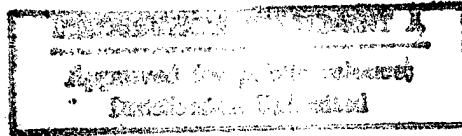


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JPRS 82196

9 November 1982



East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2072

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EAST EUROPE REPORT
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HRUZA ATTACKS VATICAN, PRAISES 'PACEM IN TERRIS'

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 32, 11 Aug 82 pp 4, 5

[Article by Dr Karel Hruza, director of the Secretariat for Church Affairs at the Bureau of the Presidium of the CSSR Government: "Comments on Current Problems of Our Country's Church Policy"]

[Text] The CSSR expressed its attitude toward believers and churches in constitutional laws which guarantee full religious freedom. The Constitution of the CSSR of 11 July 1960 states in article 32:

1. Freedom of religion is guaranteed. Every citizen may profess any religious faith or may be without religious confession, and may perform religious rites so long as it does not contradict the law.
2. Religious faith or conviction cannot serve anyone as a reason for refusing to fulfill one's civic duty stipulated by the law.

In Czechoslovakia already the so-called church laws of 1949 expressed these relations in a legislative form; in practice the above-mentioned legal norms fully proved their merit--they represent the best possible political platform in the solution of all questions related to the problems of churches; they offer our citizens the broadest possible space for their enjoyment of full religious life in our country. Our attitude to churches and religious societies was formulated very clearly by Gustav Husak, the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, who in his report to the 15th CPCZ Congress declared: "As concerns our attitude toward religion, our standpoint is well known. Our socialist state respects religious feelings of the believers and appreciates the fact that in their overwhelming majority they are sincerely participating in our constructive efforts."

In our relations to church affairs we observe such fundamental principles as the right to profess any religion and concurrently, also the right of every citizen to conduct atheistic propaganda based on the scientific world-view. All citizens, irrespective of their religious affiliation, are equal before the law. No one can force anyone in any way to profess, or not to profess, religion. The Czechoslovak state does not interfere with internal church affairs; it respects internal church principles, but by the same token it does not permit churches to interfere with state affairs.

The CSSR state authorities do not inquire whether our citizen is an atheist --or conversely, whether he is a member of a certain church or religious congregation. Governmental decree of 27 July 1954 abolished the registration of religious affiliation. Czechoslovak citizens are never required to notify state authorities or enterprises about their religious faith. Official papers, documents or questionnaires and report cards do not include entries concerning religious affiliation.

Naturally, it is not the only proof of the far-reaching religious freedom that 18 churches and religious societies exist in the CSSR. Let us mention some additional data: these churches have a total of 28 bishops; 4,860 clergymen, priests, preachers, teachers of the Scriptures, etc. serve the citizens' daily religious fulfillment. Clergymen are receiving regular monthly salary from the state raised as of 1 May 1981 to a level corresponding to average wages of Czechoslovak citizens. Clergymen of all churches expressed their gratitude for this decision and voiced their appreciation to the Czechoslovak state for its understanding which is one of the unmistakable signs of religious freedom. For us it is absolutely natural that clergymen enjoy the same civil rights as other Czechoslovak citizens--the right to free medical care, the entitlement to benefits in sickness and in old age, etc.

The Czechoslovak state spends considerable funds for the maintenance of church buildings. For informational purposes, I should like to mention here several facts: 8,230 churches serve the believers in the CSSR--the Catholic church owns 5,002 buildings. In 1981 the CSSR allocated from the state budget Kcs 201 million for repairs and maintenance of church buildings. All representatives of churches and religious societies appreciate the economic aid provided by our state--they admit frankly that without the economic and material support from our state most of the smaller churches would find it particularly hard to survive and would not be able to serve the religious needs of their believers.

At present in Prague alone 24 churches are being repaired; financial expenditures for the repair of the Tyn Church on the Staromestske Namesti [Old Town Square] will amount to almost Kcs 20 million and our socialist society allocated the same amount in financial grants for the restoration of St. Elizabeth's church in Kosice. The spiritual administrator of that church, the capitular vicar of Kosice Stefan Onderko, ThD, unambiguously declared in his conversation with the minister of culture of the SSR, Miroslav Valek, that without the magnanimous aid from the Czechoslovak state the Roman Catholic church would not be able to undertake the repair of that church at its own expense. Furthermore, some other facts witness to religious freedom in the CSSR: the churches are training their future clergy in 6 theological institutes--this year 610 students are pursuing theological studies in 5-year courses; our state pays the salaries of the professors and instructors as well as the costs of operation of those schools. At present there are the following theological institutes: 2 Roman Catholic theological faculties, one in Litomerice, the other in Bratislava; the Protestant theological faculty for the Reformed denominations in Prague,

the Lutheran theological faculty in Bratislava, the Huss Faculty in Prague which trains theology students of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church, and the Orthodox theological faculty in Presov. In addition, several theologians are studying in theological institutes in the GDR, England, Switzerland as well as in Zagorsk, USSR, and in Budapest.

The churches are publishing the Bible, hymnals and liturgical books, church calendars and periodicals. A total of 27 different church journals are published in the CSSR. KATOLICKE NOVINY [Catholic News] are printed in 120,000 copies in its Czech-language edition and in 130,000 copies in its Slovak edition. The printing of the Lutheran bi-weekly POSOL ZPOD TATIER [Messenger From the Foothills of the Tatras] is 23,000 copies. Many representatives of churches in other countries who visit the CSSR can meet freely with the representatives of Czechoslovak churches, attend worship services and preach in churches publicly and unhindered.

For instance, the president of the General World Conference of the Seventh-Day Adventists, Mr Neal C. Wilson (citizen of the USA) on his recent visit in the CSSR expressed his appreciation not only of our country and its beauty but also of the full religious freedom enjoyed by small denominations, such as the Adventist Church. Lord Grenville Janner, member of the British Parliament, chairman of the British Jewish congregation and vice president of the World Jewish Congress, voiced the same sentiment, unambiguously declaring on his own initiative that he had found the CSSR to be a country of full religious freedom. Last year Cardinal Gantin of the Roman Catholic church celebrated mass at the festivities in honor of Saints Cyril and Methodius on the Mount Velehrad. Furthermore, hundreds of young Christians from the West come to the CSSR to visit the places of our Hussite history. In conjunction with the solemn commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the extermination of Lidice the Christian Peace Conference organized an international seminar in Kladno attended by prominent Christian theologians from the GDR, FRG, USSR and Hungary, all of whom manifested their commitment to peaceful coexistence and friendship among nations.

I mentioned that the relations of the Czechoslovak state to the churches, religious congregations and believers are based on constitutional laws, mutual understanding, trust and consideration. Our humanistic objective--achievement of genuine peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems--may be a long-range goal; however, it is attainable. From their long history as well as from their more recent experience our Czech and Slovak citizens know well what war is, what tears are and what it means to fear for one's life. For that reason they all long for tranquillity, quiet work and peace. These noble peaceful efforts of our people have full support of patriotic clergymen organized either in the Christian Peace Conference or in the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy. These movements of clergy publicly appealed to the most aggressive imperialist circles: "We do not want war!" On this issue they are in complete unity with all Czechoslovak citizens. The clergymen made this statement most

recently on 16 June 1982 at a plenary meeting of clergy in Bratislava under the sponsorship of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee, at which occasion 300 clergymen, bishops, patriarchs, metropolitans, capitular vicars and other church dignitaries demonstrated their support for the decisions of the peace conference of all religions in Moscow in May of this year which had issued an appeal against nuclear annihilation. In Bratislava Czechoslovak churchmen associated in Pacem in Terris and in the Christian Peace Conference [CPC] clearly said: "Our believers want to live in peace. They love their socialist country and together with all Czechoslovak citizens will strive to make this country happy."

The congress addressed a letter to the premier of the CSSR, Lubomir Strougal, assuring him that the clergymen of all churches fully support the peaceful foreign policies of the Czechoslovak government and that they would guide their believers toward responsible fulfillment of our constructive efforts. We appreciate this responsible patriotic attitude. Of course, it is by no accident that precisely those individuals to whom any positive development in relations between the Czechoslovak state and the churches is like a thorn in the flesh oppose in Western broadcast and in bourgeois press the peaceful program of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy and of the CPC. In this respect the political emigration of the Catholic church, encouraged by many prominent official Roman Catholic representatives, particularly "excels" in this openly anti-Czechoslovak campaign waged along the lines of the militant anti-socialist policies of the U.S. President Ronald Reagan. It is a well known fact that the same president of the United States during his visit in Rome in June appealed to Pope John Paul II at their meeting in the Vatican, requesting that he adopt a "harder line" as concerns the developments in Poland and that he interfere more in that country's internal affairs. In the conversation Ronald Reagan pledged his willingness to increase in return the financial aid to be distributed by the Roman Catholic church in Poland to opposition groups. At the same time Reagan requested that the Pope "restrain" Catholic priests active in peace movements.

Many Catholic priests in the CSSR justifiably resented the fact that some venerable cardinals in Rome did not hesitate to issue in March of this year a bull prohibiting the priests to participate in peace movements and associations. Our clergymen ask why--in the opinion of the Vatican Curia--a Catholic priest in the CSSR cannot join his peace organization and why he must not demonstrate in deed his love to his own nation, rejoice openly over the success his country has achieved and follow the path of most Czechoslovak citizens. Some venerable cardinals in Rome are obviously annoyed that our Czech and Slovak priests have joined the Pacem in Terris Association of Clergy. The venerable cardinals would dearly like to disband this patriotic movement--it irritates them particularly because it is publicly identified with our nation and openly supports the peace program of the USSR, CSSR and other countries of the socialist community; it bothers them that the above-mentioned organization opposes the traitorous activities of the church emigration; they are angered that the Catholic priests associated in Pacem in Terris by their contribution to peace manifest their positive attitude to the socialist CSSR.

On numerous occasions leading representatives of our country expressed their great appreciation of the patriotic, peaceful activity of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy. This attitude is clearly expressed in the letter of the president of the CSSR, Gustav Husak, addressed to the participants in the Second All-State Congress of the Pacem in Terris on 6 February 1980, which states among other things: "Our society holds in high regard the work of all believers who are fulfilling their civic duties and thus contributing to the building of socialism. Therefore, our state authorities will continue to support your work among the believers for the benefit of peace and of our country."

As I mentioned, some venerable cardinals would like to dissolve the Pacem in Terris. At the same time it is characteristic that the Vatican did not ban the political activity of the groups of priests actively supporting the so-called Solidarity in Poland. On the contrary, it is a fact that the Vatican tolerates all subversive activities of the many members of Polish Catholic clergy. Thus, we must ask: "Is it not true that the Vatican permits only those organizations of priests which directly or indirectly attack socialism and on the other hand, it bans those institutions of priests which support peace and social progress?" Obviously, it is not coincidental that the Holy See decided to disband certain social movements of clergy in South America of which we know that they had supported the struggle for national liberation and opposed brutal exploitation of the local population by U.S. monopolies. This confirms beyond any doubt the thesis that the Catholic Vatican is eminently interested in achieving a situation where Catholic priests directly or indirectly serve the exploiters and do absolutely nothing to weaken U.S. economic supremacy in Latin American countries.

Various slanderous press campaigns allege that the CSSR is avoiding negotiations with the Vatican. In this conjunction I should like to say that negotiations and discussions between the CSSR and the Vatican have been going on since 1964 and in their course numerous problems in which both parties to the negotiation were interested have been resolved. I participated in all discussions which take place about once a year either in Prague or in Rome. The atmosphere of these discussions always exactly reflects the climate of the international situation at that moment; at the time of detente when international tensions were abating, thanks to the dynamic peaceful foreign policy of the USSR and other countries in the socialist community, agreements with the Vatican could be concluded relatively easily. For instance, an agreement was concluded on the nomination of new Roman Catholic bishops for Czech and Slovak dioceses. For information I wish to add that each of the newly appointed bishops was not only a member but also a high functionary of the Pacem in Terris Peace Movement of Catholic Clergy. Cardinal Tomasek was a member of its central committee, Bishop Vrana of Olomouc and Bishops Gabris, Feranec and Pasztor were active in that peace movement of clergy and held leading positions in it. Furthermore, the CSSR and the Vatican agreed to realign the boundaries of the dioceses in accordance with the territory of the Czechoslovak state. This meant a significant step forward; as a matter of fact, it was our socialist state that

concluded with the Vatican an agreement for which [President Eduard] Benes' diplomacy had been working in vain for decades. Pope Paul VI agreed to establish an independent church province in Slovakia with the center in the city of Trnava--and during the negotiations some other partial agreements were concluded.

Even at present the CSSR is not avoiding further negotiations. On the contrary, in our opinion many more questions need to be resolved. For example, it would benefit our mutual relations if Pope John Paul II would terminate once and for all the era of cold war which resulted in the appointment of several secret Catholic bishops for the territory of the CSSR. It would be an expression of good will and amity if John Paul II would end the existence of secret bishops.

As for the further development of relations between the CSSR and the Vatican, it must be said that it depends on realistic approaches of Vatican diplomacy to the problems which will be discussed during future negotiations. We intend to observe the principles of mutual respect. We understand that it is important for the church to fill the dioceses with appointed bishops, but our state cannot be indifferent to the type of priests who will be nominated for such offices. In our view the bishop should be a clergyman who enjoys due religious and theological authority and moreover, is a good citizen of his country. We believe that such an individual is not hard to find among the more than 3,000 Catholic priests. However, in all frankness it must be said that in negotiations with the Vatican the Czechoslovak party cannot accept proposals contradictory to the principles of our fundamental laws which govern the relations of churches to our state.

Not even our socialist society is free from the class struggle--on the contrary, we are participating in a great contest between the forces of socialism and capitalism in the present-day world. Churches and religious societies are not standing on the sidelines in this struggle--just the opposite is true; the world imperialism is trying more and more to misuse them for its aims.

The ruling exploiters' classes are interested in religion because they regard it as one of the means for consolidation of their rule over the masses of working people. In many bourgeois states religion and churches are regarded as official state institutions. In Spain, Ireland and in several countries of Latin America the Roman Catholic church holds that position; in Sweden, Norway and Denmark it is the Evangelical Lutheran church, in the overwhelming majority of Arab states, in Iran and Indonesia Islam (Mohammedanism) is the state religion.

Bourgeois states grant many churches all kinds of privileges. Members of the official (state) church which penetrates every area of life and fulfills various social and state functions are the only ones who are eligible for higher offices in civil service. In all capitalist states religion is promoted by bourgeois press, radio and television. The church must repay that

favor: it plays an important role as one of the defenders of the existing system of exploitation.

In bourgeois constitutions we may encounter proclamations of "freedom and inviolability of religion," "freedom of confession" and so on. Of course, the truth is that no legislative norms recognizing and protecting the godless--atheistic--views and genuine non-religious freedom of citizens are anchored in those fundamental legal documents. We must not be misled by allegations that the principle of separation of church from state and separation of church from school is proclaimed in the constitutions of numerous states. Although the U.S. Constitution declared this principle already in 1781, in effect it remained nothing more than a proclamation.

In many states of the United States--for example, in Arkansas and New Jersey--the courts do not admit testimony by witnesses of atheistic persuasion; in Mississippi, Texas and Tennessee individuals who refuse to take a religious oath have no right to serve in public offices and agencies.

In most bourgeois states the situation does not differ even as concerns the declared separation of religion from school. In Sweden, England, Austria and Italy attendance of classes of religion is mandatory in all elementary, secondary and vocational schools. Study of the Bible and of Judaism is the main subject of instruction in Israeli schools.

If we consider our own experience with the policies and ideological activities of the church, we find many examples in our history of the inauspicious role played by the Vatican and the church hierarchy serving the ruling classes in their struggle against social progress. How many times had those forces acted in various situations against the desires of our nations for social and national liberation, how often had clericalism justified the exploiters' privileges and the unjust status quo.

It was the socialist revolution that squashed forever the opportunities for misusing religious feelings of our people against their own interests. By the same token we communists have never concealed our intention to help man find genuine spiritual freedom, to help him free himself from all superstitions, illusions and prejudices, and liberate himself from every form of oppression--political, socioeconomic and spiritual. For that reason we fully support the development and dissemination of the scientific worldview which--in our conviction--offers people solutions and orientation in their thought and actions, in their attitudes to life and to society. It enables them to comprehend the true essence of problems in contemporary world, to adopt the correct position in the struggle waged by progressive forces against world imperialism. An ideologically mature and politically moral personality, distinguished by its involvement and awareness of life, is a decisive factor in our progress. In raising the level of education, in developing culture and consciousness of our working people we see one of the most essential preconditions for the fulfillment of our demanding tasks stemming from the program of building a developed socialist society in our country.

