Sometimes--as the chairman of the intervention committee, Bronislaw Pozniak, defines it--one must act on the principle of a fire department, because the grievances and suggestions compiled here most frequently demand an urgent solution. Most often, they are--unfortunately, as it is everywhere--housing problems, but no one leaves, or is sent back empty-handed. Everyone receives advice on how to proceed further in their troublesome matter.

The ambition of the members of the youth committee (Danuta Bienko is its chairwoman)--keeping in touch daily with schools and organizations uniting the younger generation--is to show the youth their place in life. We intend to do this by, among other things, popularizing the difficult profession of farming, indicating motivations for good work, and also by nominating youth to administrations and local governments. In the opinion of Bogdan Dombrowski and Marek Franczak, the popularization of the notion of training in sobriety is likewise important. These 2 young people, not yet 30 years old, were elected as delegates to the Provincial PRON Congress, which most emphatically attests to the importance the patriotic movement in Pszczolk Gmina attaches to problems of the youth.

An entire gamut of tasks awaits to be resolved by the members of the socioeconomic committee, the chairman of which is Jozef Pietrzak. However, the most urgent appears to be an analysis of the activities existing until now in the area of social welfare and a working out of a common plan for aid which, at the moment, comes from various sources and not always rightly. From among economic tasks, the PRON activists include as most important the efforts for full accomplishment of tasks in the procurement of grain as well as an equitable distribution of capital expenditure funds serving agricultural production.

Deciding on an active participation in the patriotic movement, the activists from Pszczolk Province do not wish to see still another institution or

organization. They claim that it should be an authentic mass social movement, which every citizen could join and which would be, simultaneously, a bridge between the public and the authorities. Hence, they attach such great importance to the authentication of every type of information which they try to relay to the gmina public. There are also opinions [which state] that this movement can gain authenticity by taking up concrete tasks and fulfilling them completely. These can even be small achievements, even like the matter of spring cleaning in the gmina; precisely concrete facts, which will emerge with the participation of PRON, will be capable of convincing the people..

"The significance of the patriotic movement in the life of our society will depend on, among other things," say the activists from Pszczolk, "how many honest people will join it." The people who work in it must, above all, be gratified with the trust of society, be decent citizens respected in their circle, capable of convincing others through their own attitude and in the results of their work as well as social activity, stirring up social activism and commitment among the people.

Gdansk Pre-Province PRON Congress

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 6 Apr 83 p 1

[Text] A joint session of the Party Committee on Cooperation and the Political Parties of the Presidium of the PRON Provisional Provincial Council took place in Gdansk on 5 April of this year. The subject-matter of the session was a familiarization with the progress of elections in PRON cells at basic echelons and a discussion of the state of preparations for the Provincial PRON Congress. The participants in the session were: alternate member of the CC Politburo, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee [KW], Stanislaw Bejger; KW secretaries: Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska and Mieczyslaw Chabowski; member of the presidium of the Chief Committee [NK] and president of the ZSL Provincial Committee [WK], B. Droszcz; WK SD chairman, A Bartel; head of the Provincial Branch of Pax, M. Gajdunski; chairman of the Provincial Branch of the Christian Social Association [ChSS], S. Gorski; and the chairman of the PRON Provisional Provincial Council [TRW], Walenty Milenuszkin.

The committee highly evaluated the activities which have been conducted by the Presidium of the PRON TRW until now, and its chairman, as well as expressed the belief that the provincial congress will be instrumental in further incorporating the notion of national understanding into society.

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PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES NOTED

Lomza Province PRON Congress

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 29 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by W. Klosinski: "The First Provincial PRON Congress in Lomza--Understanding Is Born in Public Debate"]

[Text] "Over and above our divisions, we build national understanding," under this slogan, the First Provincial Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] conferred in Lomza yesterday (28 March). Participating in it were 106 delegates, representing the about 5,000-strong multitude of activists of this movement from 80 local elements.

Representatives of the government with Wlodzimierz Michaluk, first secretary of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR, Czeslaw Gartych, chairman of the Provincial Council of the United Peasant Party, and Marian Mieszkowski, chairman of the Provincial Council of the Democratic Party, Zygmunt Grygo, chairman of the Provincial Peoples' Council, and Jerzy Zientar, the governor, were present. Also, Kazimierz Morawski, delegate of the Lomza District to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, member of the Council of Ministers, and member of the presidium of the Provisional National Council of PRON, was there, as was Franciszek Wasaznik, Vice-Chairman of the Provincial Committee of the National Unity Front.

The reports-program address was given by Edward Wrobel, chairman of the TRW [Provisional Provincial Council] of PRON, and chairman of the Board of the PAX Association branch in Lomza. He stated that the rebirth movement arose out of the need of society for understanding the interests of the state and the nation. "In the face of the general danger in which our common home found itself," said E. Wrobel, "We must reach for the deepest values rooted in every Pole, for the love of the fatherland that has been tested through the centuries, and to jointly determine how to defend it." There is no true Pole who would wish evil upon his fatherland, every one wishes it well--perhaps, only, it is possible to see this good in a different way and to mark another road toward its realization. The initiatives of PROM form a platform of dialogue for all Poles, who have not cast away their concern for the good of the country from their hearts, so that on the basis of agreement in basic matters--a joint program for renovation of the republic can be introduced.

This is a long-term task and most important from a long range standpoint, because it justifies the need for the constant presence of PRON in the political system of the state.

PRON cannot be converted into a facade. This cannot be just one other theatrical manifestation of public life. If it does not bring about political solutions, no one will believe in its authenticity. Today's call for patriotism is not only the honest and sincere work of the entire nation, and the inculcation of principles of social equality into life, but also the thought by categories of the Polish reason of state.

In a later part of his speech, Edward Wrobel concentrated on the most urgent tasks of PRON, pointing out, among other things, the necessity for the creation of a genuine climate for the building of the moral order and the hard work of the nation. PRON will gain its credibility by its activity and method of realizing the program contained in the draft declaration and statutory tasks. He also pointed out the necessity for greater involvement of the youth in the activity of the movement. It is not PRON that has to give something to the youth, but the youth is supposed to bring spirit, energy, and enthusiasm into this movement.

The shocks of past years have retarded the advance of civilization and culture in the countryside. PRON is a new opportunity for this community. Its entire further development is dependent, above all, on its steadfast attitude.

After a stormy procedural part, the factual and constructive discussion began. The first to speak was Tadeusz Blasiak of Lomza. He stated that in PRON, there cannot be social or professional classes and groups. The overcoming of the crisis and the elimination of social differentiation and the moral and economic impasse as rapidly as possible depends upon all of us. The genuineness of the movement is also going to depend upon the extent to which it bases itself on bureaucratization.

The next discussant--Kazimierz Uszynski of Ciechanowiec, acknowledged as one of the the extraordinary tasks of PRON the putting into motion of the kinds of mechanisms that would guarantee social equality and fairness. It is likewise necessary to fight against all manifestations of bungling and waste.

Subsequently, Woldzimierz Michaluk, first secretary of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR, spoke. He asserted that the citizen-social nature of PRON is decisive of its role in society. This is a matter of utmost importance. Party members participate actively in its work. It is the party's aspiration for its interests to be the interests of PRON. The party leadership in the movement is to provide a specific example of the party's patriotism. What is concerned here is for the PZPR members to fight for the ideological values of the party in PRON. Nothing that serves national rebirth and agreement is alien to the party. Comrade Wlodzimierz Michaluk offered the participants at the congress his sincere wishes for success in the difficult social work, and assured them of his constant aid and support for the initiatives of PRON.

In her address, Krystyna Kubik raised the problem of the organization of work and the personal relationships in plants, perceiving in this one of the factors for an increase in labor productivity. The raising of the skill level of the personnel, releasing their ambitions, combining the experience of older people with the enthusiasm and energy of young people, creates true citizenship attitudes that PRON is forming as permanent social values, uniting all the citizens.

"The fatherland will not grow by nothing but desires," asserted Jozef Jarosz of Zambrow. It is necessary to struggle against evil, to strive constantly for the strengthening of the state, and it is necessary to have unity, agreement, and understanding. The speaker expressed his support for the initiative for the construction of the Memorial-Hospital to the Polish Mother.

Numerous discussants also pointed out the necessity for organizing close cooperation between PRON and the farmers. Among those who spoke on these topics was Czeslaw Niklinski from Szczuczyn, who also pointed out the necessity for setting into motion much more radical mechanisms in the process of implementing economic reform. Representatives of the League of Polish Women noted the role of women and mothers in the process of bringing up the young generation, and the creation of an atmosphere of peace in the family and society.

Others who took part in the discussion were: Maria Kujawa, Stanislaw Krasowski, Marian Mieszkowski, Czeslaw Gartych, Marian Kocwin, and Tadeusz Maczynski. Delegate Kazimierz Morawski--in the name of the chairman of the Provisional Provincial Council of PRON--offered the activists of the elements of this movement from Lomza Province his most sincere wishes of success and satisfaction from their social activity.

The congress participants adopted the resolution concerning peace unanimously.

The congress chose delegates for the First Congress of PRON. Lomza Province will be represented by: Tadeusz Godlewski, Boleslaw Bondarowicz, Tadeusz Kulesza, Zenobia Mietelska, Zenon Brzozowski, Jan Szymkiewicz, Antoni Jarosz, Alicja Malinowska, Albina Czojak, Bozena Niewinska, Grzegorz Flejter, Stanislaw Krasowski, and Maria Kujawa. The following were chosen candidates to the National PRON Council: Edward Wrobel, Stanislaw Krasowski, and Tadeusz Komsta. The congress unanimously adopted the resolution defining the program of future activity of PRON in Lomza Province.

A delegation of participants of the First Provincial Congress of PRON laid a wreath on the graves of inhabitants of Lomza District, who were murdered during World War II in the village of Jeziorko.

Lomza Province PRON Resolution

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 30 Mar 83 p 1

[Resolution of First Provincial Congress of PRON in Lomza, issued 28 March:
"We Wish to Live and Work in Peace"]

[Text] The right to live in peace was and continues to be the most desired component of human existence, a genuine good, and the greatest and most beautiful dream of Poles.

The members of our society, who, in the name of Poland, in the more than 1,000 years of its history, became acquainted with all aspects of the word "war" and all its consequences, in the form of physical, material, and spiritual wounds, which they treated and are continuing to treat up to the present time. German fascism and militarism removed 6 million human existences from the Polish land, which we can only honor the memory of today.

The participants at the First PRON Congress in Lomza Province in response to the appeal of women, in a feeling of historical obligation, referring to the tragic experiences of the times of danger, expressing our support for all progressive forces in the world in the struggle for peace, the slowing down of the arms race, and peaceful coexistence and cooperation between all nations of the world. We support the initiatives of the socialist countries aimed at total disarmament.

In the face of the growing tendencies toward revision, militarism, and retaliation in the FRG, in the face of the aggressive attempts of the United States, in the face of armed conflicts with ever new force breaking out in various regions of the globe, the First Provincial Congress of PRON, being the voice of the opinion of society in the Lomza District, states:

"We wish to live, work, and build national and international understanding in peace."

The participants of the First Provincial Congress of PRON in Lomza are making an appeal to all organizations and associations for the support of our resolution.

Lodz Province PRON Discussion

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 30 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Wieslaw Ambroziak: "In Discussions Before the National Congress of PRON: No Time Must Be Lost"]

[Text] It is not easy for me to answer the question of why I am active in PRON. I recognize the achievements of People's Poland during its entire 30 years. I realize that socialism has important achievements in our fatherland (the majority of the Poles think the same way), in spite of all of the deficiencies stemming from the current social-economic and moral crisis, and also from the legacy of the 1970's. But I also experience the emergence of an intense hatred for socialism, anonymous attempts at blackmail, and so forth, and so on, directed at people connected with the current reality.

However, there are much too few constructive thoughts and real proposals. In fact, there is nothing, other than the misty wishes of the series: "...that Poland become a second Japan," or "...Let Poland Be Poland," (as though it

never were so), or "As one Pole to another," no one has expressed any realistic alternatives, other than the people connected with socialism, or those who also acknowledge our current reality.

In this situation, the question arises: "If not PRON--then what or who other than PRON?"

This is the reason why I am active in this movement since the time of crystallization of the idea of national rebirth. Well, from the OKON [Citizen's Committees for National Rebirth] movement, which grew during the martial law period, after the declaration concerning PRON dated 20 July 1982, until the emergence of the central structures along the PRON community, which created new phenomena and irreversible facts. [as published]

So, I judge that there is only one answer left for people of good will fighting for socialist social justice to these hardly-constructive criticisms and proposals stemming from individuals, who fundamentally hate the cause of socialism: Let's not waste time and treasure, let us undertake systematic and constructive activity, expanding the idea of PRON, developing it and strengthening it in daily creative work.

This is why I acknowledge the PRON program, which among other things, sets forth: joint responsibility for the state and the safe, peaceful life of the nation and the internal constitutional order, the assurance to the citizen of a real and effective part in the performance of the government on all levels. This program outlines the tasks of organized work.

The preCongress PRON campaign, in its assumptions, regards the matter of the growth of faith in our strengths and in the effectiveness of the action of the elements of this movement to be important. This campaign, day in and day out, is becoming the broadest plane of overall social dialogue, and at the same time, the cooperation of party members and nonmembers, believers and non-believers, who are united by their common concern over the fate of Poland and the realization that socialism is the content and form of national social-economic, political, and cultural existence. The common desire for effective action in behalf of national rebirth lies within these extraordinary justifications.

In these extraordinary justifications is found also the leading role of the PZPR. I have been a member of the party since 1949. I also have the privilege of representing it jointly with other comrades in the Provisional City Council of PROM of the city of Konstantynow. The political and moral delegation for the leading role of the PZPR is, among other things, in this movement, a mandate to represent the working class, its class justifications, and its class interests. the PZPR, through comrade W. Jaruzelski, has declared itself in favor of the class model of social justice. It is generally known that the strength of the PZPR is its bond to the working class.

Together with this party, I set forth on the road of socialist revolution, while still a nonparty youth, but already with a personality shaped in the ranks of the Red Scouting of the TUR [Workers' University Society]. Later on,

after 1945, as an activist of the Youth Organization of the Society of Workers' Universities [OMTUR], an instructor in the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] among other things, I took part in the armed struggle for the consolidation of the peoples rule.

I matured with this party, working in the former KZMP, working in the ZMP and in the SFOS [People's Fund for the Reconstruction of Warsaw]. The school of life for me was work in the state administration, work in the trade unions, and also pedagogical work.

This is my professional-social road to the reality created by the party. Just as the party is not ashamed of its achievement and history, neither am I personally ashamed of my entire life thus far, which always was and continues to be in conformity with the truth and true to the law. This road is leading me to today's reality and also to the social movement, which PRON is.

The PRON movement is for the building-up of the strength of the republic, against social-political apathy and the lack of faith in the creative forces of the nation.

I am of the conviction that PRON was born and grew in a complicated but changing situation, evolving in the direction desired by society. In my opinion, and it is not just my own opinion, this creates the opportunity that within PRON, even those who today sit on the fence, are vacillating, are observing, are weighing the words and deeds of the movement, are subject to the pressure of their communities, and who have still not freed themselves from the chains of emotional and irrational thought. The movement is taking measures concerning these people. I get reminded of the words of the ZMP song: "Stand together with us, keep in step!..." The todays and tomorrows of the nation and state, the development of regions, cities, and villages, are above all counted as having derived from the past and are entwined with it.

Therefore, also I am participating in the meetings of various elements organized by our TRM PRON, which result from the goals of the pre-congress and electoral campaigns of the PRON.

I hear out the voices of society. The hope is rising that PRON is truly that movement on which society depends, although this should not be overestimated, but this is attested to by the conclusions stemming from these meetings, such as, for example:

The realization, in full, of the principle of social justice.

The building up of democratic forms of administering institutions, etc.

Equality under the law for every citizen.

Independence in action and independence in status.

PRON organized by public opinion in all social-economic matters.

Stimulation of social initiatives.

Organization of consultations concerning government decisions.

It is this sincere exchange of ideas itself that will infuse the hope that the movement will create sound attitudes toward its work now and in the future. Well, so the opportunities of the movement are contained in the vital forces of society, which, in spite of the dramatic tensions caused by social conflicts, will never stop searching for forms of social-political life that will assure it the optimum conditions of development.

Nowy Sacz Boy Scouts in PRON

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 31 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Stanislaw Smierciak: "8 April Provincial Conference of PRON" Nowy Sacz Boy Scouts Undertake Active Participation in PRON"]

[Text] In Nowy Sacz Province, over 100 territorial and plant elements of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth group together about 10,000 persons who are not unconcerned with the matters of the country, the region, and its inhabitants. The discussions held recently about the materials prepared for the approaching National Congress of PRON showed that the majority of Nowy Sacz inhabitants evaluate this movement, not only on the basis of the declarations and programs, but also on the concrete deeds and accomplishments--also those occurring within the sphere of matters that appear to be minor on the surface.

The first stage of the preconference campaign has made it possible to clarify many matters, disperse many myths and people's doubts, and to find answers to questions on the minds of many people. Many questions will still have to be thrashed out during the Provincial Conference of PRON, which is planned for 8 April in Nowy Sacz, and at which 156 members of the Provisional Provincial Council [WTR] of PRON and 89 delegates representing local and plant elements of the movement will meet. In this conference, the 20 delegates of the Nowy Sacz Province to the National Congress of PRON will also participate. The conference will conduct the appointment of five additional delegates.

The questions connected with the elections-program campaign and with preparations for the Provincial Conference were discussed yesterday by the Presidium of the WTR of PRON. Afterwards, the Presidium of the WTR of PRON convened again, at that time, jointly with the Board of the Nowy Sacz "Janek Krasicki" Council of the Polish Scout Union. This part of the discussions was conducted jointly by: Jan Turek, Chairman of the WTR PRON, and Andrzej Gluc, Commander of the Nowy Sacz Council of the ZHP. The scouts and their instructors, over 42,500 of whom are active in 1,500 companies on the territory of the entire region, had already affirmed earlier, that the ideological declaration of PRON and its draft statute coincide with the educational principles and goals of scouting. In conformity with this, they composed a declaration with respect to the participation of the Nowy Sacz Council of the ZHP in the activity of

the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. During the course of yesterday's joint meeting, it was acknowledged that the stimulation of the young people into taking active part in the PRON elements is appropriate and necessary. The need was pointed out also for the organization in the immediate future of meetings of teachers, cadres and instructors of the ZHP, and PRON activists for the purpose of more detailed discussion of the methods of rebuilding a broadly understood educational front.

Many other organizations and associations, which recently declared collective access to PRON, are presenting the same kind of stand. Among those within this group are: The provincial branch of the Association of Folk Artists--an organization that has a very high membership in Nowy Sacz Province, and the council of the provincial branch of the Chief Technical Organization in Nowy Sacz and the provincial branch of the Association of Polish Mechanical Engineers and Technicians, which has its headquarters in Gorlice.

Effective PRON Methods of Activity

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 5 Apr 83 p 3

[Discussion with PRON activists by Jerzy Waksmani: "We Have To Be Present Everywhere That we Are Needed: PRON Is Working up Effective Methods of Action"]

[Text] In the history of our country, there has been no movement that is such a broad social representative as the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. Its elements are active in dozens of work establishments and in city sections, and its activists are being recruited from various circles and professional groups. All of those, who, in spite of their differences in philosophical outlook have recognized the good of the country to be an extraordinary goal, have found a place in the movement.

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is preparing its First Congress in Warsaw, which will assemble participants from all provinces. What will the content of the nationwide debate be? What kind of decisions will fall there, what kinds of methods of action will be proposed? Such is the subject of discussions that we conducted with participants of the PRON congress in Warsaw from Katowice Province: Benedykt Koj, chairman of the PRON Regional Council in Katowice, Zbigniew Rozycki, chairman of the Territorial Council of PRON for Katowice-Piotrowice-Ochojec, vice-chairman of the PRON City Council in Katowice, and Edward Szczerbowski, chairman of the Territorial Council of PRON for Katowice-Koszutka. Jerzy Waksman represented TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA.

TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA: Let us start off our discussion with the congress. How would its basic goal be described in brief?

Zbigniew Rozycki: It is my understanding that the task of the congress will be to define the conditions of operation of our movement. Because, for example, we know the goal and the scope of action of its authority in its broadest sense, we know what it desires and toward what it is striving. However, the rights and obligations of PRON, which is a relatively young movement, which is

operating on totally new principles, are awaiting a definitive formulation. Taking it in its most general sense: we know that the movement is supposed to be "organized by public opinion," and that it is supposed to express the strivings, feelings and attitude of society. However, how is this supposed to look in practice? --There is the subject to be considered.

Edward Szczerbowski: What bothers me the most at this time is the surfeit of tasks and the different types of wishful thinking. Society is expecting a lot, is asking, and even demanding a lot, whereas it gives little of itself. This is tragic and sad. We notice stagnation and passivity, the expectation of something that will come by itself, as though it would fall from on high. With all of this, one can notice the lack of responsibility in work, the lack of respect for social and personal opinion (when social opinion is our very own common possession). If we wish to emerge from the crisis, we have to change this, to overcome burgeoning private interests and narrow viewpoints. Even here, I see a wide field to show for our movement, an enormity of tasks for undertaking, which will certainly be presented at the congress.

Zbigniew Rozycki: Our activists are setting great hopes on the congress. They believe that the problems presented at such a broad forum will be noticed and skillfully resolved. The thing that aggravates the inhabitants of Katowice Province most of all is the problem of environmental degradation in its broadest aspect. This is the problem of purity of water, the air, and sunlight. This is a problem of the conditions of existence in the Upper Silesian Industrial Zone. At elections meetings, it was called to our attention that we must not keep quiet when industry, in an unconcerned way, degrades the environment, and creates dismal future prospects for future generations. In a situation where the people living here are stricken by the chronic action of toxic substances that exceed the permissible standards many times over, the principle of the so-called climate charges applied in the mountains and on the seacoast appear to be unjust.

Worthy of note from all aspects is the postulate of providing at least a 2-week vacation for children from Katowice Province on the seacoast or in the mountains. Another important question is, of course, the organization of free time. As we know, even at the time of organization of sports events, various imposing facilities are conspicuous by their empty places. It would be worth making use of them. Would it not be a good idea to adopt the principle that every father who had purchased a ticket for himself would have the right to bring in his son or daughter with him for free? What a capital occasion for building up the interests of the youth, for reviving family contacts...

Edward Szczerbowski: I consider that in the battle which is taking place right now concerning our moral rebirth--which should be the most important matter at this time--we should be the first line soldiers. For it is on us that the obligation rests of making contact with the people, and convincing them concerning our program. We have to make society aware of the unpopular truth that today, at the current time, it is impossible to satisfy the mounting needs without enormous effort of all of us. We have to be the social

conscience, we cannot close our eyes to the fact of waste of many industrial materials, we cannot bypass in silence the low labor productivity and the poor quality of the goods manufactured. We cannot reconcile ourselves to the spreading social epidemics, which include alcoholism, drug addiction, speculation, larceny, and parasitism...

Zbigniew Rozycki: It will be our colossal achievement if the workers of various enterprises and institutions, who are members of our elements, will come to us. Here is such a practical example. A worker from factory X comes to us and says: "Listen, last night in our plant, the air filters remained open. During the entire night, the chimneys smoked, polluting the atmosphere. The plant saved kilowatts of electric power, but polluted the environment of the settlement and the city." The worker is not in a position to argue with his management, because only as a PRON activists does he have the right and obligation to fight in the name of society. After close familiarization with the matter, one can even start drawing the appropriate conclusions, and even personal sanctions. It can happen, that someone comes to us and says: "Look, fellows, things are bad in our plant. The person exercising the management function does not wish or does not know how to cope with his duties. He is a good specialist but a poor citizen. He mainly thinks about his own narrowly-conceived interest. He totally does not give consideration to the interests of the inhabitants of the settlement and the city..."