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ZSMP 'RIGHT OF RECOMMENDATION' TO PZPR MEMBERSHIP DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Bernard Figiel: "What Is Written in a Statute Must Come to Life"]

[Text] The Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee preceded a meeting of the youngest members of the central party authorities with the participation of the directors of the youth unions. It was there the Franciszek Raichmann, member of the CKKP [Central Party Control Commission] and secretary of the KZ [Plant Committee] in the ranks of the Slask mine, asked a question of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] right of recommendation in the ranks of the PZPR, referring to the statute on this subject and to the fact that in his mine there are union circles given this authorization.

Therefore, I visited the Slask mine in Ruda Slaska. The plant organization of the ZSMP here has 831 members in 16 circles. Until June of 1980, there were 1,200. Piotr Kruczek, vice director of the ZZ [Plant Board], is not worried by this decline.

"It is true," he says, "that August, 1980, subjected our organization to a tough test; many members left. But to tell the truth, many of them were lost souls and it is good that we parted with them. For a work force of several thousand, of which more than 50 percent are young people, there are not many of us, but for all that I think that we are more sure and mature."

Education of Successors

Among youth activists and party members, we try to consider the subject of recommendation. Five circles of the ZSMP gained this authorization once. "Once" means a long time ago--before August. At that time, the party echelons were faced with the assignment to youth organizations of limits of "sending up candidates for party membership." And, after all, despite this, in the pre-congress and congress discussions on the new party statute, the right of youth recommendation was in fact protected from additional limitations.*

*The Statute of the PZPR, Chapter 2, Point 4, Subpoint b: "The executive board of a gmina committee, city-gmina committee, city committee or city district committee can in an individual case grant to ZSMP and ZMW [Union of Rural Youth] circles, to department councils of the SZSP [Socialist Union of

"The whole executive board of the Plant Committee," says Marek Suchaj, secretary for ideological matters, "is made up of young people and, thus, people who understand their peers. Many of us come from the youth movement. In the plant party organization, of 1,100 members, about 500 are under 35 years old. Assuring everyone active participation in the joint management of the mine is one of the fundamental goals of the work of the party organization, although we know that up to now this has not looked too good. The ZSMP, rallying the politically and socially most active young miners, technicians and engineers, should be the representative of all the youth in the mine. We try to create just such conditions for the youth organization."

"From the time I assumed the function of first secretary of the Plant Committee," adds Franciszek Raichmann, "I accepted the custom that the director of the ZSMP Plant Board takes part in all meetings of the executive board. We do not, therefore, undertake any party decisions on the subject of which a representative of youth has not had an opportunity to speak. We, in turn, keep up to date on the needs and opinions of the young. We must give back to youth optimism and belief in the country's emergence from the crisis."

And Yet--Jan Jagusiok

We are not mobilizing youth with slogans. We are presenting concrete and responsible tasks connected with the prospect of real benefits. We have introduced the principle that every person in a managerial position must in the course of 3-4 years educate his successor and be responsible for him. With early retirements, young people have gained a greater opportunity of advancement and, at the same time, they are incorporated earlier into the process of managing the plant.

The people I spoke with do not hide the fact that in the mine there is much to do in shaping the ideological posture of youth. Some of the young people have taken a waiting attitude; they are looking to see what will happen next. Reaching them is not easy for the party or for the youth organization. With them in mind, first of all, the plant committee decided, through the establishment of the WUML [Evening University of Marxism-Leninism], to create their own plant cadre of instructors.

"Until we break down such public feeling 'at a distance,'" says ZSMP director Marek Oizimina, "we will not produce a high degree of political activity. We do not want to demand the right of recommendation. The matter is too important to treat rashly.

"Of course, I think that candidates for party membership should be recruited from the activists of the youth organization but, for the time being at least, on generally accepted principles. The organization is still too weak to take upon itself such a great responsibility. A foundation must be laid in the

Polish Youth] and to instructional circles of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] the right of giving to their members a recommendation to party membership. The recommendation of the circle which has gained such authorization, accepted at its meeting, is treated as equal to the recommendation of one member of the party."

form of strong ZSMP departmental party organizations and department circles although there already have been certain trials. Thanks to the initiative and personal involvement of the secretary of the departmental party organization, Jerzy Plociennik, in the adaptation department after 2 years the ZSMP circle, whose members really have taken part in the life of the party organization, was reactivated. In general, we observe such a relationship that in those departments where departmental party organizations work well, the ZSMP circle is also active."

A classic example of this is in the Slask railroad department, Comrades from other departments wonder how it happens that people there are never agitated.

"Usually," says Marian Kaczor, shift foreman, "we have in view one goal: the good of the department, of the mine and of the party and youth organization. We do not hide anything from each other and we discuss more important problems at open party meetings. For youth, we have created conditions for activity and they in turn want to show what they can do."

It was the ZSMP circle in the railroad department that recommended Jan Jagusiok, assistant engineer, for the party in April, 1981. To the question of what prompted him to join the party in a period so difficult for it, he said: "I like to work with people who value work. With hard work, I wanted to express my support for the party. In addition, in my opinion it is dishonest to hit someone who had his hands tied and when you free his hands and he slowly gains strength, you again flatten him."

Many examples can be found testifying to the activity of young people in the Slask mine. That same circle in the railroad department in the first 3 months alone collected 60,000 zlotys' worth of scrap. It allocated part of the money for the "Gift of Youth" construction fund and the rest for the restoration of Cracow's monuments. ZSMP members of the GTM [expansion unknown] activated 5 days early a mine wall planned for pellets. The result was 10,000 tons of additional coal.

After consultation with the directors of the mine, the matter of the creation of a youth department with a full four-shift crew finally came to a head. Earlier, experiments were made with a 25-member crew which produced 220 tons a day fulfilling the planned quota. Moreover, these young people willingly get involved in additional jobs: upkeep of machines, repair of technical equipment and jobs preparing the walls for production.

Creating an Atmosphere

Let us look, however, at the other side of the coin. In two lower departments it was necessary to dissolve ZSMP circles. In many cases, the organization interests young people only when it comes to financing trips, MM [loans for young married couples] and the FASM [Youth Social Action Fund].

But, after all, the Slask mine must be treated as a positive example. It has provided active members for representation of young people in all the plant and departmental commissions making decisions on coal extraction, social

and living conditions, and cadre policy. And it is hard to wonder at this, since the Plant Committee and the managerial groups are young (the head director is under 40 years old).

Two days after the Ninth Plenum, the Executive Board of the Plant Committee and the Plant Board presidium of ZSMP, at a joint conference, worked out a program of cooperation between the party and youth organizations in which all departmental party organizations are obligated to give extensive organizational and program assistance to all mine units of the ZSMP with full respect for the independence of the organization.

"I think," comments Franciszek Raichmann, "that the most important thing today is the creation of a good climate for all the problems and matters of the young work crew."

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CSO: 2600/907

DAILY POLLS YOUNG WORKERS ON NINTH PLENUM EXPECTATIONS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Jul 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by A Kowalik: "We Will Not Lack Initiative, Claim the Young"]

[Text] What is youth expecting after the debate of Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee dedicated to problems of the young generation?

Here are results of the poll which was taken in Warsaw workplaces and with youth representatives from other cities. Wladyslaw Antosiak, electronic technician in the Kasprzak Radio Plant: "Everyone talks about youth and not always in the best terms. The basic complaints are that it is passive, does not fight for its interests, stands on the sidelines.

"Why? Because it is not convinced that its efforts will bring results, that they will serve the chosen goals. This is what youth needs to be convinced about.

"To do this, it is necessary to have a tight concept of development of the country, a realistic vision of the future with a clearly defined place for youth. Guarantees that youth matters will be approached positively, must be institutional, binding the administration, the management in workplaces.

"Conviction is also necessary, but only through actual decisions and facts that our state is moving toward democracy, justice and lawful government. The young must feel at every step, every day, in simple tasks, that these rules are abided by."

Marek Kaminski, economist in "Kasprzak": "The young should manage their own affairs and they will do all right. But for this, it is necessary to have the right environment; it is essential to clear the path.

"What is the problem? It is necessary that each of our initiatives not flounder on the wall of bureaucracy. It is said: The green light for youth. I do not need any green light. I only wish that when something is started it could be finished. If we begin to build something, we need not slogans, but space, materials and a reasonable interest rate. If the proposal is credits for young marriages, than there must be a possibility of earning and paying off these credits, so it would not amount to public assistance.

"The role and meaning of youth associations must be clearly defined. It cannot be that the organization may or may not be invited into the decision-making of the workplace and employees. It cannot be a matter of someone's good will or caprice."

Hanna Kossowska, computer science specialist in "Kasprzak": "I am a skeptic as far as the effectiveness of programs and proclamations is concerned. I think less should be planned, but realistically, to make sure it can be carried out. There are many problems which should be solved right away."

"I think some matters are taken up by youth unnecessarily. I do not understand why youth organizations get involved in a patron construction. Why should I, a computer specialist, do something I am not competent at? Everyone should do what he is obliged to do. Work must be well organized everywhere and in such a manner that no one should substitute for or correct anyone else. Society is not divided into children, youth and adults. It is a whole which must be organized as an integrated mechanism; everyone knows what he is supposed to do, what he is responsible for, what he is able to deliver."

Tadeusz Klysiak, Gen Karol Swierczewski Mechanical Plant [Zamech] Elblag: "I believe that what was decided at the Ninth Plenum will be carried out. Otherwise it will be difficult to overcome the opposition and distrust that are prevalent among youth. And they are not saying: 'give me, build it, do it.' They want to do it themselves but they must have support and help."

"On the central level, decisions are necessary that will make the young feel that they are participants in what is going on around them. Out-of-date regulations must be changed. We will take care of the rest. We won't lack the initiative."

Mirosław Borusiewicz, ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] Szczytno: "Everything should be done to allow the young to live through this difficult period. This is the direction that should be taken by resolutions. It is necessary to take up and to put into practice, all the way into the ranks, actions aiming at liquidation of harmful bureaucracy. It must be assured that the administration not stop our initiatives, not make difficulties."

"An example from my region. We decided to start a youth job service. 'That's fine,' we were told, 'but you must get your own materials.' We sent letters and petitions to 30 employers and institutions. We received answers from three. But despite everything we will start in August."

Halina Chmiel, educational administrator, Warsaw: "for me, the most important thing for youth is books. The young must have knowledge, they must constantly educate themselves. How can it be done, when there are no books? Decisions taken in this matter must be carried out."

"Another problem--upbringing. Before, school and family competed with each other in the upbringing of children. My every movement and attitude were

observed. When something was wrong, there was an immediate reaction of my teachers: 'Is that what you learned at home'; and my mother would say, 'I hope that they did not teach you to behave like that at school.' Now, I do not know what it is--speed of life or troubles--that caused up-bringing not to be given much attention. That must be changed. Resolutions and documents are necessary, but much depends on people, on parents, on teachers, on supervisors at work."

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CSO: 2600/890

POLISH FOREIGN POLICY DURING MARTIAL LAW DISCUSSED

Warsaw SERAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 6, Jun 82 pp 119-136

[A discussion entitled "Polish Foreign Policy Under Conditions of Martial Law" taking part in which were: Dr Hab Artur Bodnar, director of the Political Science Studies Methodology Center of the University of Warsaw; Dr Hab Michal Dobroczyński, editor in chief of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS; Dr Witold Lipski, editor in chief of WIES WSPOLCZESNA; Doc Bogumil Rychlowski, vice director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs; and Dr Hab Janusz Symonides, director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs]

[Text] Michal Dobroczyński: The purpose of our discussion is to look critically at those problems, or aspects of Polish foreign policy which are a result of, or will result from, the situation which Poland found herself in after 13 December 1981. Our point is to reflect on Polish foreign policy conducted under new conditions, in many respects perhaps easier conditions, especially when it comes to strictly internal aspects and relations with neighboring states, and in some respects considerably more difficult conditions, particularly in the area of cooperation with Western states, or at least with those of them which have been critical of the moves of 13 December and several of our later actions.

Since there is no doubt that there are new conditions under which our activity must be conducted, maybe there are new tasks or new directions, perhaps also new mechanisms or new instruments of Polish foreign policy.

The first question, therefore: Under these changed conditions, has there been a change in some of the fundamental goals of Polish foreign policy?

Second, have completely new tasks, perhaps short-range but resulting from the changed situation, been introduced into foreign policy? If so, then what kind? And for how long should they occupy an essential place in Polish foreign policy?

Third, has the hierarchy of our tasks to date undergone some change? For example, have matters which half a year ago were considered as matters of first rank, now faded into the background? Do the economic goals of foreign policy seem less important than half a year ago, even if only with regard to restrictions directed against Poland by some Western states and to the

lessened possibilities of effective negotiation? On the other hand, should we think that the existence of relative stability in the internal political situation gives greater significance to economic tasks if only because our economy is most disordered?

And again, there is the problem of the hierarchy of tasks with reference to geographic directions. Under the new conditions, in which there has been a very great vitalization of relations with socialist states, should particular attention be given to the question of normalization of relations with Western states, or do we think also that certain problems, resulting, for example, from our economic difficulties, still exist in our contacts with socialist states?

If we accept as an obvious certainty that the greatest problems are on the issue of normalization of relations with the West, again the question arises: with what kind of West? Should we aim primarily at normalization of relations, or at least at a partial return to relatively correct relations with the United States, or is this not realistic in the near future and should we then pay attention to normalization of contacts with such states as the FRG or France, and also to neutral countries showing greater flexibility in cooperation with Poland?

A separate set of questions is created by the prospectively important relations with the developing countries. One of our present assumptions is expansion toward the third world but questions appear as to whether we really should place particular emphasis on relations with countries which--although they do not feel any bias toward us, and in many cases are in fact friendly--do not still have the appropriate political bargaining strength in the international arena or, in general, very great possibilities of joint economic activity with Poland. Even if they export attractive raw materials, they are not ready markets.

A further matter is the influence of the evolution of the internal situation on external relations. It is known that from month to month the internal situation has been stabilizing. Do new tasks or new approaches in our relations with various states, especially Western states, follow from this?

Bogumil Rychlowski: It seems to me that the essential matter with the consideration of questions formulated by Editor Dobroczyński is the statement of what the introduction of martial law in Poland has brought new to our international situation. If we answer that question, this will simplify our consideration of more specific matters.

It seems to me that the introduction of martial law on 13 December 1981, in such forms and in such a way as were implemented by the WRON [Military Council for National Salvation] brought about first of all a restoration of the credibility of the Polish state as a body capable of self-determination, of solving its internal problems with its own forces. And in this I see the important international meaning of the introduction of martial law. In the type of situation which preceded the introduction of martial law, that is, under conditions of the weakening of the cohesion of the state, the national

interest and what is called the Polish right of state were not only the object of a fight of conflicting internal forces but also the subject of the play of external forces. These negative elements, through the introduction of martial law, were, if not completely eliminated, then at least reduced in a very significant way. Practically speaking, we made impossible the attempts at internationalizing the so-called "Polish question" for those internal and external forces which aimed at this. Therefore, the introduction of martial law brought about an entirely new situation for Poland in the international arena.

Janusz Symonides: The starting point of our discussion should be an attempt at answering the question which Editor Dobroczyński raised in his interesting opening address, namely: Has there been a change in the principles and goals of Polish foreign policy or has there not?

Taking up this line, I would say that when it comes to the fundamental principles of our foreign policy, it would be difficult to find any significant changes. If we accept with a certain simplification that Polish foreign policy is based on three main principles: on an alliance with the socialist countries, on cooperation with and support for developing countries and on peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries, then it does not seem that any of these fundamentals has changed. Also, the reflection on strategic goals of Polish foreign policy leads rather to the conclusion that they too have remained unchanged. If our goal, just as the goal of the foreign policy of all socialist countries, is the fight for the strengthening of peace and international security, for detente, for elimination of sources of tension and international conflicts, for disarmament, for development of mutually favorable cooperation, then it seems that these directions of our activities in the external area still have their timeliness and meaning.

Of course, the situation which occurred after 13 December necessitated changes in the whole set of short-range or medium-range goals. In the international system, every action is accompanied by a counteraction. Consequently, sanctions, boycott attempts and the internationalization of the so-called Polish question cannot go without reaction from our side.

If we say that our economic situation is at the moment difficult, then inevitably among the priorities which also determine foreign policy, a set of actions leading to a settling of present economic problems must be found. That means a further tightening of relations with the socialist countries, the necessity of turning to them for aid, which after all they are giving us. One can raise the question of whether our external relations can be limited only to the socialist countries, or whether it is possible in some measure to function without the Western countries. The answer can only be negative. In relations between East and West, elements of cooperation and competition have always occurred simultaneously. At the moment, elements of confrontation dominate. We cannot forget, however, that problems of war and peace can be solved only on the road of cooperation and joint action between both systems based on the principle of equal security for both sides. This is the unchanging position of the socialist countries from which follows the constant readiness of building, together with the Western states, a system of in

international security based on trust and cooperation. Let us hope that this offer of the socialist countries will finally meet with real acceptance by the West.