Such a worker will not go to his superior authorities with this matter, since he is hamstrung by the obligatory procedure of action. However, he is able and he must come to us, to PRON, which is an unfettered and independent movement in its actions.

Edward Szczerbowski: If we wish to attain a true national rebirth, we have to be interested in everything. We have to be present everywhere where we are needed, where matters crucial to society are decided.

Benedykt Koj: It is exceptionally difficult to attain the confidence of society, but it is easy to lose it. How many meetings and consultations were organized in the past, how many conclusions and notices were proclaimed, which resulted in little. It is not surprising that we do not have the majority of society backing us up, that we are attempting to obtain it through the credibility of efforts that have been undertaken. We are working in the interest of not one faction, not one party, but in the interest of the totality of society. Here is at least one such case.

Until now, no one was concerned with the fate of lonely and aged persons after they had entered well-earned retirement. A case occurred when a retiree 88 years old came to see me, who had worked in the Wujek Coal Mine in Katowice for 50 years, underground, as a miner. The mine had completely forgotten about him. When I intervened in his case, it was told me that there are many like him. If it were necessary to be concerned with all of them, "the management would not fulfill its goals on schedule." As a result of our intervention, the situation underwent a change. Concern was given to the fortunes of the old man and of all the former workers of the mine as a whole.

TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA: It appears that the most vital matter for PRON today is the discussion over the drafts of its basic documents at the congress. Its participants point out the necessity of a more distinct accentuation in these documents of the possibility of execution of the conclusions, notes, and observations adopted by the movement. The deciding of this question stirs considerable emotions.

Zbigniew Rozycki: We spoke about the positive things thus far in our work. Let us therefore sow a seed of worry. Substantively--in the drafts of the basic document--there is a lack of precise formulations on the subject of the possibility of implementation of our decisions. There are no statements that could define our powers in a simple way that would not give rise to doubts. This is lacking, and we are calling attention to this. We cannot pass over this fact in silence if, for example, the attitude of several enterprise directors does not create favorable prospects of cooperation and joint action with them, or with other government bodies. There are still many of the kind who shirk from presence in our movement. They do not want to take on any obligations, which they would have to do if they were our members. It is good to know nothing and hear nothing...

Benedykt Koj: This concerns not just directors, but also many workers in positions of leadership. These people stand off to the side, since it is better and more convenient to do so. For nobody will call them to account for this. Nobody will find any fault with them. But in reality, no one? Well, it is still the so-called average citizen, who watches, and sees and evaluates. In this way, the social credit of confidence, that it was possible for us to attain--melts away. Are we allowed to overlook this?

TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA: However, let us turn to the discussions over the documents prepared for the congress. What kinds of corrections ought to be included in them?

Zbigniew Rozycki: In the documents that the congress adopts, it has to be clearly stated that PRON, as the broadest representation of society, which joins together the representatives of various social-political organization, and believers and nonbelievers, is a force authorized not only to inspire the actions of the government, but to carry out their realization.

Benedykt Koj: If PRON is to attain its intended goal, if it is to fulfill the expectations of society, if it is to be a bridge between the government and the citizen and facilitate national agreement, then it must have an influence on the revision of the election law, it must have a part in the designation of candidates of all levels and for delegates. PRON, thus, has to have influence on the adoption of concrete decisions concerning personnel. Well, enterprises operate in specific environment and it is not possible to remove them from these environments. Although a plant, in accordance with the principles of reform, is independent, self-governing, and self-financing, one cannot forget, however, one's obligations with respect to one's own workers and their families. Can it not be expected that they provide help for the benefit of the settlement or city in which they operate?

TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA: So, it can be said that a strong PRON is necessary both for the government and for the citizen, a PRON that will possess the authority to act in the city and in the countryside, in various social and professional circles. Knowing the passion and involvement of the activists of the movement, it is possible to nurture the conviction that they will succeed in creating a program appropriate to our needs and social expectations.

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POST-CONGRESS PRON DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

PRON in Polish Context

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 13 May 83 p 3

[Article by Zbigniew Jurkiewicz: "Ideas, Initiatives, Facts: The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] in the Polish Landscape"]

[Text] /As we were leaving the conference room of the First PRON Congress, I tried mentally to unify within a single framework the wealth and diversity of the issues considered. I concluded that this was perhaps best done already by Jan Dobroczynski, the chairman of the PRON National Council, when he stated that the established movement is and will remain wide open to not only new people but also new ideas and initiatives. For the most valuable contribution made by the congress debate to Polish political life is--it seems to me--precisely the awareness that raising the country from its decline, restoring the fullness of the rights of the principles of the socialist system in public life and creating a genuine democracy in the entire system of the exercise of power in the state requires not only the reconciliation and rallying of all men of good will but also, and above all, the exploitation of the entire potential of their "ideas and initiatives," of the entire diversity of their strivings, views, capabilities and will to act that they would commit to promoting the good of Poland. This awareness engendered the movement, and it is this awareness tht today colors its views on the goals and ways of achieving national accord. It is this awareness, too, that imbues all its actions on the public forum intended to rally society round the great cause of repairing the fabric of the Republic./ [printed in boldface]

The appeal directed from the Congress Auditorium to millions of Polish citizens is undoubtedly consonant with the expectations of a definite majority of society. But it is just as indubitable that it is accompanied by wide mistrust and reflex-action suspicion as to actual intentions. In Poland there is too much pain owing to all that had in the past--in our political life, in the system of action of the authorities, in practices violating the fundamental principles of socialism--deeply offended the people, wasted the fruits of their labor and was socially unjust and morally unfit. There is, in short, too much pain in Poland for mere words, no matter how honest and how felicitously appealing to one's love for the fatherland, to stimulate action. Similarly, in Poland too much of the old evil--of bureaucratic and pride-of-position arrogance--still persists in various nooks and crannies, for anyone who wishes to ruin society's trust in any reform program

not to take advantage of the difficulties of the reconstruction period and exploit them to suppress the nation's desire to join in the cause of national rebirth. That is why our crisis is still so deep. That is why such a great role in surmounting it is played by anything that can win people over to the cause of rebirth and awaken their faith in the possibilities of their own action--through force of facts that clearly and convincingly refute social expectations.

Has the movement already created such facts? Has the Congress demonstrated them to public opinion? Can the implications of these facts awaken trust among the public? Everyone has to answer these questions for himself. Let me, however, recall a few of these facts as I am convinced that even they alone will speak for themselves unambiguously.

Thus let us above all bear in mind the appeal sounded from the discussion report through the discussion to the final "Appeal to the Society"--the appeal for creating the conditions for a speedy abolition of the martial law. Let us also recall the directly relevant proposal which Prof Ciborowski described in his speech not by the dry word "amnesty" but by an appeal that "those young people who have lost their way, but who are not resolute enemies, may be restored to society and to participation in the work of the nation, opening to them the doors to their families and homes."

A no less important issue is the proposal, formulated besides even before the PRON Congress, but recapitulated at that Congress in the declaration of Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, to provide legislative backing for the institution of "social consultation." "Consulting public opinion on projected principal decisions and solutions concerning affairs of state and the economy...is an important element of the system of safeguards against the return of voluntarism and arrogance of power." Praising the initiating role of the PRON, the Premier at the same time informed the Congress that the premises of the related draft decree are ready and will soon be subjected to public discussion.

At the Congress, generally speaking, a topic of broad discussion was the idea of granting to the movement permanent rights for initiating legislation on matters of special importance to the protection of civic rights and legality. The documents contained for the first time such initiatives, including proposals for appointing a Constitutional Tribunal, which is to be a watchdog over the legality of actions of the authorities and, next, establishing under the Parliament a body protecting the private rights of citizens against bureaucratic encroachments, and lastly for legislative broadening of the rights of the Supreme Administrative Court so as to extend them to, among other things, decisions ensuing from the law on associations.

Another important issue raised by the PRON was the postulate for a thorough reform of regulations governing elections to representative bodies at all levels. The idea of simultaneously drafting upon the PRON's initiative several different

projects of the pertinent legislation and submitting them for public discussion was formulated during the Congress discussion.

Directly linked to this proposal is the opinion rendered by the Congress concerning the draft decree "On People's Councils and Territorial Self-Government," being prepared by a special Parliamentary commission. Even before the Congress debate, the Provisional National Council [TRK] of the PRON had presented in writing its own analysis of that draft decree along with the

conclusion that, in its opinion, a new approach to drafting it is needed because the intended solution does not offer a sufficiently broad field for stimulating the initiative of citizens, does not assure their adequate participation in decisionmaking on issues that concern them and restricts the possibilities for social control of activities of the administration, especially local administration. The discussion broadened this opinion on raising--in the context of various specific proposals made in this respect--the question of the specific duties of the PRON in nurturing and strengthening all kinds of self-government, as well as of the relations among public organizations, associations and other public institutions, on the one hand, and state local and economic administration, on the other.

I cannot reproduce everything that has been said and discussed, but it is necessary also to mention that the Congress demanded of the new PRON officers that they devote special concern to:

--the process of the application and operation of mechanisms of the economic reform;

--the proper shaping of relations between town and country, between workers and peasants, between the assumptions of agricultural policy and its actual implementation by industry and local administration;

books, which are in such short supply, especially books for children, by establishing a special fund for the rebirth of our publishing industry;

--all wronged persons, who should find in the movement and its intervention commissions a spokesman for their rights and a defender against the law;

--the enormously important problem--dramatically raised in every other comment--of rescuing the country from the threatening ecological catastrophe.

I think that even this drastically abridged list of issues raised at the Congress contains all the issues that matter most, and that these facts, initiatives and proposals speak more for the new movement than the most eloquent declarations.

PRON Direction, National Understanding or Activist

Krakow ECHO KRAKOWA in Polish 17 May 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (jw): "The PRON--What Will It Be? Animator of National Accord or Organizer of Social Drives?"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in bold-face in the original source]

[Text] The Presidium of the Krakow PRON Council held its first post-Congress session. The topic of discussion was the draft program of action for the years 1983-1984. According to the proposed formulation, the Krakow PRON, /"as a social movement rather than a state institution,"/ considers its basic form of action to be /"the organization and conduct of public dialogue leading to national accord and rebirth,"/ and it regards as its paramount goal /"the strengthening of socialist Poland."/

A more detailed exemplification of these slogan-like formulations, as contained in the draft presented for discussion, met with many critical comments, objections and amending proposals. The draft program is chiefly objectionable

because it tries to cover everything. It contains far-reaching socio-political goals such as /"participation in broadening the public base of governing or rule as well as in developing a system for the rotation of personnel that would provide non-party and party citizens having the top 'professional and moral' qualifications with an equal chance for advancing to leading posts." Another goal is participation in the "endeavors to eliminate factors latent in administrative structures and in the mentality of citizens that contribute to waste of common accomplishments, undermine respect for work and are detrimental to the interests of the state."/ The program also mentions a broad variety of economic issues: agricultural policy, food management, the economic reform, housing construction and, of course, youth and its problems.

All this is not tailored to the realities of the present and of our own province. Only one point--/"Protection of the architectural relics of Krakow, Wieliczka and Krakow Province as well as environmental protection"/--shows that this draft program was conceived in Krakow. All the other tasks and postulates in the program--justified although not very specific--could equally apply to Gorzow or Suwalki.

Hence some have proposed ranking the actions in order of priority and giving top priority to more earthly matters and those that can be implemented within a relatively and specific period of time. For example, the city needs greenery.

Both this exchange of views and many other such exchanges which I had heard during the pre-Congress campaign indicate that the Movement still continues to be torn by its internal contradictions by the dilemma of its vision of being the animator of national accord and its role as an organizer of gmina [parish] and settlement social drives. Similarly, the expectations and strivings of the representatives of the signatories of the 20 July 1982 Declaration and those of the individual participants in the Movement, particularly those originating from the Citizens' Committees for National Salvation [OKON] do not always coincide.

Pointing to the PRON as a monolith, presenting a rouged picture of reality, is causing growing impatience among the Movement's participants. Hence the appeal--not the first in this matter, besides--by a worker from KABEL [Cable Plant] for a critical examination by the mass media of what is happening within the Movement.

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Yesterday also the Presidium of the Krakow PRON Council held a meeting with delegates to the National PRON Congress. During the meeting the participation of the Krakow delegation in the deliberations of the Congress was discussed.

New Stage of PRON Activities

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 20 May 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (wab): "A New Stage in the Activities of PRON Elements"]

[Text] (Own information.) The adoption of resolutions on the basic documents outlining the program goals and directions and methods of activity and statutory principles, as well as the elections

of new central officers during the First PRON Congress concluded the first stage of formation and evolution of this public movement for national rebirth. At the same time commenced a new stage in its long-term activities, in accordance with the principle, contained in the PRON's Program Declaration, that national accord and rebirth at present are the most urgent needs for our country and the fundamental prerequisites for overcoming the moral and economic crisis. The implementation of these ideas should be fostered by, among other things, the commencement of the reports-elections campaign within PRON elements.

In Przemyśl Province this campaign was inaugurated yesterday (19 [May 83]) by the plenary session of the Provisional Province Council [TRW]. Chairmen of local PRON councils also took part in discussion at that session, which was chaired by Jozef Galant, chairman of the TRW.

Referring to the course, atmosphere and discussion at the First PRON Congress, the delegates from Przemyśl Province stressed that the congress was a major stride forward on the road toward national accord and rebirth and that it greatly contributed to a deeper definition and broader understanding of its nature and patriotic goals. Despite their differences in outlook and occasionally differing views on some aspects and problems, all participants in the congress were linked by common bonds--patriotism and concern for the destiny of the fatherland and the good of society. It was stressed that the PRON movement faces new broader tasks. The main task is concrete action intended to, among other things, continue efforts in behalf of national accord and rebirth and continue renewal in measure with the needs and aspirations of society on the path of socio-political and economic reform as well as through broadening the social basis of governing, participation in problem-solving and strengthening the statehood consciousness of citizens, the Polish *raison d'etat* and the principles of political realism.

Important issues also include active participation in socio-political life through exertion of influence on the activities of the state administration as well as through various forms of social control in accordance with legal provisions, the expression and shaping of public opinion, the initiation of discussion and dialogue between society and the authorities and the participation of PRON elements in the drafting of electoral procedures and election platforms as well as in the nomination of candidates for councilors and parliamentary deputies and also in the conduct of elections.

The plenum resolved that the reports-elections campaign within PRON elements in Przemyśl Province, which should provide an occasion for, among other things, the growth and propagation of this open social movement, particularly among youth, and also for presenting its accomplishments and pointing to the still existing shortcomings, will be commenced even before this month is over and will last for nearly 4 weeks. It will culminate in the province PRON congress, which is scheduled to be held on 28 June [1983] in Przemyśl.

PRON's Need for Credibility

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 20 May 83 p 3

[Recorded by Halina Lokajowa: "The Need for Credibility" under the rubric "After the PRON Congress"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /Several days have passed since the First PRON Congress was ended. It is difficult to resist the impression that the radio and TV broadcasts and the presentation of comments, resolutions and appeals has magnified authentic interest in this Movement, in its program of action and in its chances for the future, among the citizens of our country. But even so the information reaching the public about the discussions held at the congress has been inadequate. The reports on its deliberations have been too brief. Hence we requested two delegates from Tarnobrzeg Province to assess the course of the deliberations and comment on the main topics and atmosphere of the discussion. These delegates are: Grazyna Soltyk, member of the PRON National Council, farmer from Lubnice, and Jan Kowalski, member of the PRON Province Council [RW], chairman of the Staszow City Council and workshop director at Associated Mechanics' Schools./

Speaking Truthfully Is Our Duty

Mrs. Grazyna Soltyk had during the Congress jotted down her feelings, observations and thoughts while they still were fresh. She reaches for her notebook, because her emotions have not yet calmed; too little time has passed since then to bring one's thoughts in order. "Would I be able to sum up that discussion?....So many people voiced their thoughts. So many issues were raised. Political topics were intertwined with economic and educational ones. It was characteristic that everybody wanted to listen to everything. All the sectors were full all the time."

These feminine and somewhat sentimental--as she says herself--jottings reflect superbly the atmosphere of the Congress.

/Time: 1000 hours. The floor was taken by Wojciech Jaruzelski. First, a very cordial greeting and then all attention is focused on issues discussed by the General. We cherish the hope for something big. We're waiting for it; if it comes true, this will be a historic moment./

"In general, we had expected that perhaps the martial law will be finally abolished during the Congress. Such wishes had been besides voiced during the discussion. I understand that it is not easy for the authorities to make such a decision: responsibility for the nation's destiny and security inclines toward deep reflections and deliberate action. But the very fact that the Movement's activists raised the issue demonstrates that they propose what they believe to be

just and say what they think. The social actions which the Movement offers are, taken together, not so little. As to how this is appraised by the people--that is another matter. The smaller communities are waiting for concrete and measurable effects. Because it is difficult to expect of everyone that he would think on state-wide scale. That is why there is still so much mistrust, lack of faith in effectiveness of action, particularly in the countryside.

"Once there came to me a young farmer who had just inherited a sizable farm, with a request for supporting his application for a tractor. I believed that he indeed needed that tractor and so I spoke with the chief. But there were 70 such applications, whereas only 2 tractors were available. Hence, he did not get one and it can be strongly doubted whether his trust in the Movement has increased. After all, he came to me full of hope, and I was full of hope when I tried to help him, yet he became disappointed. I understand that it is not our obligation to help everyone in everything, that we must see more broadly, but one also should understand how vexatious those troubles of everyday life are to people. Attending to concrete problems is precisely "that" which the people expect of the Movement."

/...The auditorium is quiet. Applause wells up from time to time as the delegates adopt recommendations on: the nation, foreign policy, the desire for peace, order and reconciliation. Time: 1715 hours; the General is still speaking. The topic: youth. Words about work, on personal involvement in the struggle for a better lot. One may not look at others. I note: those absent don't count. It is true that those absent lose. The General says: "The future is yours: its shape is up to you."/

/It is already 1930 hours. The discussion is at times monotonous, at times stormy and at times it becomes exhausting. Something is happening in the auditorium. A young woman approaches the microphone with a bouquet of roses for the delegate from Piotrkow Trybunalski, a mother of several children. Best wishes are conveyed--the cameras are aimed at these two women of differing age. A storm of applause. The floor is taken by Wojciech Zukrowski. He speaks about child problems, about conditions which should be provided for children in the family, at school and in the state. I like very much this speech by the author of "Kamienne tablice" [Stone Tablets]; I'll remember that voice./

/The deliberations continue. The faces of my neighbors become gray, showing exhaustion. The eyes hurt from the strong lighting. I listen to the voice of the delegate presenting the problems of the countryside. This is the first voice on the subject that is of special interest to me./

/What's today? (second day of deliberations). The program and statute resolutions will be discussed and the National Council elected. Time: 0830 hours. The deliberations are chaired by Merchant Marine Captain Walenty Milenuszkin. I know him from his pre-Congress work at the Presidium of the Provisional People's Council./

/The floor is taken by a delegate from Zamosc Province. He too discusses problems of the countryside. He describes in a factual manner the way food producers are treated. I believe that no topic should be glossed over, particularly the sensitive topics. Telling the truth is our duty. I think that if I'm elected to the National Council, I'll be assigned to the agricultural commission./

/It is 2000 hours. Plenary discussion continues. And now at 2100 hours the elections to the National Council began. Election to the post of chairman. Everyone rose. Jan Dobraczynski was unanimously elected to that post. Prolonged applause. To me this was the second thrilling moment at the Congress./

/Time: 0800 hours (third day of deliberations). Everyone is so tired. What will I bring back home? Tremendous impressions, considerable material for reflections and no smaller baggage of hopes for something better. Will these hopes come true?/

/I believe they will. Would I have come here otherwise and lose time and leave my farm?/

/Voting on the draft statute in progress. Again discussion of every point. The audience protests. After all, there was the statute commission and it had worked day and night on the text as mandated by the Congress. Finally, the resolution is approved. It's almost the end. It is 1030 hours. The floor is taken by Dobraczynski. He speaks eloquently, with feeling; the auditorium is quiet. Here and there tears gather in the eyes of those who had survived the war. His speech closes the Congress. We're yet to join in a manifestation in front of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier./

We're Concerned With People Who Have Legible Personalities

Jan Kowalski says: "I'm a realist. I'm a very earthly person. That's why I've been in the Movement from its inception, since January 1982. The Congress dissipated our fears--I refer to us activists--as to the effectiveness of this work. We became convinced (I believe that these aren't my feelings alone) that we are a real force; the PRON will not be an occasional movement; it will be a link that can unite the nation for civic ends upon fully respecting differences in outlook.

"During the Congress we held the firm conviction that we shall somehow cope with the country's problems. This was invigorating to me. There were no downcast heads and instead there was faith in a better future.

"The comments made during the discussion reflected apprehensions of the threat of distortions to the Movement and wishes that this would not happen that the Movement would stay separate from the authorities. The discussion and the subsequent more precise definition of assessments and recommendations in the program of action provided to us that the Movement will be--which after all depends on us--an authentic spokesman for the interests of the citizenry. It will influence decisionmaking and the social control of the implementation of decisions.

"To me, the most important problem at present is how will the PRON activists and the political and administrative authorities interpret the tasks of the Movement. We face practical action that is more difficult than previously, because it concerns not organizational problems but the striving to gain credibility. Do I know how to accomplish it? There aren't and will not be any ready-made prescriptions. We have to work this out by ourselves. We all. Those holding high posts and those without such posts should rethink their attitudes. The problem of eradicating evil is topical to any community. An important element is respect for work and rallying round this task.

"The discussion was varied, diverse and rich. The tenor of the speeches met with differing reception. Some people, e.g. spoke in slogans, eloquently and to the tune of strong applause, but their speeches did not overshadow factual, realistic and well-conceived speeches. They all were united by the same idea--that of the need for a genuine renewal of Poland. It was stressed that this ensued from the spirit of the comments that the system of socialist Poland is an inviolable matter. The entire effort should be, on the other hand, concentrated on restructuring the methods of governing. This position was represented by representatives of all communities: Catholics and Marxists.

"The atmosphere at the Congress was that of free speech. The only restrictions were on time. It could not be otherwise. It is difficult to deliberate longer than 3 days.

"The idea of national accord is the paramount goal and nothing else measures up to it. But the problems of regions and communities are important everyday issues which should be of vital concern to activists. The Movement will be an initiator in meeting needs and eradicating irregularities, and it will also be able to exercise control. It can be suspected that some people will be in trouble with the PRON and this is how it should be.

"What will now be important, and perhaps most important, to the scope and effectiveness of our actions? This concerns winning over people with legible personalities: authentic activists to whom the good of the state and the community matters, who don't think only about their own interests. The Congress posed the matter clearly. No one will help us; we have to do it ourselves.

"The burden of all human affairs lies at the grassroots level--in the communities. We have to bear this in mind. Decisions by central authorities will not solve human problems. Resolutions may at most promote their solutions.

"There is a need for compromise among social groups in the spirit of reconciliation and protection of the state against its further loss of strength. It has been plainly stated that groups of believers versus non-believers should not be formed. These are secondary matters. In civic affairs the fundamental duty is honest work, action in behalf of moral renewal. Much has been said about political culture.

"The representatives of the highest authorities weren't sparing of their time for talks. Gen Jaruzelski was present throughout the deliberations.

"I returned from the Congress content, because it has confirmed the premises of the Movement. The rich nature of the comments which we had the opportunity to hear revealed many subtleties and helped to view matters in detail. In a word, this was a time devoted honestly and fittingly to social service. I also am highly gratified to have taken part in this historic event."