Docent Rychlowski is correct when he emphasizes the significance of the introduction of martial law in restoring our credibility with our allies, and for our place in the community of socialist states. There is no way, however, not to notice that our economic difficulties, having such a bearing on Poland's position in the world, have not been overcome, that the attempts at incapacitating our country, the internationalization of the Polish question, the making of us a topic of international relations, have not ended. Important implications for our foreign policy follow from this.

Bogumil Rychlowski: In order to further clarify my point of view: The matter of restoring Poland's credibility as an entity capable of self-determination concerns not only our allies, and not only the position of Poland in relation to socialist states; it concerns Poland's position relative to the whole rest of the world. This I would like to clearly emphasize.

Witold Lipski: What Professor Symonides said is logical and it is difficult to argue with it. I have in mind the basic principles and goals of our foreign policy. Such formulated principles and goals really, even over a longer period, have not undergone change. They are, however, very general goals; one could say they are timeless. It seems to me that it would be a great simplification if we were to end our discussion of the tasks and goals of Polish foreign policy on this point, especially in the context of searching for an answer as to whether certain changes should occur in this policy.

The foreign policy of every country is conditioned by geopolitical realities and by the system of values considered by the given state as paramount. If so, can we, approaching the problem politically, say that the goals and tasks of our foreign policy have not changed? Can we say that, considering that our country went to the brink of national catastrophe, that the development of the situation in our country may lead to destabilization in Europe and in the world, that Poland has become the subject of dangerous moves in global politics?

I agree with the opinion that the introduction of martial law clearly improved the situation of our country in the area of credibility. In a certain period, this problem occurred with total severity. The matter of credibility has concerned and will concern not only our relations with the West but also with the East. We attach great importance, and rightly so, to our place, and to our prestige in the socialist system (in CEMA and the Warsaw Pact). If then in this area there have appeared concerns that we are weakening our mutual structure of security and economic cooperation, then it had to have an influence on our foreign policy; it simply forced a redefinition of its aims.

If we agree that the introduction of martial law began a new period, and that from that moment very significant, new and immediate goals emerged in our foreign policy, that means that changes have occurred both in relations with the socialist countries and in relations with countries of the West. True,

I am speaking of immediate goals, however, some of them will surely have long-range consequences.

Artur Bodnar: In the foreign policy of a state, there always exists a certain continuity. At the same time, reliance on the past is in its effective force changeable in time considering that there occurs destructuralization of conditions in which this policy is implemented, which creates the necessity of introducing new elements. Therefore, a new structure of significant factors shaping foreign policy arises. However, foreign policy is based on the so-called major factors which Professor Symonides spoke of, and always aims at keeping the "genetic" principles of this policy from changing.

Poland in the years 1978-1982 has gone through three different periods in foreign policy.

The years 1978-1980 were characterized by our extremely active and intensive foreign policy with regard to our allies (our position on the problem of the rearmament of the Warsaw Pact or creating an infrastructure of a military character on the territory of the Warsaw Pact states), by active participation in European politics, the creation of a bridge as it were between different initiatives of East and West with the thought of Europe as a whole, and finally by the aim at symmetry in our presence in Europe: on one hand, by strengthening our participation in the Warsaw Pact, and on the other, by developing economic, political and cultural ties of a European character, by tying Poland with Europe culturally and technically.

This situation changed radically after August, 1980. The turnaround was so drastic that it caused certain rifts in the political balance of Europe (if this term can be applied to Europe): on one hand, our allied position in the socialist community was weakened and, on the other, the extent of our presence in Western Europe changed. Essentially, we limited our presence to nongovernmental contacts. At the same time, the course of events in Poland created a situation of uncertainty of the future of Europe, of this part of Europe, and in connection with this, of the balance of forces. A phenomenon occurred based on the fact that in the role of subjects of international relations opposition groups, organizations based on an antigovernment policy, which established contacts with organizations representing the social right wing in Europe began to appear.

And finally the third period occurred, after 13 December 1981, which changed the course of things inside the country, also influencing the situation in Europe. At the same time, events in Poland became a pretext for the appearance of new constructions of international relations.

Today, we are witnesses of an imbalance between individual participants in international relations. On one hand, discussions of a global character are being undertaken concerning strategic weapons and, on the other, we are witnesses of economic and political sanctions undertaken both by the entire North Atlantic alliance, and by individual capitalist countries and political powers in these countries.

Relations on the governmental level have been reduced to almost nothing, however, relations with nongovernmental bodies, of a different character (charitable organizations and others) have been developed.

It is necessary to remember these three periods and our goal should be a return to the structure of foreign-policy goals which existed before August, 1980--without, of course, those elements which our faulty economic and credit policy caused.

One observation in closing: it can be said that foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy. But foreign policy is always optimized in two dimensions: externally and domestically. The optimization of our foreign policy will depend to a large extent on how effective the method of national accord will be.

Michal Dobroczyński: It seems that a good point for continuing our discussion is an attempt at comparing the present situation with the previous one or maybe with those two stages--that is, before and after August--which preceded the period starting 13 December last year.

The second matter, which arises in connection with the evaluation of the current situation is the answer to the question of which elements of our foreign policy have a typically transitional character? Can, for example, restrictions in the sphere of scientific relations, tourist relations and family contacts have a lasting character? It seems that the restrictions are related only to the problem of stabilization inside the country and secondly, with the relation of foreign states to the situation in Poland. Perhaps several elements of our relations with the outside world before 1980 were premature and resulted from a certain idealism of our policy.

Bogumil Rychlowski: I would like to return to issues which I consider essential. In the statements so far, we have all said that in the period before 13 December the prestige of the Polish state decreased in the international arena, and Poland's position fell in all spheres and points of reference. In connection with this, the basic task of our foreign policy is the restoration of Poland's position, the restoration of her prestige and ability to actively participate internationally.

In my first response, I emphasized that the introduction of martial law allowed the restoration of the credibility of the state. But this is only the first step. The next step must be the restoration of the state's ability to act efficiently, showing the world that we are able to act effectively and consistently. These are steps which lead to the restoration of Poland's position, to the restoration of our chances of influencing what happens in the world.

Therefore, an essential matter is the construction of the power of the Polish state, a power broadly understood as the basis of efficient and effective action in the international arena. This perhaps should be the starting point in considerations concerning our foreign policy. The voice of a weak partner does not count much.

Michal Dobroczyński: Agreed, with one specific question: to what degree can foreign policy help in this matter? Restoration is an internal matter. Foreign policy, if it is faulty, may hinder this matter or, contrarily, if it is sound, may ease the solution of many problems.

Janusz Symonides: Let's return for a moment to the question of stability and variability in foreign policy and let's try to look at it in the three proposed periods, the 1970's, from August to December and after December.

If we trace Polish foreign policy conducted by bodies empowered by the constitution to do so, then I stand by my thesis that in each of these three periods neither the principles nor the goals of foreign policy changed. That is, after all, how the resolutions of the Ninth Congress perceived it, formulating and emphasizing the thesis of the unchangingness of the principles of foreign policy.

It is a fact, however, that the perceptive observer could point to differences between these periods. While up to August 1980, Poland spoke with one voice in foreign policy, in the period after nongovernmental factors began to appear in this area, actions aimed at shaking up the existing national consensus were undertaken, different types of dissonance and even phenomena which could be taken as a questioning of a number of official theses appeared. Still, this phenomenon, I want to emphasize, occurred not in official foreign policy but in the activity of different types of organizations and nongovernmental groups. The period after 13 December is a return to the situation where there is one level of representation of Polish foreign policy and one articulation of it in the external area.

We also cannot forget about the significant fact that the effects of foreign policy are determined by given possibilities. Until August, 1980, in Poland a considerable part of the citizens realized our weaknesses, our growing crisis, but these phenomena were not to the same degree visible from outside. As a consequence, the increasing difficulties did not limit the chances of our activity in the international arena and Poland still enjoyed considerable authority.

From August, 1980, aside from all the problems related to the mentioned activity of nongovernmental factors in foreign policy matters, the growing economic, political and social crisis caused Poland's chances of functioning objectively to begin to decrease and the process of her being made a subject of controversy is a kind of natural effect of these crisis phenomena.

December eliminated part of the crisis phenomena but the problems in the economic sphere were still not solved. We were still fighting for a halt to the downward trend. I have always represented the view that the situation and economic potential of a state is not the major factor for its position and place in the world but I cannot disagree with the thesis that it is, however, an important factor. Let's note, also, that in the three analyzed periods the international situation was changing. It looked different before 1975, or even 1978, when the process of detente was still dominant, creating for Poland certain chances of acting for the continuation of this process. The

end of the 1970's and the beginning of the present decade brought a departure from detente; conflicts increased and the international situation worsened, which, as a consequence, lessened the chances of our functioning in international relations. A particular negative reverse pressure occurred: international systems began to overlap with domestic systems.

Witold Lipski: I constantly fear the consequences of the thesis that our basic principles of foreign policy are in fact still pertinent and that we should be guided by them and everything will be all right. I think that here we should seek more precise descriptions.

Of course, it is hard to question the three main goals and tasks so expressed. But that still does not say anything. After all, for so many years, as we now see, excessively developed relations with the West, with particular Western countries, were considered by almost everyone in Poland as a great success of foreign policy. I say excessively because generally I agree with the thesis of Professor Symonides on the necessity of close contacts with the West, and not only economic ones. I wish to reiterate that for many years these contacts, developed beyond our capabilities, especially economic, were considered not only as in accord with our vital national interests but also as serving the socialist countries as well as the cause of peace and cooperation in Europe. It was emphasized that this was the building of an infrastructure of understanding and peaceful coexistence in accord with the spirit of Helsinki. After all, in the Helsinki period and before Helsinki, it was said that when cooperation and coordination on a large scale in the economic field are reached there will be an infrastructure of peace on our continent. And so there were bases to the statement that what we were doing was not only in the interest of Poland but also of the other socialist countries as well as all of Europe. Maybe we showed conceit thinking that we understood better than others what was the mutual interest of East and West. Still, with certain assumptions one could not throw out this reasoning.

And later it appeared that such developed relations, and speaking precisely, such a far-reaching interdependence (being of unequal potential a dependence, which could be foreseen) was not a plus, did not contribute to the acceleration of the development of our country on stable foundations. In the 1970's, especially at the beginning of the decade, the accelerated development and modernization of our economy were a necessity; society demanded this. The too slow development in the 1960's was after all one of the main causes of the crisis. Wagering that we were entering a period of opening up and of wider contacts, Poland had to put an end to significant delays in the sphere of production. And later it appeared that these widely developed relations were not at all as beneficial as was said and even held great dangers.

If, therefore, today we evaluate the policy of those days, then we must go deeper and evaluate the priorities and tasks in a concrete temporal context and a concrete internal and external situation. Simplifying this, it can be said that we had a fair-weather policy, one wagering that there would not be a turn away from the process of detente, of peaceful coexistence and of progress in slowing the arms race.

I still believe that in substance there is no reasonable alternative to a policy of peaceful coexistence. I consider what is happening at present as a temporary slowdown which may, however, last a longer period, a period of return to the cold war which we must endure. I do not think that Poland caused a worsening in East-West relations. I talked about this in my Sejm appearance. The worsening of the international atmosphere negatively influences, however, our chances of solving internal economic and political problems. We cannot forget that once playing a constructive role in Europe, we became to some degree an element of confrontation between East and West. It reached the point that we increased the temptation of utilizing our internal difficulties in the game of global politics.

Bogumil Rychlowski: I do not see inconsistency between what was said by Professor Symonides and Deputy Lipski simply because the goals and basic principles of our foreign policy were in my opinion correct. I do not see a basis for any kind of change in this area.

Another matter, however, is that our goals and principles were not always correctly and soundly implemented. And here is the source which generated many weaknesses. Unsound implementation occurred both in our relations with capitalist countries and with the countries of the socialist community. I give as an example the proclaimed slogan that we, like nobody else, are interested in strengthening the sovereignty of the GDR, in separating her from the FRG, and in strengthening the close ties of the GDR with Poland and all states of the socialist community. However, at the heart of the matter, for as much as we did in the area of strengthening the sovereignty of the GDR, we did too little in the area of building close and lasting ties with the GDR and Poland--with detriment to ourselves. The same can be said regarding relations with Western states. We announced the need for developing economic cooperation. However, in practice this fitting slogan was reduced to the development of excessive imports of capital and goods without balancing exports of our commodities, without building a new place for Poland in the system of the international division of labor. We know what that led to. So, proper slogans often fell short of practice.

Witold Lipski: Does that not mean that this definition of the goals and priorities was too general?

Janusz Symonides: Goals in foreign policy are always formulated fairly generally. We could have introduced the idea of the national interest but it, too, by the nature of things, is fairly general. The correctness of proclaimed goals and principles does not mean that in their implementation, different types of errors, starting with cadre errors, could not have been made. People implement policy and they are not unerring. Secondly, assumptions were one thing and implementation another. In each of these three periods, we emphasized the need of strengthening friendly relations with the countries of the third world. The implementation, however, was fairly uneven.

When it comes to dependence the problem is not based on the excessive development of relations with the West but on the fact that it became a

one-sided dependence. If mutual ties existed, if the West were also economically dependent on us to some degree, it would not be so easy to employ sanctions.

Artur Bodnar: In the 1960's, and more so in the 1970's, we were witnesses of a process of stratification of the structures of international relations, of their enrichment at regional and nonregional levels. We were witnesses of a process of departure from a dichotic division of the world where the national interest remained in direct relation with the interest of the bloc of states and had to be subordinate to bloc politics. Up to the mid-1950's, the problem of whether the socialist world was capable of maintaining itself in its postwar shape was not decided. When this state of affairs was supported by military, economic and other achievements of the socialist states, a new international system came into being. The national interest became one of the elements of value in international relations in the area of principles. In my interpretation of the theory of foreign policy, the criteria of the national interest serve to elucidate many phenomena of international relations. This situation, present also in the last decade in the international arena, allowed us to play on the inconsistency of different levels of international relations.

With these possibilities and threats, what posture did Poland assume in the 1970's? Nobody is in a position to confirm or deny the thesis that Poland in the 1970's came to the conclusion that the policy of detente of the 1970's was a relative period and the scale of involvement in monetary ties with the Western world put us in the future faced with the necessity of working out the shape of our presence in international relations, also under conditions of a departure from a policy of detente. From the point of view of a narrowly understood national interest, such an assumption, taken in perspective, was correct.

Bogumil Rychlowski: And was there such an assumption?

Artur Bodnar: I am not in a position to prove that there was such an assumption. It is true that Gierek many times said: let us accept credits because this is an historic opportunity which will not be repeated. One can conclude that a certain psychosis of utilization of detente resulted from the belief that detente in this shape would remain.

Therefore, I feel that the matter has two aspects. One is the know-how of utilizing capital aid, capital and foreign technology. The second is the keynote of utilizing those possibilities which detente gave.

I speak of this because the fundamental principles of foreign policy are always implemented on the operational level. This is a problem not of principles as such but of the operational level itself, which is a result of internal and external conditions.

It is a fact that the restoration on the operational level of our foreign policy is not fully possible because the international situation and Poland's internal conditions have changed. We are faced with the need to formulate

two groups of foreign-policy goals which may or may not overlap: the first, which follow from internal transformations in Poland which the military authorities want to steer and maintain, and the second, which follow from conditions in the international environment, which are new in many respects, and from the fact that the rules in international relations are beginning to be different from what they were 3 years ago, and this for reasons independent of us.

Michal Dobroczyński: I wonder whether the error was not based, among other reasons, on the fact that foreign relations became to a certain degree isolated from domestic policy. From the point of view of the isolated goals of foreign policy, we had unquestionable successes: we had much international prestige, we secured credits and access to modern technology. However, a problem appeared when we wanted to link the material effects of foreign policy to an obsolete internal socioeconomic mechanism. Then much began to fall apart. Licenses came in but were not properly utilized, credits failed to guarantee us a new place in the international division of labor, people traveled and saw much but did not bring, in sufficient measure, foreign know-how to the national soil.

Janusz Symonides: There is no doubt that a broadly understood foreign policy includes economic and cultural relations. Let us not forget, however, that in practice, despite the resolutions about the coordinating role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the entire area of economic relations, goods exchange, and credits lies outside the sphere of its activity. I agree that it is necessary to speak about the unity of politics and economics but, in fact, decisions concerning credits fell outside of the decisionmaking processes connected with Polish foreign policy understood institutionally. They were a result of domestic needs. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs at best participated or helped in the implementation of decisions determined by domestic needs, although the thesis of the need of building an infrastructure of peace was not without influence here.

Witold Lipski: I would like to argue with the view presented here on the subject of the premises of foreign policy and of what could be called the philosophy of this policy. It seems that other considerations were the point of departure. The entire strategy was based on the belief that the process of detente was an irreversible process. Next, it was assumed that in a divided world the process of economic and political integration would be brought about inevitably, regardless of whether the bipolar system were maintained or were replaced in the future by other systems, and that Poland would have to join in this process. In order to assure herself the proper place there, Poland would have to be stronger economically. She would have to enter appropriately equipped. And this equipping could have been gained only in the West.