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PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Numerous Tasks Assigned New Unions

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 1 Mar 83 p 6

[Article by (ko): "Many Tasks Face the New Union" under the rubric "At the Chojnice Gmina [Parish] Cooperative"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /On 10 February of this year the Trade Union of Employees of the "Peasant Self-Help" Gmina Cooperative [GS] in Chojnice was registered at the Province Court in Bydgoszcz. Of the 289 GS employees 201 or about 70 percent belonged to this trade union at the time of its registration. Several days later there was a meeting of the founding committee which pondered the issues to be tackled in the immediate future by the trade union as well as the preparations for elections of the board./

With the establishment of the trade union the activities of the plant social services commission came to an end at the GS, and its duties have to be taken over--so was said. Thus it became necessary to appoint worker teams that would regularly handle groups of problems such as the delivery of regenerative meals and the distribution of dinner coupons, partial compensation of the travel expenses of commuting employees, safety and hygiene of labor (including allotments of protective clothing and the organization of periodic medical examinations), and action on employee requests for statutory allowances and benefits.

It might seem that these matters are not new and thus should be resolved by long-established procedure. But it turns out that this is not so. Dinner coupons, e.g. reach some employees only half-way during the month and sometimes they do not reach some at all. Regenerative soups are not provided to all whom they are due, and in addition it is necessary to poll employees as to whether they wish them delivered or can the soups be cooked on the spot. As regards partial compensation for commuting tickets, it is necessary to decide whether the employees commuting from suburban villages on urban transit buses also are authorized to receive it. As for protective and work clothing, even when it is on sale at GS stores, it is not promptly allotted to employees. In addition, employees should be made aware that they are entitled to financial reimbursement for the period during which they wear their own clothing at work. All these matters have to be resolved even now, without waiting for the future trade-union board to be elected, according to the members of the founding committee, who said: "Before the general meeting is held we should first have scored some accomplishments so that people would not say that we did nothing. The employees are waiting for the trade union to resolve matters that have been neglected."

/The principles of the cooperation between the trade union and the GS board also were discussed, stressing that the union must be independent. The union also wants to know what is happening at the GS and exert a major influence on important decisions concerning the management and employees. Thus, persons who will regularly participate in the sessions of the cooperative's board were named./

/Irrespective of the above, organizational problems of the new trade union have to be attended to. Further recommendations are slowly arriving. It would not be advisable to postpone the general meeting, at which a report on the situation so far has to be presented, the directions of action during the 2-year term of office have to be determined and union officers elected. The election procedure was voted upon. The day of the general meeting was fixed at 14 March, 1330 hours, in the auditorium of the House of the Railroader on Warszawska Street.

Plant Unions Developed by Workforce

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 3 Mar 83 p 4

[Interviews with trade unionists by Henryk Lechowski: "With the People and for the People"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /At the Meat Processing Plant in Gdansk which has a workforce of 1,173, nearly 30 percent are members of the new trade union. Elections of board members and chairman took place last December. How was the new trade union formed and how do the unionists intend to work following the elections? We discussed these questions with the chairman Jerzy Michalski, Romana Szczepanska, Zdzislaw Noga and Tadeusz Popkowski./

J. MICHALSKI: The initiating team, consisting of persons who are vitally concerned about trade-union matters and the affairs of the workforce, was formed at our plant already on 15 October. It was then that, within literally 3 days, our tried and tested worker aktiv reached an agreement with a group of 123 people who declared their desire to join the new trade union. Of course, this was not enough, so we undertook the then difficult and arduous job of discussing sensitive topics with people.

/It should be added, however, that one basic thing worked in our favor during our talks with the workforce, namely, the somehow decent atmosphere at our plant. That atmosphere had persisted here, even during the recent difficult period. Looking back, we must admit that we did not have such problems as work stoppages or strikes. We had simply kept on working so that the public would have enough to eat./

T. POPKOWSKI: /We talked with people directly at their workstations. I spoke and explained, although the memory among the people had still been fresh, the nature of these new trade unions, their benefits to us, the guarantees provided by the new decree, unprecedented in Poland so far as trade unions are concerned. This often led to discussion during which many matters were cleared up. On one thing we always reached agreement: that neither the workforce nor any individual employee can exist without a trade union. One must find support somewhere. And so a large part of the workforce signed the declarations./

R. SZCZEPANSKA: Yes, exactly, although we still do not have 100-percent membership at the plant, people now think correctly that trade unions must exist and act because they are needed by people. We were rather successful at persuading and recruiting, and it now is only a question of time before everyone gets convinced of the need for the union. /When one talks with people, practically everyone comments that much is to be done in behalf of the workers and hence trade unions must exist. Except that there still are some people who prefer to wait a little more before joining. Their attitude is: let's first see what you will accomplish and how you will operate./

[Question] Despite the special atmosphere at your enterprise, that was a difficult period. Camouflaged but active opponents of the new trade unions had been numerous in the city. There were graffitti on the walls and memos were distributed. Did you at your plant meet with any form of opposition?

J. MICHALSKI: Perhaps I should say that no significant opposition exists at our plant. I already said that the climate at our plant was and remains good, although among us there also are people who at the beginning resolved not to join the new union. /But now, seeing as how we are demolishing their arguments--by our activities and by the union's growth--and losing the ground under their feet, as it were, they defend themselves by resorting to foul play, qualifying for the yellow card as a sportsman would say./

/But they are not any big menace. Because some members of that group already are coming to us and asking whether they could join the union after having talked so stupidly, as they say, against the union. Such cases are rather ridiculous, although typical of people whom this problem bothers./

There also are some who repeat ad infinitum: "what do I need a trade union for?" To them we say: "If you had lived alone, you would not need a trade union, but our motto is 'with the people and for the people.' Well then, as known, we have to help each other, work together, rely on each other."

[Question] I believe that the times are rather difficult, for forming trade unions as well. In this context, the more than 30 percent union membership at your plant can be considered a success. This fact is probably linked to the problem of trust. Are you already winning the workforce's trust, and why?

Z. NOGA: At the beginning people viewed us critically to see who belonged to the union and how the union board was beginning to act. It helped that our members included individuals with a long work seniority, good workers. Both the older and the younger members of the workforce know us all.

But at first we did have some problems. I ignored various rumors and remarks; I simply didn't grow angry at anyone. Because that would be a waste of time.

/And when they saw that we are attending to various personal and difficult problems of employees and that we even intervened in the dismissal of an employee which resulted in reconciling the management with that employee, and that we succeeded in improving the relations between the employees and the management--they began to view us differently, particularly those who had so long been talking against us. This especially concerned the young people working in the Technical Section. Some said: "A handful established themselves and are ruling the roost." Our list of board members was even called a "black list" and some said, "You're a hanged man on the black list."

/Today they speak differently. And I'm convinced that soon now all these young people will declare their intention to join the union. We are convincing people by our work.

J. MICHALSKI: People began to come to us from the very outset mostly about personal problems and social services. In general, housing problems have been a constant, as in the entire country. But there are situations in which we as a trade union can help. /This is what happened when the youth organizations had two apartments to distribute, built on the basis of so-called patronage construction. We joined as a trade union and traveled together to inspect housing conditions and ultimately we jointly arrived at just decisions./

There are many personal problems which people bring to us--seemingly simple problems such as allowances when a person is ailing and has to spend money on medicines. So far, thanks to our advice and support--all these problems have been resolved positively. We tried to assuage many disputes between the management and the workforce. We tried to find the climate for talks. We resolved positively even cases of scheduled dismissal. And we must work on such matters even when the persons concerned still don't belong to the trade union.

/We never pressed the applicants to join the union as a condition for our help. We simply try to help in every case, even when we are not dealing with union members. This works to our advantage. People have become convinced that we don't expect from them something in return. After all, the reason why we are here is to help each other./

[Question] The elections meeting is over. How did that meeting evolve and what program of action of the trade union--a program that should interest the entire workforce--have you presented?

J. MICHALSKI: /The program we had presented, that program of action of our union brethren, is very rich, just as rich as is the variety of problems in the life of the people, the workforce and the plant. However, we did single out the urgent problems at our plant./

This refers to working conditions, living conditions, and safety and hygiene of labor. These conditions are difficult and they are constantly heard and talked about, as I can testify from my 23 years of work at this plant. It cannot be said that nothing has been done about them in the years past. That would be an untruth. But compared with other plants, including meat processing ones, in this country, we are in the rear.

/Our plant in Gdansk is an aging one, more than 100 years old. This shows most clearly how difficult it is to restructure, adapt or repair such an old plant, considering that its expansion--a thorough one at that--cannot even come under consideration at present. No one wants to take special care of our plant, situated as it is in the city's center, or provide extra land for expansion. We are an environmental burden to the people living around the plant./

/Hence it is an issue to us to nevertheless find, jointly with the management, a way out of the continuing difficult working conditions./

[Question] The union's election meeting was attended by many people; the entire workforce knew about it. How were the problems of concern to the entire workforce reflected at the meeting and during the discussion?

T. POPKOWSKI: /Above all, we discussed the role of the trade union: what's it to be like and what matters should it attend to? The provisions of the decree regarding the full autonomy of our trade union were emphasized. In addition, topics mentioned to us by others prior to the meeting were discussed--topics such as that the union should care for the employees and act in their interest; that work tools should be properly cared for and the human situation investigated, because life is not easy for all. It was stressed that the union should act so as to produce effects tangible to the workforce, as otherwise we would meet with no support./

Of course, in addition to the interests of the workforce, the social goals of the whole, the interests of the entire plant and what goes with it, a good quality of labor all should also be borne in mind. Work productivity also is important. But this has to be attended to by the management and work organizers: all this is a common task and this is how it should be viewed.

R. SZCZEPANSKA: /We women also discussed how to improve our working conditions./

/We understand that we must work on Saturdays owing to the manpower shortage, but we also would like to have Saturdays off. We have clothing problems. The supplies on store shelves could be increased, because we have difficulty obtaining any./

T. NOGA: /Perhaps not only as much during the discussion in the auditorium but also when we were sitting behind our desks we were approached by persons expressing doubts, apprehensive that, although the renewal is on and everything is improving, this our new trade union might become fossilized as in times past. Many questions of this kind were asked./ Basically, however, the feeling was that people were content because finally something was happening and someone was attending to these matters but at the same time we were being watched. But things are moving up, as I already said. Whenever the union resolved some problem, everyone in my plant department knew about it even before I had reached it. This pays us dividends.

J. MICHALSKI: /My colleagues omitted mentioning one highly important issue that was raised during the discussion: the problem of the workforce's health. At present we have had great trouble filling the vacant post of plant physician, for nearly a year now. In the meantime, the workforce has problems getting medical care at the plant./

We thus voted a resolution at our first meeting, obligating the management to settle this problem, because it is causing the plant to lose a tremendous amount of work time wasted by employees who seek medical care in the city, at dispensaries.

Another problem that the management should settle is locker rooms, the canteen, the buffet and regenerative meals, which we can afford after all. People need these locker rooms not just to take a breather but as a change from the difficult working conditions in the gloomy old factory halls where it is always damp and hence also always cold. The locker room must provide a different atmosphere for the employee.

[Question] You mentioned a resolution. What else does it say that is of note?

J. MICHALSKI: It ends with the fundamental assertion, on top of what we already mentioned in the discussion, that the independent and self-governing trade union of employees of the Meat Processing Works in Gdansk should act so as to attend to the problems of all employees, not just union members, and that the work, climate and conditions at our enterprise should continually improve despite the difficulties we are experiencing at present.

[Question] This refers to protecting the workforce's interests. What about the future and problems of the plant?

J. MICHALSKI: /We'll not stand aside. After all, the plant's interests are identical with the interests of the workforce. One cannot be just a taker; one has also to be a giver. This means productive work, efficient organization and conservation of materials, care for tools and the workstation. This helps the whole plant to grow and hence also it will result in better wages and otherwise influence possibilities of the enterprise. This truth should be linked to the truth concerning the protection of the basic rights of the employees. We also aren't overlooking our obligations as regards matters of principal importance to society./

[Question] The new board has been elected. What's its social cross-section?

J. MICHALSKI: The new board consists of 11 members, including six who directly work in production. The other five are supervisors, including one from the engineer-technician cadre. Four are PZPR members and one is a representative of youth. We hadn't mentioned this until now, but most of the members of both the board and the entire unions are former Solidarity members. Besides I myself also had belonged to Solidarity, but this doesn't prevent me from viewing matters in a new light.

[Question] What does the workforce expect from you? What comments are you receiving from the production departments now, after the elections?

J. MICHALSKI: /The workforce expects a great deal from the trade union. I fear that these expectations may surpass our possibilities. People still compare us to the old CRZZ [Central Council of Trade Unions] unions in our disfavor./ On viewing this against the background of the explosion that had occurred during 1980/1981, however, people perceive how many--seemingly impossible--accomplishments we have scored--accomplishments that are now paying dividends. /So now they are watching us, our new trade union, to see whether we might disappoint their expectations. But will we resolve as many problems as is being expected of us? We at our plant shall attempt not to misplace these hopes. We shall bear everyone in mind and serve everyone who needs help./

/But we also will remind everyone at our plant of his duties. We shall implement our program through energetic action, through everyday trade-union work, though it won't be easy./ Even so I believe that our organizational activities will enable us to have at least 50 percent of the workforce become union members by 31 March of this year. For we also are conducting a publicity drive to the effect that all those who apply to join the union before 31 March will be authorized to retain their seniority as union members, with all the consequences ensuing from this.

[Question] Thank you for the interesting conversation. I wish you success in work and the confidence of and popularity among the workforce.

Establishment of Trade Unions

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 8 Mr 83 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Nogiec: "How Unions Are Established"]

[Text] More than 120 plant trade-union organizations have already been registered in Gorzow Province. These organisms are not yet strong. On the average their membership accounts for 10 to 30 percent of the workforce. As ensues from conversations with founders of new trade unions and board activists, wherever elections of union officers already took place no one is particularly concerned by the still low proportion of union members. The excuse is that the pre-August [1980] and post-August trade unions suffered from a malaise, so that the post-December [1981, the date of martial law proclamation] unions are still convalescent. Some may boycott us and practice chicaneries, but this is a minor thing. The mass of potential members are neutral people. They don't care a whit either way about trade unions. This should not be surprising. The pre-August unions, those of the CRZZ [Central Council of Trade Unions] kind, may have accomplished much as regards social questions, but they were too much penetrated by the management so that in the end they became subservient to it and did not act resolutely to protect workers' rights, lost touch with the masses and became bureaucratized. In its turn, Solidarity let itself be maneuvered into sordid politics, ruined the economy by its reckless actions, and wasted union funds. In addition, it was a tremendous disappointment. To be sure, not all are saying this aloud, but this reasoning is confirmed by the most frequent response, which is: "The unions never were of benefit of me, so they never will be of benefit either."

Further, the activists of the new trade unions claim that they absolutely are not pressuring anyone to join the unions. Contrary to the laws of dialectics, in their opinion it is not quantity that should become quality but vice versa. In other words, they believe that it is better to have fewer members so long as these are resolute, active and militant, than to drag along a queue of kibitzers. They are convinced that such a militant minority can, through concrete deeds, change the climate around the unions, attract people to them. In other words, deeds first and concern about mass membership later.

It is difficult to take a position regarding this view. It is better not to worry. Time will surely prove the best physician--and the test of theory as well.

What about the management? Following their bad experience with the anarchist leanings of Solidarity, disorganization of discipline, trampling of their dignity by revilers, blackmail and the proclamation of martial law, some plant directors began to proclaim the theory that trade unions need not operate in a socialist enterprise and can be replaced by elected commissions for social services and eventually by worker self-governments.

Now such opinions are no longer heard. For it turned out that, in the vacuum created by the absence of trade unions, the management began to be snowed under thousands of problems, that its one-sided decisions were unpopular with the workforces, that the absence of social control led to distortions in interpersonal relations, particularly in relations between the supervisory personnel and the workforce.

What do we observe now? Many enterprise directors clearly became interested in nurturing the young trade-union plant and began to display a conciliatory attitude in disputes between the management and unions. They are doing so because, among other things, they want to help build up the authority of the unions and demonstrate to the workforce how much unions can accomplish when they are active. Increasingly often unionists are heard to say that the management is cooperative.

In this case too it is hard to say whether this is good or bad. True enough, for both the unions and the director of a socialist enterprise it is the human being that should be the measure of all things, but the basic fields of struggle for his good are nevertheless varied. The director must chiefly attend to the plant's economic interest, while the trade union's principal concern is protecting the rights of the workers. It would thus probably be better if the management and the trade union would not be each other's pets. This does not mean of course that they should engage in a brawl; the point rather is that each do its work well.

Lastly, there remains the broad field of relations between the unions and worker self-government. These are rather delicate issues. Both the trade-union board and the worker council are elected bodies. Both bodies exist to protect the interests of the workforce. But the difference between them consists in that the worker council acts in the dual role of adviser to the management and policeman appointed by the workforce to assure the optimal efficiency of performance of the management. For the idea is that an efficient performance of a plant results in economic effectiveness and a richer state that has more boons to distribute. This is a whole theory of itself. Is it logical? It is.

But would a good worker self-government engage in conflict situations? With the management, for certain. But with the union?

At the SLIWAN Plant the worker self-government consists of wise and economically-minded members. These people are aware that, e.g. unless the raw material situation changes to the better, they will have to demand of the management that it dismiss a certain number of employees in order to protect the attained wage levels. Will the plant trade union veto this and attempt to protect employees against dismissal? Or will it remain neutral and thus lose its authority in the eyes of the workforce?

This is but one of thousands of issues that will have to be settled by the triad represented by the union, the self-government and the management.

At the GORZOW-URSUS Machinery Plant the union has far-reaching and elegant plans. It wants to become linked to the best union traditions. It wants moreover not only to attend to routine activities (wages, safety and hygiene of labor, allowances, sanitariums, etc.) but also to develop worker education and culture, sports and recreation, and tourism. Appropriate commissions already are being elected there.

It is also very good that all reasonable plant managers help in funding such plans, because the new technology requires broadly educated operators. But it is not known whether the worker self-government will accept such subsidies; whether it might not consider other goals, such as improvement of safety and hygiene of labor in the casting department, to have a higher priority.

These reflections are, of course, in the realm of theory. But during the period of building the new trade unions, following the bad experience with their predecessors and considering the complicated present situation, all possible scenarios have to be foreseen. The point is that no inflated promises should be given, that time is needed to prepare counter-arguments vis a vis both the management and the self-government.

People will, of course, join the unions, because, in accordance with their purposes, the unions must undertake various measures which it is in the self-interest of employees not to ignore. Or which at any rate the employees should not ignore. But again here the point is not that membership in the union is the ticket for receiving allowances, paid vacations, assignments to sanitariums or protection against unjust dismissal. The point is that a strong mass organization capable of exercising the rights of workers should function--not only as regards material questions but also as regards matters which will protect us when history takes sharp new turns.

National Repair Shops Union Meeting

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 11 Mar 83 pp 1,2

[Article by M. K.: "Meeting of Trade Unions from ZNTK [Rolling Stock Repair Plants] Across the Nation"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] Yesterday in Bydgoszcz met representatives of trade unions from rolling stock repair plants across the country. The meeting was organized and convened by the /Independent Trade Union of Employees of the Bydgoszcz PKP [Polish State Railroads] ZNTK./ The Bydgoszcz unionists also hosted the meeting, which was chaired by M. Zielinski (the union's deputy chairman) and at which the opening report was presented by T. Kurnatowski (chairman of the Bydgoszcz union).

/The participants in the discussion, who included unionists from Wroclaw, Gliwice, Ostrow Wielkopolski, Pruszkow, and other railroad repair plants, spoke about problems encountered during the organizational stage of the unions. These unions as yet comprise a relatively small percentage of the workforces, but their ranks are steadily--though slowly--growing. It is highly important that non-union employees come to unions for help in their problems, thereby acknowledging that the unions represent them too. The participants in the meeting presented facts indicating that the unions are being organized in an atmosphere of acute political struggle./

/The first few months of existence of the unions revealed to them the hugeness of important and difficult problems of employees. Some of these problems--concerning working conditions, instances of red tape, social services for old-age pensioners--were mentioned in the discussion and directly addressed as well to Z. Dybizbanski, the general director of the Directorate of Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Plants, and W. Kilinski, a representative of the Ministry of Transport, both of whom were present at the meeting./

Those taking the floor during the discussion voiced the rather common view that it is becoming increasingly imperative to establish a body representing all trade unions within the railroad rolling stock repair subsector, which has 40,000

employees. There exist many important issues affecting that entire workforce which should be negotiated in its behalf with the general management of the subsector as well as with the ministry. It would then also be easier to organize consulting the union about draft documents affecting the ZNTK workforces. For example, for a long time now nothing has been done to finalize the decisions on the draft decrees concerning the PKP enterprise and worker self-government, as well as concerning proposed new service regulations which should protect all the traditional privileges of PKP employees. The unions know little about the fate and actual nature of these draft documents.

/A recommendation for appointing an advisory council of trade unions of employees of the railroad rolling stock repair subsector was formulated. It will be transmitted to the Social Advisory Commission under the Council of State. This concerns establishing a council authorized to represent discrete trade unions and their opinions before the ministry and the Directorate of Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Plants.

Courses for Trade Union Development

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 18 Mar 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (B): "Training Courses and Encounters in Jachranka"; under the rubric "The Trade-Union Movement"]

[Text] /(OWN INFORMATION.) Jachranka near Warsaw is a major center on the map of the nascent trade-union movement. The local Training and Rest Center of the Trade Union of Transport and Road Workers has already won the reputation of a "trade-union university"and, although the best lessons in protecting worker interests are learned by unionists directly at their mother plants, the significance of the training courses in Jachranka to the quality of trade-union practice should be considered quite great./
[printed in boldface]

The participants in the 5-day courses there gain the indispensable legal knowledge of regulations governing the procedure for establishing trade unions and their activities, learn about current political, social and economic problems of the country, and familiarize themselves in seminar groups with ways and means of resolving conflicts that may eventually arise between the employer and employees so as to optimally protect the rights of the latter.

Parallel to the above courses of instruction, attended by members of new trade unions from all over the country, Jachranka is also the site of briefing meetings and training for discrete occupational and professional groups. Last week it was visited by journalists for whom, among other things, was organized a meeting with Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the Department of Public Organizations under the PZPR Central Committee, and Piotr Karpiuk, chairman of the Commission for Administering the Assets of Trade Unions.

According to St. Gabrielski, the unions already have a membership of 1.7 million and new members are joining plant unions at a steady rate. Courts in this country register each day about 100 more trade-union organizations and soon now the number of plant unions will exceed 10,000. Taking at 100 the number of plants at which trade-unions can be formed, trade-union organizations exist in 72 percent

of the plants. The process of renaissance of the trade-union movement is making the best progress in agriculture and education (with the exception of large cities, academic high schools and higher schools), and also in mining and metallurgy (registered trade unions already operate in all mines and metallurgical plants). According to tentative data, workers account for 70 percent of plant trade-union membership, and nearly 70 percent of the union members are non-party individuals. When asked about the possibility of publishing a national trade-union periodical, St. Gabrielski declared that there exist no obstacles to beginning the publication of such a periodical (a weekly or a daily) even before this year is over.

Piotr Karpiuk discussed problems relating to the transfer of the assets of the former trade unions as well as the work of the commission of which he is chairman. He explained that, among other things, the new plant trade-union organizations may take over exclusively the assets of their predecessors at the plants, and that transfer to these organizations of the assets of the higher echelons of the former trade unions is not permitted. Not only the assets but also the liabilities of the former trade-union organizations are transferrable, so that the new trade unions are liable for the debts of their predecessors, but only insofar as they do not exceed the assets transferred to it. Assets of former plant trade-union organizations which are not taken over by their successors by 31 December 1983 will come under the administration of the Commission for Administering the Assets of Trade Unions.