As an aside, I would like to reiterate that public discussion revolved around these subjects. It was demonstrated that because the process of economic and, consequently, political integration was an objective inevitable process, in fact maintenance of a national identity could be guaranteed through development in the cultural area.

I think that the general assumptions and premises of seeking roads leading to Poland's being more modern and stronger were reasonable. And it is not in the sphere of foreign policy, but in other areas that it is necessary to look for the sources of the deep crisis in which we found ourselves.

I do not agree with the view that foreign policy was isolated from domestic. For me, the problem under discussion is only how far dependence went. Put simply, as long as Gierek met on friendly footing with Giscard d'Estaing or Schmidt, he could not have political prisoners. The cordial relations with different countries of the West, and not only of the West, has a significant influence on the tone of our propaganda. Of course, I am far from saying that these relations were the main source of the crisis. The significance of the matter boils down to the fact that the secured credits and purchased licenses did not lead, in a significant way, to an increase in output, or to a clear activation of our exports. For me, it was a shock when I found out that in the structure of our indebtedness, investment goods were, in the 1971-1980 period, less than fuel and raw materials (turnover debit balances of \$8.1 and \$8.6 billion respectively).

Michal Dobroczyński: Plus food.

Witold Lipski: That is an exaggeration. Turnover debit balances in agricultural goods in the decade amounted to \$1.8 billion.

Artur Bodnar: I propose we get away from particulars.

Witold Lipski: Because we are referring to the past, the numbers are very significant. Returning, however, to the main subject, I am full of respect for all the resolutions and declarations. Still, the most important decisions--and not only in foreign policy--were undertaken "operationally." I think that the important motives lying at the base of certain moves in foreign policy are not recorded. It seems to me that it happens that way not only in Poland, but in our country it occurred on a large scale. If we want to analyze our foreign policy on the basis of written sources, resolutions and even documents, then I am afraid that this will not be a sufficient basis for evaluations and conclusions.

Bogumil Rychlowski: I think that an attempt at a division of foreign policy into two separate spheres, political relations and economic relations, is an attempt which methodology does not justify. Besides, separation of foreign policy and domestic policy is not right since it takes from us the possibility of explaining certain processes. The statement that that part of foreign policy which created the political conditions for securing credits was good, while, however, the next part of this policy, which included securing of credits and later their utilization, was bad, seems to me an approach not really justified. We are talking about a state policy in which individual phases were linked. One resulted from the other.

Artur Bodnar: Did a faulty domestic policy result from a faulty foreign policy?

Bogumil Rychlowski: My point is not to try to artificially separate individual phases of the policy. The mistake was related to something else. It may be worthwhile here to refer to the example of the PRC. After the death of Mao, the Chinese authorities were showered with credit offers from the West. They concluded, however, that they had domestic barriers which would not allow them in a rational way to absorb too many credits. Thus, they introduced limitations. They did not utilize this supposed opportunity which the capitalist world tried to create for them.

Artur Bodnar: At the base lay the problem of the future: the desire of assuring ourselves a new presence in Europe even at a very high price.

Michal Dobroczyński: If almost the entire policy did arise on the highest level, if foreign policy was only one of its aspects, the role of the related ministry must of course be evaluated differently. The fact remains that in general, as history shows, our diplomats strove for the creation of political conditions for cooperation with the countries of the world, especially the most advanced; they returned from talks with the conviction that they were bringing from abroad a great injection of developmental potential, after which the next stage, as is known, was the collision of the diplomatic reality with the realities of our economic model. Nevertheless, perhaps a certain lack of unity between these two courses of activity occurred.

Janusz Symonides: I would like to look critically at a certain stereotype in thinking. It is said that the error of Polish foreign policy lies in the fact that it led to dependence. The truth is perhaps different. The decisions about opening up to the West were decisions undertaken in the domestic sphere and from domestic needs because accelerated development, overcoming the technological gap, was wanted, a "second Poland" was being built. It was not foreign policy which determined domestic policy but the other way around: certain actions in the external area resulted from internal motivations. Foreign policy is in general a continuation of domestic policy.

This type of policy, directed from determined premises and domestic needs, could have been additionally justified in certain international areas, but in my opinion this additional justification always had a secondary significance and was treated instrumentally.

Even if we accept the assumption, in my opinion faulty, that diplomacy provided the credits, the question of their utilization and the serious errors committed here does not belong to the sphere of foreign policy. In a word, it was not foreign policy which was responsible for the credits being improperly used.

I do not want to say by this that Polish foreign policy is free of errors. Of course, errors were committed. I developed this line more widely in an article concerning the problems of foreign policy at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress (SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE, 1981, No 8) relating the course of discussion in the Eighth Group.

Michal Dobroczyński: I request that in the rest of the discussion we use these historical considerations for the needs of the analysis of our current situation and of proposals for the future.

Artur Bodnar: I want to argue with what Professor Symonides said. Of course, in the years 1971-1974 our policy concerning the international environment resulted inherently from domestic needs, but from the mid-1970's they seemingly split in two. On one hand, foreign policy was implemented for domestic needs (economic, development of public feeling); on the other, we entered the area of international relations as it were breaking away from problems of the purely functional dependence of domestic matters. We entered a certain system not in the manner of extending our domestic matters, but as a partner functioning in Europe. That is how it was in the time of Helsinki, that is how it was later in the time of our intensive contacts with the FRG and the French, and that is how it was in the time of Carter's visit.

Janusz Symonides: I do not think that we have fallen into an inconsistency; we have been speaking of different things. The questioning of the thesis of the responsibility of Polish foreign policy does not indicate doubts about our being an active participant in international relations.

Witold Lipski: I understand that we should already concentrate on what happens next. And here, paradoxically, it is necessary to return to the domestic situation. Always and everywhere, foreign policy is determined by the domestic situation. This truth has particular application to the present situation in Poland.

In foreign policy, if we separate goals from the field of wishful thinking (for example, obtaining help from the outside on the scale of the Marshall Plan), as an urgent task, the most urgent will still be the strengthening of our credibility, consistent activity for its basis in socialist countries and recovering it in the West. I am returning from the spring meeting of the Interparliamentary Union in Lagos. This prompts me to state that in the developing countries perhaps we have the best credibility in the political area. When it comes to credibility, it is not given once and for all. In introducing martial law, stemming the tide of growing anarchy, we regained credibility in the socialist countries and we laid ourselves open to violent criticism in the countries of the West. Currently, more sober evaluations of the situation in Poland are beginning to appear there.

Recovery of credibility and its establishment can only be a result of the effort of the entire nation. Only an increase in production and socioeconomic stabilization in Poland can be the basis of successes in this area. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs can only skillfully "sell" this; it cannot, however, create it.

I do not wish to say by this that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is in danger of losing its job. At present, its role is particularly responsible, just as is that of the Foreign Trade Ministry which also can sell only what has been produced.

As concerns medium-range or nonurgent tasks, it seems that at the center of Polish foreign policy should be the broadly understood German problem especially in the context of the growing discord between the United States and Western Europe in general and between the United States and the FRG in particular. One cannot consider as incidental such facts as the coolness on the France-FRG line, the attitude of France to events in Poland, surprisingly enough, or the attitude of the FRG to what is happening in Poland. All this is, after all, a result not of sympathy or antipathy, but of certain suppositions of the future situation in Europe, of certain conceptions arising on the basis of these predictions.

We spoke of the threat to stability in Europe but we did not mention that this problem was raised publicly, and not only in newspaper speculations. If that is what happened, the consequences would have affected, first of all, Poland and the two German states. In this area, aside from any immediate activity, I see the necessity of concentrating the attention of our foreign policy.

A few words about relations with the countries of the third world. From many aspects, this is a very complicated problem. Opinions on the subject of the basis of our political and economic "offensive" in these countries are undergoing violent changes. Depending on the events in a country in which we are economically involved, one time voices of enthusiasm appear, and other times voices of black pessimism. It must be assumed that we will always be witnesses of stormy events and overthrows in these countries. This is a specific with which all of their partners must contend with. But regardless of this, these countries, not only petroleum countries, will develop because demographic pressure alone will force them to that. As for petroleum countries, or, more broadly, raw materials countries, today's problems cannot hide from us the fact that crude will be necessary and even if its price stabilizes at a lower level, it will represent a great source of riches and a basis for favorable trade exchange and economic cooperation.

Taking as a point of departure the actual situation of our country, the complementarity of our economy in relation to the economy of the majority of third world countries, and the future needs of Poland and of these countries, I feel that working out a long-range strategy of more important consideration in our foreign policy for developing countries is a necessity.

Our country is the object of propagandistic aggression. The restrictions being applied against us, and other moves, are an interference in our internal affairs which is against the principles contained in the UN Charter or the Final Act of Helsinki. Despite this, I would be in favor of such an implementation of our immediate goals that, in the future, reference to the universally accepted principles of international law and international customs not be made more difficult for us.

Janusz Symonides: I share the view that the main problem of our chances and prospects of functioning in the international area is determined by the internal system. The point is our creditibility both in relation to the countries of the socialist community and in relation to the West. A matter

of capital importance is also the continuation of socialist renovation and the demonstration that our system is reformable. The possibilities of overcoming the economic and social crisis depend to a considerable degree on this.

As an aside to our discussion, I would like to note that in the evaluations concerning foreign and domestic policy in our country a tendency to go from one extreme to another occurs. In evaluating the period of the 1970's, what perhaps follows inevitably from our discussion is that certain intentions did not lack sense and logic, however, their implementation was not right or was even faulty.

Now, new voices and a second extreme are appearing. There is an attempt to raise the thesis of the necessity of closing to the West. From various aspects, not only economic, this is a thesis not to be maintained.

Michal Dobroczyński: On the question of Poland's security, the basis is a truly allied cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, full trust in this matter, full understanding of mutual interests. At the same time, of course, there is the necessity of discussing the matter of security with Western partners because, after all, not only military support from the Soviet Union and utilization of the achievements of Soviet diplomacy guarantee us success in the area of security.

Now, the economic sphere. Of course, great unutilized possibilities exist here of cooperation with socialist countries especially with the Soviet Union but they too have their limits. Many raw materials and parts of modern technology will not be obtained from this direction. This also will not solve for us the matter of free-currency indebtedness.

In the sphere of cultural identity, the matter is also complicated. In Poland, there is generally poor knowledge of the cultural achievements of the socialist nations and in many respects a similar situation exists when it comes to the relation to Polish culture in our neighbors. Therefore, there is still much to do in this area. This does not change the fact that Polish society has traditional contacts with Western culture and will not give up these ties whether we want to or not. Even seeing various political threats, we must be well aware of the existence of the cultural pressure formed over a thousand years at least for stabilization of the situation in Poland.

Now comes the important question: Can our foreign policy influence stability and in what way? We have reached the conclusion that the domestic situation is decisive. And what in foreign policy, especially in the near future, can and should be done to accelerate the process of internal consolidation?

Bogumil Rychlowski: The questionable matter is the reconstruction of our economy. And the economy cannot be rebuilt without broad cooperation with foreign countries. This is an indirect answer to the question raised. At the same time, as was already said, our activity aimed at gaining the cooperation of foreign partners in the reconstruction of our economic efficiency must be developed in as many directions as possible. This is at the moment the most basic task of the whole broadly understood Polish foreign

policy. Of course, in implementing this basic task, we cannot neglect or limit our activity in other spheres of foreign policy, especially in those on which depend the matters of the security of Poland. There are many problems here but perhaps the most important is the permanent presence of Poland in the processes shaping East-West relations in Europe.

We cannot let slip from our field of vision the problem most important for nations of the entire world, and also for the Polish nation: the matter of peace. We know how the situation in the world has become dangerously acute and what kind of dangers there are. Poland should be present in the course of restoring the process of detente.

Michal Dobroczyński: Especially through normalization of Poland's relations with the West.

Bogumil Rychlowski: We do not represent an autonomous force. Our effort should be most closely joined with the effort of our allies from the socialist community. It seems that in the processes which are being undertaken by different groups on different levels and in different spheres, Poland should be maximally present.

Artur Bodnar: I think that for a period of 1 year or 2 years the basic function of our foreign policy should be one explaining the complexity of the process of normalization of domestic life in Poland and showing that the processes of reform of Polish socialism are irreversible. This will further an easing of the atmosphere surrounding matters of Central Europe and will be conducive to a gradual removal of restrictions by the Western world.

And the second matter. In Poland in the years 1980-1981, a certain disintegration of the intrastate political system occurred. Certain social relations groups, as, for example, the CRZZ [Central Council of Trade Unions] which represented our movement abroad disappeared. New groups appeared. The fact that for the first time, in such a massive number, nongovernmental bodies appeared in our foreign relations, is irreversible; this means that in the coming years formation of many nongovernmental organizations taking part in our relations with foreign countries will occur. And that is why it is so important that their policy, their activity in the international sphere, be subordinate to the state's interests. This is the second task of our foreign policy and its institutions: to further the coordination of these activities and explain in a new language our foreign policy. Our language so far has failed to reach many social groups. We became convinced of this in the years 1980-1981.

A third matter is related to the role of the Soviet Union in international relations. Unquestionably, the power of the Soviet Union in the global international game strengthens or weakens our chances of functioning on certain levels of relations. Therefore, the ability to solve different problems of our foreign policy will also be dependent to a certain degree on global systems. But the degree of determination of our foreign policy by the global system will be incomparably less than 10 years ago. This is a new phenomenon. The 1980's will create new opportunities but also new limitations and dangers for our foreign policy.

And the last element, not less important. We still do not really realize today the type of consequences economic reform will have for our presence in international relations. This is a separate subject but, unquestionably, economic reform in the shape for which the highest state authorities are fighting will cause a widening of the range of our international relations groups and the appearance of new levels of these relations.

Janusz Symonides: It seems that when it comes to our possibilities or the directions of influencing the international community, the international situation, we may undertake activity both in the external and domestic spheres.

When it comes to activities in the external sphere, first they must aim at optimizing conditions of emerging from the crisis, at overcoming our economic difficulties and in perspective, should promote the development of our economy.

Secondly, it seems that when it comes to the matter of peace and security we may exert influence first of all in the region in which we are located, in Europe. Our fate, existence, security are connected with the European system, with the fact that our possibilities must be seen in realistic dimensions without pretension.

To what degree in our activities can we consider the developing countries? I would join those who, pointing to the many opportunities and [great] potential, at the same time have noted objectively the existing limits of development of relations, especially economic.

When it comes to the domestic situation, most generally I would say that our actions must lead to Poland's ceasing to be a factor in the world game. This would be our great positive contribution to international relations. This means removing the internal sources of permanent crisis which lead to the periodic destabilization of the international system. Therefore, I consider the consistent carrying out of reforms in the economic, social, and political spheres as a matter of capital importance, not for our country alone.

I would like to take one more line, namely, the way of presenting in the mass media international issues, especially the influence of the international situation on the possibilities of solving our internal problems. It is true that the international situation impacts more and more strongly on the situation in particular countries, and not only in Poland. At the same time, however, one observes opposite tendencies, an increase in the significance in domestic politics of the regional or even local problem, and an increase in the significance of territorial self-government.

Integration processes proceed because they are proper, however, every country works on its own behalf and the effectiveness of management and the work output of a given nation determine its cultural level and its wealth. I am afraid that we are forgetting about the "other side" of the contemporary world developmental process. In our Polish conditions this may bring unexpected negative consequences. The reality of external influences may lead to an easy justification of our own mistakes. "The international system does not allow us"--how temptingly easy an explanation that is. If we consider what the

majority of society understands by this idea, one must express concern about the efficiency of our information and propaganda in such an important field in Poland as Polish-Soviet relations.

Michal Dobroczyński: In Polish-Soviet relations there have been certain problems but they are connected with the already very distant past. I have in mind the years 1949-1955 when different people brought to our soil processes not adapted to Polish needs. However, later specific groups of interests in our country took advantage of, and I am afraid that sometimes still today they take advantage of, the Soviet scare, of course not for strengthening Polish-Soviet relations but for their private interests, for slowing the process of reform and change which meet the needs of the Polish nation and state, but threaten the careers of persons of little competence. And, after all, a strong and stable Poland, a Poland of satisfied people is very much in the interests of our allies.

Janusz Symonides: As an aside, I would like to voice my opposition to the thesis mentioned more than once that the events or the crisis in Poland are a consequence or a derivative of the international situation.

Bogumil Rychlowski: Professor Symonides said here that we must lead to Poland's ceasing to be an element of the game. Generally speaking, correct. Because this thesis was somewhat modified by Deputy Lipski, I will allow myself to further modify it. We must be concerned that Poland not be a stage on which others will perform their plays or a stage on which plays will be staged directed by enemy forces. Whether we want or not, we will remain an element of the game but the point is that our stage be really ours.

Janusz Symonides: We can, therefore, state that the implementation of the postulation "that Poland not be an element of the game" requires doing everything possible so that our country become a factor of stability and not of the destabilization of the international system, so that it also be an active participant and actor in international relations positively influencing the external environment.

Michal Dobroczyński: Polish foreign policy must serve the interests of security and development of the country. This assumption is permanent and definitely unchangeable. Only the concrete methods and the instruments of its implementation undergo change. The directions of policy, of course, are determined by both domestic and external circumstances. Both of these also undergo change.

In the area of security the tasks of Polish foreign policy are connected first of all to East-West relations and the German problem. The Polish-Soviet alliance has remained for almost 40 years the main guarantee of Polish security and of the inviolability of the borders. The introduction of martial law did not change anything in this area and perhaps only increased the possibility of Poland as an ally of the Soviet Union. The reactions of Western states, however, undoubtedly caused an increase in the difficulties for Polish diplomatic activity in various arenas of efforts for detente, peace and

disarmament. And, after all, the traditional Polish involvement in matters of proper relations, international equilibrium and global cooperation has not changed.

The continuity of Polish interests in the problem of economic, scientific or cultural cooperation with partners in the entire world regardless of their sociopolitical systems follows from this last point. Realistically looking at the present situation, it is necessary of course to realize the many limitations which hamper the current opportunities of Polish maneuver in all these areas of contacts with the outside world. The point, however, is not to identify temporary difficulties and limits with long-range policy or with the strategy of development because this objectively aims at maximum unobstructed relations on a global scale.

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CSO: 2600/932

FIRST COUNCIL OF MINISTERS YOUTH COMMITTEE MEETING REPORTED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 13 Sep 82 pp 1, 3

[Commentary by Zenon Kulej: "Program for Youth--Together with Youth"]

[Text] On Friday the 10th of this month in Warsaw, the inaugural meeting of the Council of Ministers Youth Committee, established several days ago by the Council of Ministers, was held. Present at the meeting was the chairman of the Military Council for National Salvation, Premier General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski. Taking part in the deliberations, which were presided over by Committee Chairman Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, were Committee members consisting of members of the government and scholars, as well as invited representatives of the leadership of socialist youth unions. Present were presidents of the Supreme Council of the United Peasant Party (NK ZSL); Vice-Premier Roman Malinoski; Chairman of the Board of the Pax Publishing Institute, Vice-Premier Zenon Komander; Member of the Presidium, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party (CK SD) Alfred Beszterda. Here is an account of the proceedings:

4:00 pm: In one of the second floor rooms of the Council of Ministers Building the participants of the meeting are seated at a round table. The central place is marked with our national emblem. Premier W Jaruzelski occupies that place. Next to him are representatives of political parties, and vice-premiers (in addition to those mentioned above, I also notice Janusz Obodowski). At this section of the table also sits Minister Andrzej Ornat, who is secretary to the Council of Ministers for Youth Affairs.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski speaks first, characterizing the nature of the committee. "It cannot be," he says, "decorative body; instead, it has to do everything in order to facilitate the solution of the many difficult, complex problems which concern the young generation and which have accumulated throughout the years. It [the young generation] is waiting for deeds, not declarations and concrete decisions which would lead to an effective solution of its problems."

Vice-Premier Rakowski then recalled the origin of this committee and described its inception, resulting from youth organizations' demands as noted in the resolution passed at the ninth congress of the PZPR and in the decisions taken at the ninth plenum of the Central Committee of the PZPRV (KC PZPR). The speaker is the same politician who at the third congress of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) received a virtual ovation from the delegates when he informed them of the government's intention to form a youth committee.

I remember the euphoria during the last part of the vice-premier's speech. He emphasized that the future of the young generation depends not only on the actions of the government but also, and especially, on youth itself and its active participation in life.

The daily agenda included two points: 1) The acceptance of the final texts of two documents concerning the inception and range of activities of the Council of Ministers Youth Committee; 2) Speeches by several ministers relating information on the status of accomplishing the most urgent tasks prescribed by the resolutions of the ninth KC PZPR plenum and the government's program--dated 14 June of this year--for improving the life and professional "beginnings" of youth.

Minister Andrzej Ornat addressed point No 1. Best acquainted with the problems are the Director General of the Office of the Council of Ministers Kazimierz Sikorowicz, and the chairman of the main board of ZSHP (ZG ZSMP) Doctor of Law Jerzy Jaskiernia, both of whom took the floor several times.

There ensued a highly specialized but at the same time important discussion about the scope of activities of the committee, about the basis of cooperation with respective departments and youth organizations (i. e. one had not yet solved the question of in what capacity the youth organization leaders should appear at the meetings--whether as members of the committee or as invited guests each time). At this point of the meeting, Minister Antoni Rajkiewicz raised an interesting question. He proposed that the Youth Research Institute be subordinate to the committee.

The first half hour of discussions passed. Not everything could be solved at once. Some matters will be discussed again at this body after having been discussed in smaller groups by the interested parties. Now it is time for point No 2 of the agenda. Vice-Premier M Rakowski requested that ministers taking the floor limit their pronouncements to 15 minutes. The following is a summary of this part of the meeting:

Minister of Education and Upbringing Boleslaw Faron: In the next few days educational authorities in the whole country will receive a schedule for implementing goals ensuring from the decisions of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum and from the "Report on youth life conditions, education, and professional career beginnings." Among the specific decisions already passed are also those concerning free textbooks for grade school pupils, the addition of a third hour of physical education beginning from the fourth grade, aid to youth organizations in schools, extending supplementary feeding of pupils (increasing milk consumption and the permanent staff of 8,500 school cooks--to be paid from the budget of parents or partental committees), transportation to schools, and monetary aid to pupils.

Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs Antoni Rajkiewicz: We have to ensure jobs for 367,000 of this year's graduates. The balance of possibilities shows that at this moment there is still a lack of 21,000 jobs, mainly for the general high school graduates, but also for people with higher education (lawyers, economists, architects, and--what is curious--for graduates of agricultural academies). By the end of the year the department will ensure jobs for all graduates, but some of them will have to change their place of work or be retrained.

The Minister of Construction and Construction Materials Industry Tadeusz Opolski: Within the framework of the "Youth Patronate," 10,000 rooms will be delivered this year. In addition, work on constructing one-family dwellings will be intensified. The production of building materials is being increased with local raw materials (i.e., in the Pilsk Voyevodship within the framework of the "Patronate" youth are producing bricks on Saturdays and Sundays). There will be no problems in employing 40,000 to 50,000 school graduates (that many are accepted every year). At that point the minister injected an optimistic note: the decrease in cement production has been halted. From the beginning of this year to the 7th of this month, cement production has equalled that of the whole year 1981.

Deputy Minister of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection Czeslaw Kotels: In this five-year plan the department will procure 500,000 lots for constructing one-family dwellings; an escalation of credits of up to 450,000 zlotys for renovating attics is expected; the possibility of reducing interest rates for individual buildings is also under consideration (today it is 4 percent).

At this point of the meeting there were few questions and answers. The Minister of Health and Social Welfare Tadeusz Szelachowski, referring to the question of employment, appealed to youth unions for help in inducing cadres to be employed in the health services. He also said that the department agreed to allow medical students to take salaried jobs (such as hospital orderlies, nurses, and ward attendants). This work may not only have an economic, but also a moral effect. Minister Stanislaw Ciosek's remarks pertained to a wider range of youth education. Youth must be addressed not only within the framework of a crisis but also beyond this barrier: youth must be shown a realistic target, an aim that is possible to attain within a few years. And once more Jerzy Jaskernia took the floor. He was worried about the decrease of production in the building industry (whether it threatens the "Patronate"); he pointed to the necessity of showing youth that their demands do not get overlooked but, as Vice-Minister Kotel said, they are being accepted and implemented.

As there were no more speakers, Minister M Rakowski asked the premier to take the floor.

General Wojciech Jaruzelski began his address by expressing his pleasure at the fact that the inaugural meeting of the Council of Ministers Youth Committee had acquired a working character. It was especially worth stressing because, after all, the aim of the committee was not to become just another government office. It is supposed to be a body which gives impetus to actions conducive to solving the young generation's problems.

Next the premier emphasized the importance of the law passed by the ninth KC PZPR plenum and according to the spirit of this law, the government shall act. The government systematically takes up numerous aspects of the problems confronting youth. Appropriate decisions are taken in these matters. It will be so in the near and far future. W Jaruzelski declared that today's meeting was a consecutive and extremely important stage on this road and will initiate further action. One also must remember that until now we were talking primarily about what one should and must do for youth. However, there was not enough thought about what one can do together with youth. Then Wojciech Jaruzelski suggested that some of the meetings of the Council of Ministers Youth Committee be rotated, that they be held in workplaces (plants), schools, institutions of higher learning and in counties. It is not a question of giving them a showy character but of gaining a deeper knowledge of the problems of the young generation.

Regarding the question of the scope of activities and committee program which were discussed previously at the meeting the premier noted that our weak point is not the planning of programs but their execution. And it is the monitoring of the execution of the approved action programs benefitting youth that the committee should put at the head of its endeavors. It is of the greatest importance that these programs be made believable through concrete actions, by creating an atmosphere around all that is connected with the decisions of the ninth Central Committee plenum so that youth will actually feel that what is being done will allow the opportunity for solving their problems and fulfilling aspirations. Furthermore, this is closely related with opportunities for Poland and socialism.

Youth, asserted the premier, treats many matters in an angry, critical way. It is important that its dissatisfaction transform itself into positive actions. It is essential to pull ourselves out of the atmosphere of mistrust and apathy. The fact that there is a chance of undertaking a successful struggle for a tomorrow, for a future, was confirmed in August of this year when a sort of tremor was felt in our economy, when for the first time in many months there was no lowering trend: the production grew by 1 percent; and the output, by 7 percent.

The premier ended his speech by wishing the committee a successful resolution of the important tasks confronting it.

The chairman of the deliberations Vice-Premier M Rakowski thanked everyone present for their participation in the meeting and proposed that the next session evaluate the functions of the "Summer" (LATO) campaign. The forty-four participants arose. The time was 6:00 pm.

12199
CSO: 2600/954

HIGH-CALIBER CANDIDATES SOUGHT FOR OFFICERS AVIATION SCHOOL

Poznan-Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU
in Polish No 9, Sep 82 pp 30-34

[Article by Reserve Lt Col Stefan Gorczyca: "Problems In Recruiting Candidates for the WOSL [Officers Aviation School]"]

[Text] Increasingly broader circles of specialists and educators as well as social workers connected with aviation organizations, who run basic aviation training for youths, are concerned with problems in the preparation and training of candidates for service in the air force. Testifying to this are views encountered more and more frequently in press columns, on the radio and in professional-military periodicals. This concern arises from the fact that the numbers of candidates for the Officers Aviation School for training in jet and supersonic planes are dwindling. According to the public views [appearing below] of specialists who are directly responsible for the fulfillment of tasks in this field and are thoroughly familiar with the topic, there is a shortage.

Taking the floor in the discussion on this problem, I would first like to point out that there were and are many youths willing and volunteering for aviation training in local aeroclubs. From among this number, one can select and prepare candidates who qualify for WOSL instruction. However, the local aeroclubs have not trained (frequently, these individuals are favorites), not many are willing nor qualified for service in the air force.

Consequently, airfields and the entire base of the PRL Aeroclub [Aeroclub of the Polish People Republic] instruction-education system, which should serve in the initial preparation of aviation candidates for military and aviation institutions in our country and in aviation sports, in recent years have not been and are not being fully utilized for this purpose. There are many reasons for this happening, but those of a socio-political nature are central.

As a result of changes that arose in our country, a number of political, social and sport organizations were reactivated in 1956. Among others sanctioned by the statute was the Aeroclub of the Polish People's Republic, separating this organization from the Friends of the Soldier League, which completely assumed the sports-defense and paramilitary activities of the country in the postwar years. By the same statute, variety in aviation training was

curtailed, and conditions for better instruction for youths in local aeroclubs were created. Until now, as an independent sports-defense organization, the PRL Aeroclub was able to lead a call-up of youths and accomplish the basic training of selected candidates for the needs of the air force and sport, under the expert guidance of aviation specialists.

Within the structure of aviation training, an illustrious "pyramid" had already arisen, taking into its reach all those youths interested in the complexities of aviation. It made preparatory aviation training possible for all who were willing to serve and work in an airfield and, among the youths volunteering for training in the local aeroclubs, it allowed formation of the best candidates for the aviation clubs. During the recruitment and basic aviation training, a selection of the youths was conducted, with respect to health, intelligence and psychophysiological well-being, leaving for further training in the air those who met the qualifications demanded of a pilot. In basic aviation training, summer youth camps (during vacation time) for Officers Aviation Training Corps of the first and second rank (LPW-1 and LPW-2) stood apart, in which instructors prepared candidates for military aviation school. This was a period of substantial development in aviation in Poland and a period of great demands for pilots, especially for service in the modern air force. In those days, the PRL Aeroclub was essentially under the supervision of the Ministry of National Defense [MON] which, through the mediation of the Air Force Command [DWL], devoted much attention to the preliminary selection and preparation of youths (in the LPW-1 camps) for the Officer Aviation School [OSL] for training on jets. This basic training in gliders for the younger generation--potential OSL candidates--found its permanent place within the structure of Polish Aviation and stood the test during the period of youth recruitment and the appointment of candidates for OSL officer cadets in Deblina.

After more than 10 years of work by this instructional system, together with the socio-political changes in the country, other rules of admission and training of candidates for the OSL were introduced. The preparation of young aviation students for the special glider training camps (LPW-1) was dropped. Only the training of candidates (accepted to the OSL) for the LPW-2 camps in instructional-training planes was left without any changes.

This was a period of the beginning of policy errors by the State during the seventies, which had serious repercussions on the development of both aviation and on aviation cadets in Poland. The essential supervision of the PRL Aeroclub was handed over to the Ministry of Transport [MK]. The MON, on the strength of an order by State authorities and an understanding with the MK, retained only the right to control PRL Aeroclub work on behalf of national defense. The DWL however, as before, maintained and still maintains close collaboration with PRL Aeroclub Headquarters [ZG] and local aeroclubs by means of its representatives as well as patronage of area individuals in aviation. Yet, this time did not and does not work to the advantage of the development of aviation cadets, especially not for the air force. On the other hand, one can notice the youths' great interest in work for civil aviation, for which the CZLC MK [Civil Aeronautics Headquarters, Ministry of Transport] is the spokesman.

That is why, after a thorough analysis of the quoted deficiencies and errors overwhelming the socio-educational work and basic training for aviation youths, the Air Force Command, in an agreement with the PRL Aero-club ZG, resolved in 1979 to reactivate the preparation of WOSL candidates within an LPW-1 framework. This decision was made, most of all, in consideration of the continually growing demands regarding pilots, who must pass through an ever lengthening period of training and rigorous selection based on motivation and good health, insuring service in the air.

The reactivation of LPW-1 is a link to tradition and the instructional-training method used during the fifties and sixties. The new LPW-1 system is supposed to create the opportunity for aviation instruction for all pupils, from whom the best will then be selected for further training in the WOSL. It is warged that under the correctly directed socio-educational and agitation-propaganda work, as well as with the selection of students in local aeroclubs during instruction in the LPW1 framework, the PRL Aeroclub should completely cover the needs of the WOSL during the recruitment period for aviation instruction candidates.

The aviation preparation system used at present for youths should, in the final result (aviation schools and the LPW-1), completely eliminate the recruitment of candidates for direct training during the course of the LPW-2 from outside the PRL Aeroclub. This would considerably improve the qualifications of the Officer Cadets and would reduce the dropout rate during the programmed instruction. The main point is to take full advantage of professional and social activities of aeroclub aviation instructors as well as patronage of individual military personnel, to win over as many high-caliber candidates for training in the course of the LPW-1, then the LPW-2, and then who could continue further aviation training in the WOSL.

In analyzing the principle of reactivating the training of youths in the LPW-1, one should stress that rapid development of aviation technology as well as the period of its adaptation demands ever-increasing skills. from the military pilots in using the instruments on modern planes. The pilot can acquire such skills only through a lengthy instructional-training course, a total commitment and devotion to a career in aviation as well as possession of appropriate psychological-physiological predispositions.

Proper selection and preparation of aviation personnel aids the commanders of aviation units in solving complex problems, from the area of improving battle readiness, to conducting instructional and training lessons, as well as to raising the level of safety during personnel operations in the air.

Despite the introduction of automation into the control process for planes and its constant improvement, the pilot remains as before the primary factor influencing flight safety and, as a human being, prompts greatest worry regarding the reliability of his actions. That is why the process

of adapting youths to the career of a pilot should be initiated as soon as possible, in any section of the local aeroclubs. Attention should be given to this issue as much as possible, relying on experience and tradition and the results of studies by aviation research workers and psychologists. Such a course of action points out the very nature of a pilot's work, that demands a very high level of competence in his work. Experience teaches that even a minor error made by a human being, conditioned by mental traits, as a result of inaccurate perception and processing of information or because of excessive emotional strain, may produce irreversible losses in personnel and equipment.