P. Karpiuk stated that so far all the elements of the huge assets of the former unions have not yet been thoroughly catalogued and assessed for depreciation. These assets include, among other things, 40 sanitariums, 70 rest centers, 27 administration buildings, numerous motor vehicles and zloty and foreign-exchange bank accounts totaling about 3 million rubles and several hundred thousand dollars. Part of the assets of the former Solidarity was appropriated by its members and another part of the movable assets of that organization was damaged or destroyed; the commission administers--in addition to bank accounts--chiefly typographical equipment, means of communication and substantial quantities of anti-socialist literature.

1386

CSO: 2600/855

STATE COUNCIL ADOPTS RESOLUTION ON NATIONAL UNIONS

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 21, 21 Apr 83 pp 293-294 Item 92

[Text] Item 92. State Council Resolution on 21 Apr 83 on Principles and Ways of the Formation of National Union Organizations.

* * *

Taking account of demands of union organizations in the workplaces, aimed at bringing into existence the national union organizations, the State Council--basing on article 53 paragraph 4 of the Act of 8 Oct 82 on trade unions (DZIENNIK USTAW No 32 item 216)--resolves as follows:

Section 1. 1. A national union organization can be formed as an organization of workers employed in a given branch of labor, in a given kind of employment or occupation, united into the heretofore functioning union organizations in the workplaces.

2. A national union organization can also be formed as an organization uniting trade unions in the workplaces of the same labor branch, of the same kind of employment or occupation.

Section 2. 1. The union organizations in the workplaces, which are interested in the formation of a national organization, must adopt in this matter in accordance with statutes the appropriate resolutions and elect their representatives to the founding group.

2. The founding group includes representatives of the unions interested in the formation of a national union organization.

3. Union organizations in the workplaces of a given voivodship may agree upon the formation of a common representation in the founding group of a national union organization.

4. The founding group will carry out consultations with the union organizations operating in the workplaces which are referred to in section 1. If willingness to form a national union organization is expressed by more than half of the union organizations in the workplaces of a given labor branch,

of a given kind of employment or occupation, then the founding group composed of representatives of those organizations must adopt the resolution of establishment of the national union organization, elect from among the group a founding committee, and adopt a statute.

Section 3. 1. Workers, who because of their small number cannot form union organizations in the workplaces, can exercise their right to unite into trade unions by forming national union organizations in a given labor branch, in a given kind of employment or occupation.

2. The right to form a national union organization is also vested in workers employed in associations of basic public utilities, political and social organizations, regardless of number of the employed.

3. Workers referred to in paragraph 1 and 2 may appoint their representatives in a founding group that will elect a founding committee.

Section 4. 1. After the registration of a national union organization the founding committee organizes the election of the union authorities by a procedure provided in the statute.

2. The entry into the framework of the national union organizations, referred to in section 1 paragraph 1, and its registry, causes relinquishment of their legal status by union organizations in the workplaces. The union organizations inform of this the proper registry courts in order to remove them from the register.

3. The statutory organs of the heretofore union organizations in the workplaces become the organs of the factory union organizations of the given national union organization, referred to in section 1 paragraph 1, unless the union statute provides otherwise.

Section 5. To the founding committees and to procedure concerning registration of the national union organizations apply correspondingly the regulations of the State Council resolution of 12 Oct 82 on principles and ways of the formation of union organizations in the workplaces (DZIENNIK USTAW No 34 item 222), with the understanding that the name of the national union organization should, instead of specifying the workplace, specify the labor branch, kind of employment or occupation; in case of adoption of the form referred to in section 1 paragraph 2, there should be also added words: "association," "federation," "federative," etc.

Section 6. 1. The founding group, after carrying out actions referred to in section 2 paragraph 4, can before 31 Dec 83 apply to the State Council for its consent that the national union organization might begin its activity as from the date of its registration.

2. The paragraph 1 regulation applies respectively to the founding groups of national union organizations referred to in section 3 paragraph 3.

Section 7. The resolution is to be made public in DZIENNIK USTAW [Law Gazette] of the Polish People's Republic and will be put in force as from the date of its publication.

State Council Chairman:
H. Jablonski

SOVIET PROFESSOR SEES NATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN SOCIALISM

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 10, 2 May 83 p 22

[Article by Anatoly Butenko, professor at the Lomonosov University in Moscow: "In Fraternal Parties. Can It Be Different?"]

[Text] Secretary General CC CPSU Yuri Andropov, in an article devoted to the memory of Marx (the monthly KOMUNIST No 3, 1983) writes that "today the idea of 'socialism' can be analyzed only with consideration of the extremely rich practical experience of the nations of the Soviet Union and other allied countries. On the basis of this experience we see how complex are the numerous problems appearing on the road of socialist creativity. But it also shows that only socialism can solve the most complicated problems of social existence."

Marx scientifically justified the idea of the historical necessity and inevitability of socialism. Still, the acceptance of the idea of the historical necessity of socialism is one thing, but to be participants and witnesses at the introduction of this idea into life is a completely different thing. A few months before the revolution, Lenin predicted: "All nations will come to socialism - this is unavoidable. But not all will reach it completely alike. Each one will bring something individual to one or another form of the dictatorship, to one or another tempo of socialist transformations in various areas of social life."

History has confirmed this determination. Lenin and the party created by him stood at the forefront of the first victorious socialist revolution. For the first time, scientific communism created by Marx was linked with the existence of millions of working people. Lenin saw the international significance of the Soviet experience not in the fact that it was unerring and faultless, but in the fact that history burdened the Soviet nation with the mission of being a pioneer in a new system of social life. He said: "Now workers and peasants are building socialism with their own hands. The time has passed, and for Russia I am convinced, it has passed for all time, when socialist programs are discussed on the basis of books. Today, socialism can be discussed on the basis of experiences."

Communist and workers' parties, analyzing the perspectives of socialist growth, are working under differing conditions. It was said at the conference of communist and workers' parties in 1969, that every party directed

by marxist-leninist principles, considering the specific national conditions, completely independently shapes its own policy and defines the conditions, forms and methods of the fight for socialism in its own country.

But should actions be based solely on one's own experience? Of course, for the working class and for working people of whatever country, one's own experience has the greatest meaning because the masses have already taken it in and they have become unified under these conditions the basic factors of which continue to hold sway. But no party can be content with this. Why, in spite of the importance of one's own practical experience, the success of the fight for authority and the transition to socialism in every country, to a great degree, depends also on the ability of communists, without national arrogance and without servility, to scientifically generalize and put into practice the already existing experiences of other countries.

The exchange of experiences is a most important factor of social progress because thanks to this the experience gained in one country becomes not only a theoretical but also a practical possession of all countries according to the rule: "The best from each to all, the best from all to each."

The enormous amount of material for such an understanding and utilization of experiences is shown by the example of fraternal socialist countries. Let's take the matter of the gaining of power by the working class and its allies. After all, in none of the currently existing socialist countries were forms, methods and ways of socialist revolution a mechanical repetition of foreign experience. The GDR or Poland, Hungary or Cuba, Mongolia or Yugoslavia, in a word all the socialist countries carried out the revolution on their own model in forms which were dictated by the system of class forces in each of these countries, the national system and the external situation. There was armed battle here and also peaceful forms of crossing over to a new social system, a rapid coming to power of working classes, and long-lasting processes. In some countries, the revolution had to defend itself against foreign intervention; in others, it occurred without foreign interference.

Speaking of the experience of real socialism, it would be naive to think that it was made up of only successes. The creation and consolidation of the bases of socialism, the improvement of the new society everywhere met with inconsistencies and difficulties. It had and has in various countries its own specifics, both in the political and economic sense; we are dealing here with one-party, two-party, and multiparty systems, with all the still existing political associations of the National Front type, with parliaments in office, and national assemblies, with the most diverse forms and methods of socialist transformations, with various ways of cooperation and also with great diversity of forms of utilizing small production, including private production.

The history of world socialism has gone through various trials. Communists in the socialist countries know very well what kind of difficulties and weaknesses have already been overcome, and which have not yet been.

Building a new society is not like moving along a level road. There are not only possible difficulties and contradictions here but also unavoidable ones. From the moment of finishing the transition from capitalism to socialism, only the sharpest social conflicts, at the basis of which lies the break-up into enemy classes, need be overcome. But this does not mean that socialism brings total deliverance from all contradictions and divergence, from all life problems. "Actually, both contradictions and difficulties exist in the Soviet Union", writes Y. Andropov. "The very thought that some other way of development is possible would mean...a breaking with the principles of marxist dialectics," which teaches that antagonism will disappear but inconsistencies will remain under the conditions of socialism. Currently, this thesis is being confirmed in practice. But from this does not follow, we read in the article, that nonantagonistic inconsistencies can be taken lightly, or ignored in politics. Life proves that a taking lightly of even those inconsistencies not antagonistic by nature can become a source of serious collisions.

The experiences of the revolutionary struggle already gained and the experience of real socialism are very diverse, and the strength of socialism is based on exactly this. Foreseeing, in his time, such diversity, Lenin emphasized, "The more diverse the total experience will be, the better and richer it will be, and the surer and quicker will be the success of socialism. It is understandable that operating from such diverse experience it is easier for every party to choose the right road unfailingly leading to the common goal."

9915

CSO: 2600/901

SOLUTION OF MINORITY PROBLEM HAILED

Attacks of RFE Countered

Bucharest VIATA STUDENTEASCA in Romanian 6 Apr 83 pp 1,3

[Article by Marian Grigore]

[Text] "It is well known that one of the major gains of our socialist society is assurance of full equality of rights to all the citizens and sons of our common homeland -- the Socialist Republic of Romania," Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized at the joint meeting of councils of working people of Hungarian and German nationality, representative bodies, which, themselves, vividly prove the opportunities for full assertion, manifestation and participation in the overall Romanian social and political life of all citizens belonging to the minorities that have settled, during the course of history on the Romanian land, alongside of the Romanian people, that are organically integrated into the history of this land.

It is an evident truth, stemming from the humanist socialist principles themselves, consistently and creatively applied in our socialist society, a truth which also incorporates a wealth of ideas and practical matters, which were resolved only during our years, thanks to the party and state policy. Synthesizing the conditions that made possible the actual solution, for the first time in history, of the minority problem in our country, the party secretary general focused on the basic principle of socialism -- equality of all working people, freed from any exploitation and social, economic or national oppression -- full masters of their destiny, aware and active in building their own radiant future. In the context of release of the immense energies of the masses of working people, focusing on an essentially constructive work, on producing new material and spiritual assets and assets of civilization, the actually objective bases were created for the real manifestation of the principles of socialist ethics and equity. Because it is not enough to proclaim, for instance, the principle of equal pay for equal work if one does not also provide each individual in society with the opportunity for performing a job according to his or her own ability.

As pointed out by the party secretary general, matching the right to work and equal pay in our society are the millions of jobs created by socialism, in all the regions of this country, where regardless of nationality, we have working the citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Matching the equal right to education, as the second basic right, are the efforts made for the switch from eradication of illiteracy, as

early as in the first stage, to the operation of ten-year education on an overall scale, at this stage; matching it are the thousands of openings in schools with tuition in the languages of the Hungarian or German minorities, the thousands of titles of textbooks printed in these languages and the thousands of teachers from these minorities, trained here, in Romania, who provide the sons of Hungarians or Germans with tuition in their native tongue.