Above all, the personnel in the air as well as the ground personnel controlling the aircraft should be included with those directly responsible for safety at an airfield. In many cases, at present, both the execution of a combat maneuver in the air, just as the safe return to the airfield, are simply impossible without competent leadership from the ground, through the team comprised of the flight chief, the DKL, navigator-operators, the SD and air traffic control services.

In this aspect, the selection of suitable men for service in the air forces rests with representatives of the medical service who qualify candidates on the basis of their general health for aviation instruction in the course of the LPW-1, LPW-2, and then in the WOSL. Using modern examination methods, the medical-aviation committee (GOBLL, GWKLL, WKLL) should accurately define as much as possible the basic groups of psychological-physiological traits in air force pilot candidates. Most important for the candidates is qualifying for service in aviation as well as favorable completion of aviation instruction, and qualifying in effective action in the air under various conditions. On the other hand, as to candidates for instruction specializing in ground safety for aircraft, such character and personality traits as: A high sense of responsibility, emotional balance, skill in efficient thinking and drawing conclusions, memory, as well as the ability to express oneself correctly and proper diction, among others, are important.

The accuracy of the statements issued testifies to what degree the committee is able to achieve this goal, and this may be more accurately ascertained on the basis of the numbers dropping out on account of the state of health in the course of jet training for WOSL Officer Cadets. At times, the aforementioned dropping out reaches nearly 30 percent of the personnel qualified for training. The dropout rate among WOSL candidates, graduates of the LPW-1, examined by the GOBLL, is even higher. Furthermore, a rather small selection of Officer Cadets in the WOSL also has other reasons, e.g.: Lack of perseverance, courage, strong will, mental resilience, and the like. That is why the preparation of youths is so important during the LPW-1, where the candidates have the opportunity to test themselves in every respect. Continuous improvement of theoretical knowledge and practical skills, during the course of glider training in the LPW-1 camp, should give the individual students not only a taste of flying and a desire for further instruction, but also should cultivate character traits that meet the requirements of an air force pilot.

The WL [Air Force] and WOPK [National Air Defense Forces] air units, acting as patrons of local aeroclubs, and knowing the classroom principles in the educational procedures among the youths organized in aeroclubs, could influence the order and method of guidance by their educational and instructional insight, as well as by offering them a course that is compatible with the demands on an air force pilot. Air force officers have a great behavioral influence on the youngest of the aviation pupils. They are inquisitively and indiscriminantly observed and imitated by the young aviation students. Therefore, the team of those on active military duty and the patrons in aeroclubs should become allies to the personnel staff in the development of youths interested in WOSL studies.

Activities by the military in aeroclubs relies, above all, on an active relationship of the officers to the instructors' work, on an active participation in training, in all activities, at all functions, meetings and other forms of organization in the communal life of the youths. Yet they cannot replace the aeroclub staff and workers in their profession.

In reference to an article published in the April issue of PRZEGLADU WL I WOPK [WL AND WOPK REVIEW], on the subject of the role of aeroclubs in the system of candidate selection for the air force, I would like to bring attention to certain inconsistencies on the part of the author. Above all, the author forgets that the PRL Aeroclub is, in one aspect, completely accountable and obligated by law for the organizations and conduct of training in the LPW-1 camps. Only through social activities at the air base can military patrons influence the youths in the closer spirit of familiarizing them with the air force, irrespective of the achievement of other undertakings on matters entrusted to the aeroclub. Furthermore, the aeroclub staff cannot first be evaluated as good, and then as "having a vague understanding of an officer-pilot's career."

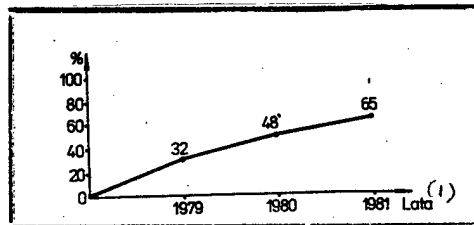
The PRL Aeroclub, as an association of higher usefulness, is not a newly created organization. It has praiseworthy traditions in its activities as well as fine aviation experts and specialists in aviation training; many reserve officers and air force officers delegated from the air force to work outside the military belong to it. Lately, however, the activities of the aeroclub have not been achieving the results expected by the military, especially when it relates to the LPW-1. Clearly the abilities of the organizational activities of the club are not fully utilized in work leading to the preparation of competent groups of suitable candidates for the WOSL. One can understand the difficulties encountered by the PRL Aeroclub in its work but, on the other hand, it appears as if there is a lack of sincere involvement of persons directly responsible for this problem in the aeroclub.

As for the matter of refunding the training in the LPW-1 camps, the DWL, as the employer, considers the effect of this training above all else. How many and what kind of graduates will the LPW-1 be able to qualify for training in the WOSL? This is most important for the DWL since we cannot afford, especially today, to waste money.

The number of WOSL candidates who dropped out due to their state of health is depicted in illustration 1. Thus, the astonishment of the author of the article, that "Even the proposals that the aeroclubs pay only for those candidates who had qualified through the medical board and took the WOSL examination, failed." is unjustified. One could agree with the author's thesis that "this is worth it," that it is not actually important who pays for the youths' aviation training, since this occurs within the boundaries of one country, but only if the effects of this training were more evident to the DWL.

The ambition and the foremost task of the PRL Aeroclub and its staff, just as the military personnel among the youths who chose for themselves a future in aviation and who wish to be forever linked to it, should be the development of those character traits of an aviator that are indispensable to an air force pilot and that spring from the finest traditions of the Polish Air Force. The air force as well as the National Air Defense Forces join in this work by an active and intensive furnishing of aid to the PRL Aeroclub. They guide not only the adequately prepared officers, but also deliver useful aviation equipment for suitable utilization in local aeroclubs as well as in the LPW-1 and LPW-2 camps. As a community, they also accomplish many technical tasks and do other work in the airfields.

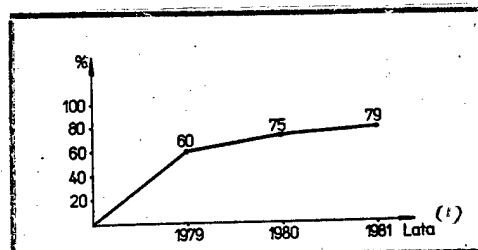
Aviation training of youths is an enormous and responsible task that rests on the entire cadre of directors, instructors and the social workers of civilian and military institutions. We must therefore, take whatever pains are necessary in order not to squander the chance for securing high-caliber candidates for the WOSL. We must remember that the best of the best should replace those who eventually leave for a well-earned rest. To what degree we will succeed in achieving this goal depends on us alone.



Key:

1. Years.

Ill. 1. The percent of LPW-1 graduates not accepted for WOSL studies, due to their state of health, in the last 3 years, despite examination by the medical-aviation board GOBLL.



Key:

1. Years.

Ill. 2. The percent of LPW-1 graduates who did not file an application for acceptance into WOSL studies, despite the fact that they had signed pledges in the appropriate aeroclubs, in the last 3 years.

ZHP COMMANDER INTERVIEWED ON SCOUT ACTIVITY IN SCHOOLS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Sep 82 p 3

[Report on interview with the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Scout Union, Scoutmaster of People's Poland Ryszard Wosinski, by correspondent Marek Rudnicki: "Give Every Student a Chance"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Another year of work for the Polish Scout Union began last month. What can scouting contribute to student life in the new year?

An interview follows, regarding this subject, with the commander-in-chief of the union, Scoutmaster of People's Poland, Ryszard Wosinski.

[Question] Scouting begins the new school year with fewer numbers. After all, approximately 1 million members left the union....

[Answer] This is the data from November of last year. At that time membership status of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] actually surpassed 2 million scouts and instructors. Our observations indicate that in many circles we are not threatened with a further organizational decrease. How this appears on a national scale will be revealed in 2 months by the next count.

The work of the union is decided, to a great degree, by the staff. We have a good one and--in some instances--a weak one. This distinction is not determined by the profession or age of the instructors but only by their zeal. Hence, I am furious when, for instance, a separate category of teacher-instructors is being formed chiefly to prove that they are responsible for the scout "indoctrination" program which was so criticized at our last assembly. This is an unfair estimation. Sweeping statements, however, brought about a rising tendency on the part of teachers to leave the organization shortly after the assembly. However, those left who found themselves in the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] not because of their own wishes. Their resignation was beneficial to them and to the union. In turn, those who remained, because of their educational experience and social-welfare zeal, enrich the organization.

[Question] Following a fascination with--as it is called--the traditional, "newly discovered" scouting, does there presently seem to be a trend toward the "golden mean" between the old and the new? What would permit the linking of the national traditions--because a portion of it is the 70-year old activity of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP]--with the education of the youth for present day, socialist Poland?

[Answer] The scouting tradition was always cultivated; for it has deep educational value--the teaching of respect for the hardships and accomplishments of preceding generations; an achievement of what was patriotic and progressive, as a definite example to be followed. In recent months, at some centers of instruction, reality has been displaced by a fascination for the past, a past in search of a panacea for good scouting. I trust that many young people are already aware today that contemporary scouting cannot be a copy of the past; that ways must be sought to reconcile tradition with present day educational needs and the perspective for organizational development. We are already beginning to observe the beginnings of such an ideological and planned synthesis.

[Question] What activities will dominate the work of the union in approaching months?

[Answer] The troop occupies the hub of our attention as the basic educational center in which scouts form their character. It is, hence, possible that we will not be noticed, because we do not arrange a larger, easily noted and attractive propaganda campaign. I am of the impression, however, that in the final analysis this will be worthwhile. For what counts, is that which the young man gains in the organization every day; what skills he acquires and how he works on his own character. And this--in terms of scouting--can be achieved only in the troop. And one other thing also--if we wish to have drawing power, and hence influence the youth, we must make arrangements for a place in scouting for those who have an interest in technology; for those who like to romp in the woods; for those who are fascinated by culture; and for those who wish to discuss social and political topics; for those who desire to help other people and exercise their resistance to hardships; and for those who, together with their groups, are mutually prepared to overcome character deficiencies and become better than before. The organization must, therefore, create for all young people the opportunities for valuable deep experiences which aid in strengthening desired social views and attitudes.

[Question] Scouting always was noted for inculcating lasting moral and social values....

[Answer] We wish to win over the youth in school with the idea of scouting service. Because scouting grew as an organization in the service of society and the state. We wish to, therefore, encourage the young people to continue that service under present conditions, showing them the most urgent needs of the nearest center and the people living in it.

In presenting the acknowledged philosophy of life in the organization, we impose high demands on scouts and instructors. We demand behavior conforming to the ideological declarations contained in the scouting laws. This likewise pertains to such matters as abstinence from alcohol and tobacco; social sensitivity; a feeling of responsibility for public affairs; the search for a constructive place for oneself in private life.

It appears that what we offer many students is attractive. They are, after all, fundamentally idealists in the positive meaning of the word. This is a natural characteristic of their age, in which the scale of values leads to an extreme evaluation of right and wrong; there is a growing tendency to criticize the adult society as well as itself. And so the imposition of lofty standards should not be a deterrent, and it is necessary under present day social conditions, against a background of the crises of many authorities and values, with a relaxation in discipline and the feeling of responsibility.

[Question] When we are discussing students, how does the union intend to plan relations with the school in order to aid it and at the same time maintain autonomy?

[Answer] How to maintain independence? In theory there are no problems connected with this. In practice it is worse, and this is not on a central level, but in the schools.... There are difficulties there, where, for example, a teacher is a tribe leader who is simultaneously subject to educational and scouting authorities. He must then skillfully separate both functions in order to maintain their distinction. The matter lies in this: that the student is obliged to acquiesce to school requirements, while in scouting everything is based on the student's voluntary assumption of obligations. Problems appear even then when school authorities attempt to pass the burden of educational responsibility to the tally of youth organizations. But, after all, the presence of scouting does not release the school from performing educational functions. Again I emphasize that scouting should function in the school, but it cannot be an intramural organization. Finally, without scouting the school would be more impoverished. But scouting would not flourish without the school.

[Question] A determination of the status of the instructor-teacher requires regulation in the executive acts of the Teachers Charter--we have already concluded our introductory conversation concerning the scope of education. The status of instructors is largely difficult--not the teachers--it concerns their position in the school domain; it is of concern that they feel as members of the educational team; and at the same time it concerns circumstances at their places of employment. Every year before summer, for example, we encounter great difficulties with the attendance of these instructors at camp. We must arrange for their vacations, to assure departure possibilities for children from troops under their direction. Employers offer opposition, thereby underestimating the social work position of these persons.

[Question] The next problem is the status of the youth cadre; the question of the responsibility of the student-instructor for those under their supervision. The lack of legitimate regulations creates many limitations in everyday work....

[Answer] We have yet, primarily, problems of a general nature. I am thinking of the need to initiate closer ties for the scouts with the centers; to have them understand how necessary they are to it with their useful activities. We wish that a larger group of instructors from the older scouting youths would take an active part in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] and find in it an outlet for their social work, zeal, and an occasion for social service to the general body of children and youths. We seek new plateaus of cooperation with other youth organizations to mutually activate and unite the young generation. We wish to impress the troops and tribes with the decisions of the ninth plenary assembly of the Central Committee [KC], this means to more effectively shape civic, socialist motivation and attitudes.

The assembly took place just before vacation. In camp we made known only its general positions. If we do not pursue the subject more intensely, we could lose the opportunity to win over the youth to participate actively in programs for solving various problems of the country.

[Question] Of course. Many scouting instructors are members of the Polish United Worker's Party [PZPR] and are obliged to observe party decisions in their work.

[Answer] That is correct. It is worthwhile knowing--especially in scouting--that the subject matter of the plenary assembly cannot be imparted by the lecture method. We must translate its decisions into the language of specifics. This is always most difficult. However, if the documentary text of the ninth plenary assembly and the union program are to be compared, it would appear that many of our prior initiatives directly conform to the position adopted in the program of the Central Committee. I have in mind the formation of attitudes and character, of the attitude toward education, the arousing of social activity. In this sense we already carry out the party recommendations as members of the Polish United Worker's Party [PZPR]. However, it is important that every instructor consciously become active in a desired direction, understanding the importance of patriotic education consistent with the ideals of socialism. We must, therefore, undertake a broad discussion on the resolution of the plenary assembly in instructor circles. An opportune occasion to pursue this subject matter will be provided by the district election-report making campaign deliberations on how to indoctrinate the youth with true moral norms and civic attitudes.

In scouting, the exemplary exponents of behavior and ideological essence were and are the troop and tribe leader cadres. It is therefore necessary to talk with them and convince them. Who will do this? The cadre also. And all of this so that later the instructor can attempt to explain to the

scouts in his troop the meaning of socialism. The students are always inclined to erroneously identify our form of government. I am deeply convinced that if it were thoroughly explained to them that the errors committed are actually a contradiction to socialism, and show what corrective measures should be taken, a considerable majority will subscribe to the ideals of socialism. This can be accomplished only by people with convictions.

Speaker: Marek Rudnicki

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CSO: 2600/21

BIELSKO-BIALA POLITICAL FIGURES INTERVIEWED ON YOUTH AFFAIRS

Youth and Authority--A No Man's Land

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 22, 19 Sep 82 pp 8, 9

[Interview with Tadeusz Pilarz, chairman of the Voivodship Board, Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] in Bielsko-Biala by Wacław Orfin; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] What does the situation of youth organizations in work plants look like at present? Are there still two of them that have the courage to speak up with head high on youth problems, against a background of several others that give them moral support, while the rest is passive and waiting?

[Answer] The group around the functioning aktiv that undertakes action in the plant and community is growing. However, there still is a group of those who have not yet found themselves, who are experiencing irresolution and doubts, and are afraid that as before everything will be drowned in a flood of words, promises and barren discussions.

[Question] Let us be precise. Is that youth reserved because of the lack of a conviction that it is worthwhile to act within the framework of the existing system, or does it also set preconditions on whose fulfillment their activity is conditioned?

[Answer] An explicit answer is difficult and that is not an evasion on my part. For example, young people tied great hopes to the party's ninth plenum. First of all, we expected guarantees that would assure us a tolerable existence, the possibility of genuine action and consideration of the young generation's interest in political and economic decisions. Let us, for example, but consider the matter of work and wage reform and the problems associated with it. The universal conviction of young people is: that at the moment we have to do with playing at reform and not reform. Directors in work plants and several higher management persons know something about it, although even they are not keen about initiating reform because many arrangements are not convenient for them. Actually, hardly anything has changed in most plants. Of course, prices have gone up and profits can be shown in reports. Young people look at that and ask: what kind of economic reform is

it? The mess that existed continues, we have to ask the master for the smallest trifle as we did before, there was a lack of materials previously and there also is a lack of them today. And this is where a no man's land begins, that gulf of the lack of confidence between what is proclaimed and practice that does not permit of belief and becoming involved. In this sense it can be said that preliminary conditions do exist, and there are a few questions to which young people expect answers.