In the third place, in the sequence in which Nicolae Ceausescu dealt with these topics in his speech, the principle of multilateral development of the human personality, of free assertion of the creative potentialities of the citizens of this country, regardless of their nationality, of preservation and development of their cultural legacy is materialized in the broad framework of our entire cultural and artistic life, where the coinhabiting nationalities are encouraged to fully develop their traditions, to manifest themselves freely as specific cultural entities, just as they have shaped themselves during the course of history, in the process of the long coexistence with the Romanian people, with the other minorities that settled in Romania. Bearing witness to this are the theatres in Hungarian and German, the newspapers and cultural magazines published in these languages, the books by Hungarian or German language writers, printed in the native tongue; further, bearing witness are the hundreds and thousands of art teams or literary groups of citizens of other nationalities. Lastly, in the fourth place, as stated by Nicolae Ceausescu, "with the ample development of revolutionary proletarian democracy, with the creation of a new, democratic framework for the participation of the masses in running all sectors of activity, the masses of the people, the working people, hence also working people from the ranks of minorities, are equally assured, participation on the basis of parity in running all the sectors of activity, in all political, state, economic and social bodies."

There are forces in the world who dislike this unity of our people, who reject the successes of socialism, who would like to revert the wheel of history to the days when they were able to pull the strings, for their own benefit, making use of contradictions which often they fostered deliberately, which predominantly included, in the context of a long and verified standing, the contradictions involving minorities. Resorting to the well-known principle "divide and conquer," still today they are trying to stir passions, making use of a whole arsenal of propagandistic and other means -- from so-called independent radio stations with hirelings to recruitments of proselytes among the scum of society or among the naive who still can be deceived and persuaded that all that glitters is gold. Moved at request, they deplore the "fate" of the coinhabiting nationalities that, allegedly, are deprived of rights, are subjected to homogenization by the "roller" of the party policy, to "forced assimilation," "without opportunities for free expression" and many more such fabrications. And maybe we would not pay attention to them (for a long time we did not, and, seemingly, it was a mistake), if they had not dared to question our very history, our right to live here, on this land where we were born, and not recently, and where not we, but others came, trying to subjugate us, to oust us, until the wisdom of centuries taught them that the only way of surviving is coinhabiting; if they had not dared to casually move their dirty fingers over the beloved map of our country.

What do, in the long run, these messrs. say? What "good" wishes do they have for the minorities for which they shed so many crocodile tears? Freedom of expression, they say, deliberately ignoring all the books printed, all the cultural and artistic events,

all the official channels that are open to the coinhabiting nationalities, from the radio and television broadcasts up to the cultural magazines and daily newspapers. Hence, freedom of expression for whom?

Would they like to go back to the places where they were born and are they prohibited to do so? Messrs. from RFE and their masters have not asked themselves this question, they do not want to understand even the simple truth that these citizens of Hungarian or German nationality living in Romania alongside Romanians, for hundreds of years, feel at home all over this land, and would feel it as an injustice (as actually it would be) any attempt at limiting their access to any job which would seem to them suited to their aptitudes and training, in any part of Romania.

To the citizens of socialist Romania, whether they are Romanians, Hungarians, Germans or people of other nationalities, these are day-by-day facts, truths that do no longer need to be demonstrated. As students, we learn together, at the same desks of facilities in Romania, regardless of the language of our parents, thanks to the special efforts made by all our people to expand education, to ensure our development as new individuals, people of our socialist society. There are now almost 13,000 students from the ranks of coinhabiting nationalities, students who have reached this point not on the basis of their maternal language (which, however, they had the right to use at the entrance examination, if they requested it) but on the basis of their training and free option. And they will develop their future activity also here, in Romania, in their capacity as communist experts, also being appreciated according to their personal merits and the manner in which they will serve, on their prospective jobs, their homeland and the people who helped them to acquire their training providing them on a free-of-charge and equal basis with all the necessary facilities, understanding that their place is here, where their parents also lived, where they were born, where they can conduct an activity capable of assuring the realization of a better, decent, free life, for all our people, united, builders of socialism and communism on Romanian soil.

Speech at Sibiu

Bucharest VIATA STUDENTEASCA in Romanian 6 Apr 83 p 3

[Speech by Gerhard Konnerth, dean of Sibiu Faculty of Philology and History, at joint session of councils of Hungarian and German Working People]

[Text] Beloved and esteemed comrade Nicolae Ceausescu,

Esteemed comrades,

I am certain that I voice collective awareness when asserting that the 1982 December National Party Conference in the pattern of the material and spiritual values of nowadays involves a new quality of our party political theory materialized in political practice and reflected in the party's scientific concern for continuously upgrading all the institutionalized structures of the political, social and cultural life in our country.

We all know that since the profoundly creative era opened by the Ninth Congress, an era where the prominent personality of you, highly esteemed comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, has played a key role in detecting new ways and opportunities for promotion

of the new in the party political theory and practice, in individual and collective action, one of the major program direction of party activity involves continuous upgrading of educational and teaching activity.

This direction involves capitalization on the historical experience, according to which the fundamental socialist goal of ensuring the superior quality of the material and spiritual life of the masses can be achieved only if we create for them not only the conditions for full manifestation and actual participation in running state affairs in the context of the most authentic democracy, but also if we equally provide them with access to the national and universal cultural and spiritual values.

Absorbing from our party's political theory the revolutionary concept advanced by you, highly esteemed comrade secretary general, on the continuous development and upgrading of Romanian education, I wish to reinforce the strong collective feeling that it constitutes one of the most outstanding examples in a field which is characterized by great social complexity and significance and that it bears the mark of the superior synthesis which intertwines the scientific and political factors, the ideological and humanistic factors in programming and guiding all the sectors in the life of society.

This vision has permitted the formulation and continuous upgrading, in an intensive dialogue with the dynamism of our life and society itself, of the logical, political and applied model of the education-research-production triad, which incorporates the possibilities for self-adjustment as a system of development toward an optimal variant that ensures the necessary efficiency.

In this context, Sibiu education is a telling example of our party and state concern for the continuous upgrading of the instructional-educational process for the young generation. Hence, in light of the principles of our socialist democracy, of solution of the minority problem by the Romanian Communist Party, conducting their activity, in the German language, are 111 preschool education units and sections, including more than 4,800 children, 102 units and sections with 11,600 students in the general-education network, 2 lyceums and sections with tuition in German in other lyceums. The number of teachers in these school units and sections with tuition in German is over 750. It must be emphasized that attending the Sibiu Higher Learning Institute, specifically the faculties of philology, history and engineering are almost 200 students of German nationality. Hence, this is a general image, a graphic reality which illustrates the way in which, in socialist Romania, every young person, regardless of nationality, can develop into a specialist in any field of activity. This situation, which exists in few countries of the world, demonstrates the correctness of our party and state policy in full and definitive solution of the minority problem in Romania, the constant concerns of you, beloved and highly esteemed comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, for creating equal working and living and educational conditions for all the sons of our homeland, no matter what language they speak.

That is why we consider so false those voices that are still heard over some foreign radio stations, in foreign publications, which are trying to distort the realities in socialist Romania, to sow discord among the sons of our socialist homeland. I have learned with anger that lately there have been increasing attempts by some states, by some imperialist circles, at questioning lawful decisions and provisions

which fall within the sovereign competence and powers of our state, at exerting political and economic pressures, at grossly interfering in our internal affairs. That is why, from this forum, we vigorously reject any attempt at meddling into our domestic affairs, any slander against the accomplishments of the Romanian people, led by the communist party, accomplishments which have radically changed the lives of all the sons of socialist Romania, irrespective of nationality.

Beloved and highly esteemed comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, please allow me to voice from this forum the feelings of high esteem and appreciation and to express, on behalf of all working people of German nationality, who reside, work and study in Sibiu County, deep gratitude for the wonderful conditions created, for the broad opportunities for participation, alongside the other working people, in running and developing all the political, economic and sociocultural activity.

Beloved and highly esteemed comrade secretary general, we commit ourselves to firmly work for the undeviating implementation of the decisions of the 12th Congress and of the National Party Conference, constantly increasing our input into the flowering and economic progress of our dear homeland -- socialist Romania.

11710

CSO: 2700/44

YUGOSLAVIA

SOVIET ARTICLE ON STALIN-CHURCHILL TALKS ON YUGOSLAVIA REPORTED

LD042335 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1517 GMT 4 Jun 83

["Soviet Periodical: Who Divided Yugoslavia"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Jun (TANJUG)--A complex dossier of World War II has again been revived by the June issue of the Moscow periodical MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN by presenting the assertion that Stalin did not, together with Churchill, forge plans on the division of Yugoslavia into spheres of influence. The reason for this, as the Soviet historian Y. Girenko writes, are the attempts by bourgeois forgers to use the Soviet-British talks in Moscow of 18 October 1944 "for anti-Soviet aims."

Girenko asserts that this was entirely Churchill's intention, that "Stalin was not in agreement" with him because the then Soviet Government "acted consistently from internationalist positions by firmly protecting the interests of all Balkan countries, including Yugoslavia." The author refers, precisely as a proof of this assertion of his, to the results of those Soviet-British talks in Moscow in October.

The intentions to divide the Balkans into spheres of influence are attributed by the Soviet author only to "the then ruling circles" in the United States and Great Britain which, he says, were alarmed about the fate of the world capitalist system and tried to divert the liberation movements in that region and their benefit. Girenko asserts that the Soviet Government was opposed to London and Washington in attempts to impose on those countries their emigre governments and to have bourgeois order established in them.

The author, however, does not conceal the fact that the future of Tito's Yugoslavia was at the center of the preoccupations of the three great powers. He is, however, categorical in his analysis about Great Britain being the one that emphasized this by asserting that Britain was "the chief patron of the royal emigre government which expounded the interests of Draza Mikhailovic's Chetnik movement."

According to his assertion, in the realization of these goals of his, Churchill "employed various maneuvers in the hope of preserving the bourgeois system in Southeast Europe." In substantiating this thesis of his he mentions London's

proposal at the Moscow conference of foreign affairs ministers of Great Britain, the United States and the USSR--in October 1943--that "a federal union of states in Southeast Europe be formed." This proposal, as Girenko writes, was rejected by the Soviet Government and thus removed from the agenda. However, as the author of this article in the periodical MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN writes, Churchill did not give up this idea because he formulated the plan "of exporting counterrevolution into the Balkan peninsula, and he thus proposed to Moscow on 5 May "the conclusion of a working agreement which referred to the 'initiatives' and 'responsibilities' of each of the Balkan countries."

Girenko does not say that the Soviet Government rejected this proposal but that it suggested that the "question of coordination in the Balkans be resolved together with all the leading states of the anti-Hitler coalition." So, on 31 May 1944 Churchill turned to Roosevelt who only in June gave his consent to "a temporary plan of division into spheres of influence between the allies, and he thus on 11 July of that year asked Stalin for his consent to this," which he allegedly did not receive.

Because he was occupied with presidential elections Roosevelt could not participate in the talks on this proposal until the beginning of 1945 and thus, as Girenko writes, Churchill prepared Soviet-British talks which began in Moscow on 9 October 1944 and which ended 9 days later. Their aim was, as the author writes, to obtain the consent of the USSR, and later of the United States, for "the liquidation of Tito's military successes to date in order to rescue the Chetnik movement in Yugoslavia from the agony which it was experiencing at least a part of this country from passing into the communist sphere."

Allegedly, as the author asserts, Stalin was not acquainted with the chief reasons for Churchill and Eden's (British foreign secretary) arrival in Moscow, and he informed Roosevelt of this. However, the situation in Southeast Europe for such talks also changed, because on 29 September of that year, Tito during his visit to Moscow, gave his consent for the "Soviet troops temporarily entering the territory of Yugoslavia bordering with Hungary and finding themselves, together with sections of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, in the operation for the liberation of Belgrade."

Girenko says that the then Soviet-British talks were devoted to giving consent for the formation of the Tito-Subasic unified Yugoslav Government and to the division of this country into the spheres of influence because allegedly "Stalin never adopted a serious attitude toward this proposal by Churchill." In attempting to substantiate this thesis, Girenko refers to the communique on these talks on 21 October 1944 and to some other documents. He also says that in the Soviet archives there "is no such document which would testify" that agreement was reached at that time in Moscow that the territory of Yugoslavia be divided "fifty-fifty" between the USSR and Great Britain--50 percent to the Soviet and 50 percent to the British influence--as Churchill later wrote in his memoirs.