[Question] I suggest that you formulate those questions unless you prefer not to do that.

[Answer] I believe, as do people with whom I work that hiding one's head in sand gives nothing. Thus we know perfectly well that the only chance for improving industry is reform, that is it must be a genuine reform with an explicit system of rewards. These should be for work and not for coming to the factory. People also demand the establishment of an appropriate tax system because what is beginning to happen in our country surpasses all belief--one person toils away like a mule for 8 hours in a plant and earns 7,000 (zlotys), while the one who has a head on his shoulders will also work hard, I don't deny that, but he will draw 37,000. That is a spread that cannot be accepted.

[Question] That is constantly an area of setting the economy in order.

[Answer] But it is very important. Just like everything that pertains to social problems, beginning with housing.

[Question] I agree, the basis is important. But the superstructure?

[Answer] Of course, I am not opposed.

[Question] The ZSMP is an organization that organizes young people entering adulthood and state citizenship with full citizenship rights, who create and shape that state on a par with others. Besides setting the economy and social problems in order, they are also greatly interested in matters pertaining to citizen rights and obligations, citizen dignity and participation in decisions.

[Answer] We have always considered and continue to consider that the participation of young people in the country's and their voivodship's sociopolitical life is unusually important. That, of course, is where habits of joint control and joint decision making are formed.

[Question] I am not pleased, however, that you, like many young people, place emphasis on formal guarantees, and assurance of participation by right of law over the activity of those interested. A concept that says: first let us appoint a commission on youth problems, pass a bill on youth rights, obligate institutions of state administration and party echelons to pave the way for us, and we will show them later what we are capable of, is in my opinion rather "juvenile."

[Answer] Those conditions are indispensable, otherwise the situation will again be that decisions are made without us as well for us.

[Question] However, don't you think that that kind of "arrangement" has already become obsolete, it is true that it still is in character with the way authorities and institutions in Poland operate, but that it is ineffective for the future, while its greatest fault is procrastination, lack of aggressiveness and daring. I would perceive the weakness of the organization in this, it is not that way--I think--that one can gain youth's hearts and minds today. It is doubtful whether the organization could become the spokesman for broader groups of young people other than its own members in that way.

[Answer] Exaggeration at every turn is a mistake. Experience taught us that not much can be attained without the establishment of formal frames of action and possibility. This does not mean that they can replace the activity of youth itself and its organization. We will be in a position to occupy whatever place in the country's political and social life we manage to win for ourselves. Even the best decrees will not, of course, guarantee us a place in worker self-governments or people's councils.

[Question] Fine, but why not such activity, such member mobilization first, in order--if already--that right sanctioned only the situation that has arisen?

[Answer] Because times are different. That is precisely how we put the problem in the seventies. I went through all the grades of a functional career in the youth movement in our area beginning with the plant board. I was told each time that when you will be an active organization.... But, when it came to taking care of a specific problem, then a thousand reasons were found for not settling it, putting it aside, or hushing it up. People lost enthusiasm. Thus, for me that expectation of specific decisions and decrees is understandable and logical. Yes, just as it appears logical to me that along with that our great role will be getting youth together, mobilizing it and convincing it once more of the need for action.

For clarity, however, we did not sit and wait for manna: we were active and present the entire time--both during the strike period and other difficult moments. Thus we not only look at decrees and hope that others will do it for us. But I do not imagine a situation existing today in which we will be huddling over work for someone else, when there are specialists and institutions for culture, sports and many other fields. We can inspire, propose and also participate, because we are not accustomed to shirk work, but we no longer want to be slaves.

[Question] Conditions and relationships that link an organization with the party have a very real meaning. What do they look to you for in the voivodship?

[Answer] People currently holding positions in the state apparatus and administration are 30 to 40 years old and most have training in youth organizations. Thus it is easy for us to understand one another. We take up all

problems together, we are currently informed about all initiatives. With such a concept of cooperation based on partnership and equal rights, we as a youth organization go down to our elements, while on the other hand, a party organization to its basic cells. Not everything takes place smoothly as yet, we encounter difficulties, some of them arise from the fact that most of the people in our organization's echelons are new, without experience or know-how in organization activity. It is the same thing in the party apparatus, most of the secretaries and functional persons are people who are new, also untrained, and these are not the times when everything was arranged from above.

[Question] Therefore, love for the party will also not be imposed on youth from above. The young are uncompromising, among other things, they judge the party sternly because it acted as a figurehead for the actions of the preceding decade which brought us to the crisis.

[Answer] The comrades in our voivodship party echelons realize that there will not be a party without young people. They say that loudly and explicitly. And they act consistent with that position. On the other hand, it is obvious to me that time and the successful realization of specific actions are necessary to authenticate the party in the eyes of young people. So is a reaching out to youth by the party apparatus. We have an excellent situation in the voivodship in this respect because the first secretary and others willingly meet with us. That is very important, discussion in one's own circle will not suffice, it is necessary to function actively, because a struggle is taking place for human convictions, hearts and minds. Only activity gives aces in hand. For example, we came out with a proposal to organize a ZSMP youth July holiday. We were very fearful because the spectacle was strictly political, there could be disturbances and provoked incidents. We were also worried about attendance. We were pleasantly surprised-- a total of 10,000 people showed up. There were 3,000 viewers in the very sharply and boldly constructed amphitheater that rendered tapes of Walesa and Jaruzelski pronouncements. That is symptomatic for us.

[Question] Lately young people are being reproached quite frequently with a lack of courage. In your opinion do young people have a sufficient amount of internal strength, conviction and faith for pulling the country out of the crisis?

[Answer] We have many intelligent and professionally trained young people. Bad experiences result in young people not wanting to immediately assume responsibility blindly. Besides that, reality tells them to wait. An example is the already cited problem of wages. If there will be conditions, fields for action and agreement on independence, then young people can be counted on. Young people are not afraid of the risk of bearing responsibility, or rather the power of agreements. Proof? Perhaps just our young people's work cooperative which has orders for several million [product not stated] after only a few months of operation. Here, the relationship turned out to be simple--those who organized it believed in themselves, and their capabilities and see the effects of their initiatives. In the Compact Car

Factory on the other hand, they must put their trust in the entire complicated administrative and organization machine--that is why the problem is more difficult and more time is required for its clarification.

Strength Must Be Sought Within One's Self

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 22, 19 Sep 82 pp 9, 10

[Interview with Andrzej Gdula, secretary of PZPR Voivodship Committee in Bielsko-Biala by Waclaw Orfin; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Young people are blocked, told to wait, obstacles are raised to displaying talents, qualifications and capabilities. In effect, youth's influence on the country's fate and even on decisions affecting the young generation itself is not very great. In the party either. Do you agree with that opinion, comrade?

[Answer] The average age of the secretariat of our voivodship committee is below 40, most of the department heads are also young people. I believe it would also be difficult to talk about discrimination against the young in other voivodships. In short, the older activists were censured during the last campaign, and the young were not saddled with the faults of the past, moreover, tough and uncompromising pronouncements got the applause, thus a natural gate opened before youth.

[Question] Therefore, that would be a special circumstance and not a principle.

[Answer] There is one route--it is necessary to be present in the party and everywhere decisions are made. We are saying a great deal now and demanding democracy, thus whosoever wants to be elected must first obtain recognition in the community. Participation either by formula or through a rather legalistic statute mechanism that guarantees the young generation proportionate participation is not good. If only because it can skew the true picture of social activity. There are, of course, villages and cities where ordinarily there are few young people, or they are passive and they play no role in the local community.

[Question] However, the demand for certain guarantees is universal in the youth community.

[Answer] And it has its justification, however, placement of overly great hopes in institutional solutions is tantamount to succumbing to an illusion that if we have a "commission on rights" then everything will already be taken care of. Unfortunately, there is no other way than one's own work and one's own action. At any rate, that is consistent with the young generation's demand which no longer wants to be led by the hand and which prefers its own active presence.

The area of activity is immaterial, it can be the party, social organizations, or cultural or educational institutions. Nothing stands in the way,

so that by utilizing existing structures youth can "thrust" itself into groups and decision-making bodies. I do not personally know of a single instance where this aroused opposition on the part of the people functioning there. As a rule youth displayed relatively little activity.

[Question] One of the main currents of critical campaigns before the ninth plenum was the demand that the recruitment of new people not be restricted only to youth organizations.

[Answer] To be sure the problem exists particularly with reference to the lack of appropriately broad representation by the young generation in elements of state authority. I see possibilities for changing this state of affairs also with reference to the party, in the activity of problem commissions. Thus, the problems of young people have an opportunity for effective and direct transmission to places in which decisions are made. The greatest defect of various kinds of preferences is the introduction of automatic division mechanisms, for example, into young and old, whereas the community is one. Thus it is necessary to create legal and economic regulations that grant equal opportunities to all, regardless of age, convictions or affiliation with a specific post. We must be particularly concerned with that today because Polish society already is sufficiently atomized. Proof of that could be the pushing and negotiating of various professional groups for additional profits and privileges, without regard of whether this might, by chance, be taking place at someone else's expense.

[Question] We are alluding indirectly here to the ever strongly noted need for social consolidation around a crisis exit program. In one talk you said how important it is that there be young people in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. However, will the young generation want to join en masse in the task of reform after the shock it experienced following the introduction of martial law?

[Answer] We should be rather careful in generalizing in this regard. In my opinion, this was a move for a substantial portion of young people, particularly for party members, as well as for part of the older generation that is fully understandable. The concept of social shock is abused, undoubtedly the definition itself of martial law introduced in a socialist state for the first time undoubtedly has the same influence--that in the main caused the confusion and weighed heavily on thinking. Despite these differences in evaluation we do however have prospects for consolidating society around a program for getting out of the crisis.

[Question] However, will the young generation support that program?

[Answer] I believe it will. A basic condition is straightening out the economy and the effects of that regulation observable on the market. I agree with those who say that a certain act of a political nature is also necessary. Can it be acknowledged that the Patriotic Movement for National Reform and the area of cooperation that it proposes is it? Today, in mid-1982, such a statement would still be premature. Most certainly, however, more and more

people are rallying around that movement. This is an indication that an awareness is seeping through with difficulty through the social consciousness on the necessity for a positive solution, and that anarchy and rowdiness will not lead to anything.

[Question] We cannot dream of a rapid improvement in living conditions but we can create conditions for strengthening the belief that an emergence from the crisis is possible in a specified time frame. However, youth is impatient.

[Answer] Not only youth, we are a very impatient people, we would like to make all things so to say on the double. However, life has this about it, that changes do not take place so rapidly. Thus, for me it is obvious that the economic reform cannot be introduced on a month to month basis. Even an exceptional concept must overcome people's mentality, customs and habits. It also is necessary to train the cadre accomplishing a given concept. That also requires time. There is much resistance, not only at ministerial and institution management levels, but also at the foreman level. The Hungarian reform was in preparation substantially longer. Its scope was smaller than ours and despite that its realization is still continuing. Thus, we must learn patience and exacting and arduous daily toil from ourselves.

It is worthwhile along with this to become aware of one more thing. Namely, that almost immediately after introduction of our reform against opposition, and with great public effort, a whole swarm of speculators began to gorge itself. A swarm that is taking advantage of the reform's mechanisms and is robbing people. Unfortunately, many plants that raise prices, juggle indices and earn profits at someone else's expense belong to this group. This is a deeply immoral matter and we will not eliminate similar phenomena by any order or resolution. However, we cannot pretend that we did not know about the possibility of the emergence of negative symptoms. The appearance of difficulties, the distortion of concepts by immoral actions cannot, however, take away our belief in the propriety of the choice selected. We cannot take offense at the country or our place on earth, thus we must demonstrate to ourselves and others that in undertaking specified actions we are capable of bringing them to a conclusion. In my opinion, that conviction slowly clears the way to an ever greater part of the public. This is facilitated by the fact that this time no one is promising anything. On the contrary, it is being said clearly that it is necessary to work for everything.

[Question] However, not only are the economic mechanisms and resistances inherent in people important. Young people particularly, apply one additional measure, moral rationales and consistence with socialist ideals. In a recent study by the Institute of Youth Studies, they recognized such values as true socialism, socialist democracy, socialist moral norms and class struggle as empty phrases without substance. At the same time, that same youth considers those particular slogans--also adding the dignity of man, citizen and worker--as the highest values. For them the vision of economic success is of secondary importance. Instead they want to see an immediate departure from the bad practices of the past today.

[Answer] Thus, youth did not negotiate principles but only the manner of their realization. There is no doubt that we must behave toward specified principles of behavior with the greatest solicitude. Authority must serve society and thus must live by its laws. That is important particularly in a Marxist-type party--because the workers' party ends where the lack of workers' thinking begins, if the thinking at the top is entirely different than that at the bottom. To be sure, primary rights can predominate sometimes, but then it is a matter of the leadership to convince the masses of the need for postponing specified actions, or making a special effort to achieve a given goal. Simply stated, we are not allowed to repeat the methods of action and mechanisms which created the present problems. We told ourselves this clearly at the congress. Are we achieving those decisions consistently? Certainly not everywhere nor always, but that also most usually in the world takes time and learning from one's own mistakes.

[Question] False steps were also taken in the past with respect to youth organizations. I have in mind here the frequently emphasized management of the movement, imposition of examples and patterns of action as well as paternalistic treatment.

[Answer] I doubt if youth here in Bielsko Biala would currently feel inclined to make similar charges. We based relations between the Party Voivodship Committee and ZSMP Voivodship Board on mutually determined principles of partnership, and up to now have been observing them strictly. The motivation is self-evident--we need one another. The Chairman of the Voivodship Board is present at every executive board meeting, we inform ZSMP members about every question that affects young people, or requires their filling a position. We try to the extent possible to give support and help to youth organization initiatives. In short, we work together on many matters.

[Question] If the question was asked directly: what do you value in the Polish Socialist Youth Association in your voivodship and what reservations have you?

[Answer] I believe we had similar problems just like other voivodship echelons, the party here also experienced bad moments during the past months. The problems manifested themselves even more sharply in youth organizations. They were multiplied and the close connection with the party gave rise to a feeling of guilt for the situation that arose. Young people did not know how to cope with the crush of events, conflicting views and surrounding pressures. As a result the ranks started to crumble and in some organizations activity came to a halt. However, the ZSMP is slowly beginning to emerge from those difficulties.

On the other hand, I consider it a plus that the basic youth aktiv did not even in the most difficult moments lose its ideological identity, emphasized the ideological educational nature of the organization and its socialistic origins. Also, it did not turn away from the party. As is known, it was different in other youth organizations. This permits us to constantly build bridges between the party and youth, voivodship echelon and union elements.

[Question] In one of your meetings you spoke about difficulties in filling the post of the Compact Car Factory director. Yet--the director position was offered to a young man. That is somewhat contradictory of your positive attitude toward the young and their problems which you do not conceal either in this conversation or in any of your pronouncements.

[Answer] In speaking of the car factory case I had in mind the difficulties that emerge when one intends to, or has to turn over executive authority to the young. Notwithstanding the rather general opinion, I say that the party never did set any obstacles to the promotion of young people. I, for example, am not from a family of activists. I was born in a Galician town, my grandfather was a legionary, my father a craftsman. From the moment I began work in youth organizations, I remember that there always was a group of activists that led the organization and that future apparatus workers were recruited from the group. I was not yet 30 when I already was County Committee party secretary. Practically all of the county heads came from youth organizations. The problem that we are struggling with today is of a different kind. We do not have a reserve cadre. The problem with finding a candidate for FSM director is actually an example of that, though not untypical, because to take on the responsibility for such a giant is a very difficult decision.

[Question] My question had a somewhat different implication. Forty percent of those employed are under 30. They have qualifications, skills and essential enthusiasm on their side. The reform, on the other hand, is not the problem of those who are going to be leaving the active life scene but of those who are going to be entering it. Will the young generation find enough fervor, activity and faith to deal with the requirements of the moment, and after the euphoria of the past 10 years to see their opportunities in the arduousness and drudgery of the years that await us?

[Answer] I think so. Anyway, that is the natural course of events. We have persuaded ourselves that this is an event when 30-year olds become directors or secretaries, and let us recall the post-war years--that was then an everyday occurrence. The times were such then that the young had to take on the main burden of responsibility. Such a time has come about now. They will cope with it because they have to. Life does not tolerate a vacuum, and one must seek strength in himself.

10433
CSO: 2600/13

WOZNIAK MEETS WITH WARSAW SCOUTING LEADERS

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 23 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Joanna Leszczynska: "We Can and Should Talk"]

[Text] I would like to learn what the Warsaw Capital Council of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] is doing for the young and with the young in the field of education, sports and upbringing, what the main activities of your organization are and what problems you are experiencing--Marian Wozniak, member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee, first secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR committee, told yesterday a meeting of leaders of districts and tribes and representatives of Basic Party Organizations [POP] in scouting.

The weather did not cooperate with the organizers of the meeting. It was raining incessantly and the meeting had to be moved from the terrace of the Scout Aquatics Center on Czerniakow Promontory to one of the halls. There, around a fireplace, the climate of a scout meeting was quickly created.

This was no ordinary meeting. It was often mentioned that those in attendance did not come together only to talk about how good things were. The issue of bringing up the youth, and not necessarily scouts, turned out to be the most controversial. Attempts were made to find out what respective roles in this complex process can be assumed by the scouts, the schools and the family.

Krzysztof Pilatowicz, district leader from Warszawa Wola: "I think that the school is the best equipped to bring up a young man. However, in my opinion, the school has no program of upbringing--instruction is all it offers. Rosters of jubilees and state holidays are drawn up and they are celebrated; this, however, does not get through to young people.

"Does the school principal know his young people, does he know their interests? What was the atmosphere in schools after 13 December? Why did somebody not try to explain the situation that arose to them? Young people were only familiarized with the orders. Meanwhile, young people turned inward. We must talk to the youth, but these must be thought-out talks."

Urszula Wacowska, leader of Downtown Warsaw district: "I think that Krzysztof simplified many issues. To be sure, it is difficult indeed to talk to young people these days. I am a representative of the party organization and I often visit youth camps. This year we visited only elementary school camps. We did not have the nerve to face the young people from Batory school during their rest. This also has something to do with our prestige in ZHP. At times I think that in my district I am nothing less than a pillar of the party. Everybody is waiting and watching for whatever else I can come up with. I, for one, observe that a bulk of issues that came up at the ninth plenum are being resolved little by little. We must draw the attention of the instructor cadre to this fact, and they, in turn, should show this to young people. They must understand that it is "in" to talk to the party."

Marian Wozniak: "I have been to a meeting with this year's graduates of the Batory General High School. Indeed, conversations with young people are not easy. I think that we should pay closer attention to the upper level students in secondary schools this year. This is a responsibility not only for you as representatives of scouting organizations but for everyone involved in the process of upbringing. After all, the scouts do not hold a monopoly on politico-patriotic upbringing in the school system."

Urszula Wacowska: "However, we would like to give them more than the school has to offer...."

Marian Wozniak: "But do you have the materials that can be helpful to your cadres in their activities? Are these materials adequate?"

Voice from the audience: "We have various newsletters, bulletins, but young people want to meet a live person."

Marian Wozniak: "If the process of upbringing is carried out exclusively by the party, it will not succeed. This is a task for the school and youth organizations. In my opinion, the family can now be an influence in the economic sphere, whereas the school can influence not only young people, but their parents as well."

Marek Wecki, leader of the tribe in General High School XXIV: "Once I took part in a discussion in the teachers' lounge on political indoctrination. It went like this: an inspector came, who, if my memory serves me right, was in charge of sports, someone read some data from some tables, a nervous student in a shuddering voice reported on the activities of the school's Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship [TPPR] chapter and yet another student on the League for the Preservation of Nature. After I took the floor and spoke on the relevant topic, a break was organized...Then something was read again...."

Marian Wozniak: "Therefore, the principal should be the one to get educated in the first place...."

Waclaw Bankowski, superintendent in the Capital Superintendent's Office for Education and Upbringing:

"I would like to once again stress the role of school in the process of upbringing. It is not true, as it has been suggested in this forum, that you can provide education without upbringing. No class period passes without an element of upbringing coming up. We should be aware of this fact."

Marian Wozniak: "To my mind, it is encouraging that young people are looking for role models. After all, one can hibernate only for so long. You must aid the youth in its search."

The meeting took more time than the organizers had expected, almost 4 hours. Along with the issues of upbringing, technical and economic aspects of the union's activity were discussed, among other topics. It was indicated that the decision of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing on reducing the break between semesters to a mere 1 week was ill-received by young people.

Brigadier General Jan Siuchinski, chairman of the Warsaw Capital Friends of Scouting Council, also took part in the meeting.

9761

CSO: 2600/8

DAILY INTERVIEWS SCOUT UNION COMMANDER

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14 Sep 82 p 3

[Interview with Scoutmaster of People's Poland Ryszard Wosinski by Tomasz Kalita: "Wanted--Desired"]

[Text] ZYCIE interviews Scoutmaster of People's Poland Ryszard Wosinski, commander-in-chief of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP).

[Question] The battle for governing souls goes on. The matter is serious. There are rumors about yet another lost generation. As perhaps never before, a lot of attention is being paid to youth and their education; the Committee of the Council of Ministers and the minister to Youth Affairs have been appointed. The PZPR Central Committee plenum concerned the necessity of winning the youth and educating diligent, devoted and loyal citizens of the socialist state. This should be done by school and youth organizations. What are the specific assignments for the Scout Union?

[RW] Our assignments do not result directly or exclusively from the party or Council of Ministers resolutions. We are in the process of implementing resolutions from our own Scout Congress which took place in the spring of last year. At that time we made a critical evaluation of Scouting and prepared a plan for renewal. The plan included educational values, which are at present at the center of attention of the government and society. The battle for governing souls will take place, in my opinion, in the sphere of deep motivations and in the scale of values. Motivations and values depend on education, and if we will include the socialist system in our perspective, then the battle will be won. This is a great opportunity for the Scouts. Very likely the Scouting Union is the only organization which includes the formation of personal virtues and the adaptation of specific social values in its program. This is the essence of Scouting Law.

[Question] There are constant discussions about the inefficiency of educational efforts, including those of Scouting. On and on the efforts turn out to be superficial, and they disappoint expectations when they are put to the test. Nevertheless, Scouting has 70 years of traditions and great successes in education. The best, most patriotic and self-sacrificing

generation was raised on Scouting. In view of this, shouldn't we borrow inspiration from the tested, traditional methods?

[RW] This is not as simple as it appears. It is not enough to borrow inspiration from experience; this is not always possible. Scouting has its own ethos, developed during the war and a deep-seated public awareness, but we must consider realities and the contemporary function of Scouting in society. We should not forget that Scouting was established 70 years ago as a response to specific needs and political trends. Scouting was designed to prepare young people for service to the country and society. This principle remains; however, the needs have changed. Several times in history in the name of duty the Polish Scout Union adopted (either they did it themselves or it was done for them) a program according to changing conditions and expectations. In responding to immediate needs and goals, however, one shouldn't lose one's perspective concerning the way that youth should be educated. As an excellent example, one could consider the "Today, Tomorrow and the Day After Tomorrow" program of the Gray Ranks, a program established during the nightmare time of the war. The program included extremely courageous and far-reaching (for those times) drafts and plans for "the victorious post-war period."

We could use a little bit of this faith today.

[Question] What should be done to convince young people to awaken their faith and to gain their confidence in the proposed issues?

[RW] We should take advantage of a youthful trait--the young's critical attitude to reality. Of course, this is not the best vehicle for action but it is available. Their disagreement with existing reality can be used creatively to transform that reality. It is only necessary that youth start believing that their enthusiasm will not be wasted. Above all, they must be allowed their own dream. The instructors can advise, share experience, act as behavior models, but they will not be able to induce youth to do anything that is inconsistent with their ideas or that cannot command their trust.

[Question] Last year a new trend appeared in Scouting. It was very popular among Scouting Ranks and Instructors. Malkowski Circles were clearly linked with traditional Scouting values, including even the negation of currently accepted Scouting values. This led to conflicts within the Union. One cannot deny that the Circle's program inspired the desired trust from young people. Is it possible that traditional values are in such disagreement with current functions of the Union that these values cannot be used?

[RW] I do not want to discuss the events of last year because I believe that even though the renewal movement was born out of the needs of the heart, I am also convinced that it was used for political goals. The Malakowski Circle's program became popular with great numbers of Scouts. The Circles and their Agreement Council obviously enjoyed the support of Solidarity; nothing would be wrong with this except for the fact that it

was not the internal influence of the Scouting Union's mainstream that led to the divisiveness in Scouting, but the influence of the protector (Solidarity). By the end of last year, we were close to real divisions.

The Polish Scout Union, due to its importance as an organization, is always subjected to influences from various political forces and is considered during political planning. Therefore, whenever something occurred, Scouting was in the center of attention. The Union was always affected by different influences, and this always had adverse effects. At best, disputes took place; at worst, divisions. This refers primarily to instructor cadres, who have very diversified ideological origins. There are some--why should we bother talking about it--who do not agree with political reality; there are also some who got into Scouting accidentally. And yet we must remember that some of them, in particular those who are older, represent living history for the young people; and, therefore, have tremendous influence on the Scouts. We decided in the Union to establish independent troops and patrols, in which the instructor is the dominating element, especially for younger Scouts. He is an organizer, a leader and a model. He has decisive influence on the youth's education. Due to the independence of the troops--and I cannot imagine Scouting any other way--youth is entirely committed to him. The matter is complicated because higher echelons cannot do anything about it. Resistance to such innovation is extremely strong. This does not mean that I am complaining or attempting to make excuses. This is simply the way it is, and force cannot help, but only harm, the situation. The current issue is one of channeling the troops' actions in the desired direction. The assignment is: to properly and competently direct the vast emotions inherent in youth. However, in order to use this opportunity, the instructor must convince youth of the verity of the slogans and ideas. Therefore, he himself must be fully conscious of the ideology at hand. If he is not convinced or certain, the chances for success are very small.

[Question] We could perhaps advance the argument that we will experience failures in education, a lack of confidence, crises, and that we will reject certain slogans unless those slogans are clear and are perceived as reflecting dependable and unquestionable values. Without that, none of the resolutions will help to solve our problems.

[RW] Neither Scouting nor education can be used to achieve current goals or benefits. Youth, due to their inherent critical spirit, cannot be deceived or persuaded. Therefore, a wrong approach can easily increase their lack of confidence even more. There is both good and bad, and often we do not have enough experience to evaluate what is important and what is not. This is a function of the instructor. If we would like young people to believe in things that are not always obvious even to us adults (including of course instructors) just because this is the way it should be, then let's not be surprised when we do not succeed. It is not enough that we educate in the name of socialism if we do not know for sure what it really means or what it will be like when it actually occurs. If those matters are not obvious to an instructor, then does it make sense that they will be obvious to youth? We should also consider the Polish educational system, which is

neither uniform nor consistent. A young person is often subjected to inconsistent educational instruction. This easily leads to confusion, disbelief, negation and mutiny. Therefore, Scouting itself is unable to provide for full education for the young generation; this would be an irresponsible declaration. The problems will not be easy to solve, even if school, home, and youth organizations (including Scouting) go hand in hand in the battle for governing souls.

[Question] Could you describe the cooperation of the Polish Scout Union with other youth organizations? It is relatively simple to perceive controversies, conflicts of interest, ambitions....

[RW] The Polish Scout Union, fortunately, was least involved in those rivalries over who was truer, ideologically better, socialistic. If the atmosphere of conflicting influences causes disputes to take place between youth organizations, this is certainly very harmful to education, and we do not want to be involved. There is too much to be done. During the Congress we declared ourselves willing to cooperate with everybody to whom the youth cause is of concern.

[Question] Did you describe your program during the plenum assembly when you were appointed as commander-in-chief of the Polish Scout Union?

[RW] This was not necessary. Before I was appointed, I was a vice-commander for a year and a half; therefore, I think that I was chosen based on what I did during that time. In a brief pronouncement following the appointment, I only repeated that the main goal of Scouting is to educate youth and that education does not tolerate improvisation or haste. That is why we will suppress showiness and overeager promises regarding the work of the organization. We will wait patiently for the effects of education as evinced by our graduates in their attitudes, in their assimilation of honest principles of behavior and in their life choices. We simply would like to educate wise and honest people because those values count most in life--not only for an individual but also for societies and nations.

12199

CSO: 2600/953

HIGH SCHOOLERS SPEAK ON TEACHER ATTITUDES, PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 29, 29 Aug 1982 p6

[Article by Wojciech Sierakowski]

[Text] I met them in the village of Lelowo, at a recreational-educational scout camp. It was their turn to do duty in the camp kitchen. Nevertheless, they found some time to talk. Although it was the middle of their vacation, we nevertheless talked about...school. To be exact, about what they expected from school, about their studies, teachers, self-management. In a word, about things which annoy and irritate them. For them it is an important subject; after all, they still have 3 years of study in high school before them. If only, then, it turned out that their demands could be met... I present an account of our conversation in the camp kitchen for the consideration of teachers (and not only teachers).

[Question] How did your first year in the new school go? Was it an easy and smooth transition to a new environment?

Krzysztof I: For the first 6 months it was difficult. I personally felt very unsure of myself. I didn't know anyone and until I got to know other students and teachers, I felt a bit like an outsider. Afterwards, of course, it was better; the teachers and the class ceased to be such a big unknown quantity as during the first month or two. One simply learned what could be expected from this or that teacher, from other students.

Tomasz: What struck me most was the change in the relationship between teachers and pupils. In primary school, it seems to me that the teacher was closer to us. In high school, on the other hand, the height of his desk begins to separate him from us; this distance is clearly felt. If, for example, I could discuss things or even argue with a teacher in primary school, in high school there's no question of this. Here the rules of the game are different, at least at the beginning. It's difficult to explain it more precisely, you simply feel it.

Alexander: The worst thing is the feeling of being an outsider and the uncertainty. How do teachers assess you, what does your neighbor in the class

room think of you, how do you appear to them? This causes a mutual reserve. And such an atmosphere certainly doesn't make it easy to adapt to the new environment. I think it's like that everywhere and there's no way for people who don't know each other to develop trust in each other quickly.

Tomasz: We should also mention the martial law which has had an impact on school. The majority accepted the increase in discipline but there were some who remain opposed today. This affects us, albeit in this lack of trust. I'm not speaking now, for example, about divisions between pupils and teachers. This also had an influence on the first year. At least, that's how I see it.

[Question] What exactly do you mean by your last sentence?

Tomasz: Briefly, I'm afraid of a certain kind of discrimination against some pupils. I'll give you an example. Our school is a secular institution, but despite this there are crosses hanging in the class rooms. Many people are not at all in favor of these crosses but they don't say anything about it. Or if they do, it's only to each other. Why? Because they are simply afraid that some of the teachers won't like such a point of view. It's the same with political sympathies. Not everyone was for Solidarity. But the student won't say so out loud because what if he hit on someone who doesn't like this kind of opinion? What would happen then? Who would defend such a student? Those who, in turn, are not particularly convinced about religious practices in everyday life feel the same way. And thus the circle closes, and both sides look with reserve on each other.

[Question] But there is a school self-management body which could defend those who are wronged.

Krzysztof II: The problem is that self-management in practice doesn't mean anything. You can see this clearly with your own eyes. The life of the school is ruled by the principal and neither the self-management nor the students have a say in anything. That's why it's pointless to talk about self-management in our school. There has been much talk about it and nothing has changed. And that effectively keeps us quiet because what would I do if, for example, they were to throw me out of the school? For us that's a very real threat.

Aleksander: In our technical high school, on the other hand, it's not at all so bad with self-management. The principal doesn't interfere very much in self-management matters. There is a certain freedom in this respect. From what I know, at the end of the year people in the school's self-management solved many questions important to the students. It's true, though, that I can't say much about this because it's students from the older classes who are involved in self-management matters.

Tomasz: You're lucky because in my school this freedom is limited to the class, to class self-management. Of course, we have school self-management but in practice most of the decisions are taken by the school principal and the teachers. What's worse, these are decisions which directly concern the

students. And self-management is supposed to help and represent them. It should be something like a bridge between the principal's office and the students. After all, the principal doesn't know everyone, he isn't in a position, for example, to enter into my problems like a student from my class. Why is it like that? How do I know? Martial law is one factor, but a second one is the return of old habits.

Krzysztof II: And it's precisely for that reason that I have the impression that our conversation won't change anything. Perhaps a few teachers will take to heart what we are talking about but the rest will, as usual, read it and will then carry on in their own way. And that will be the sole result of our chat.

In school we were told straight out that all protests would be treated as a political act. There's no need to explain what this means. That's why I think that in this school year there's not much that can be changed. At the moment there's no discussion, only instructions.

[Question] Alright, but what would you like to change? Perhaps there are too many things and hence the fears of your principals.

Krzysztof I: Not everyone wants to make a revolution in school all at once. Our problems are of a completely different kind. It's clear, for example, that primary schools have a different standard and that some students then have problems in schools of a higher level. There are, then, weaker and better classes. I myself am in precisely such a weaker class and I confess that I expected some kind of help from the teachers. At the same time, it turned out that teachers have their favorites and those they don't like, and they aren't very interested in the weaker ones. You can see this from the grades or from the help which they give students. If I say, then, that it's necessary to put an end to the favoring of some students, to injustice in handing out grades and in behavior towards us, what's revolutionary about that? After all, it's only a question of justice, of a better approach to the weaker ones. Put more delicately, of understanding their problems and not, as up till now, scorning and even ridiculing them in front of the class.

Tomasz: I think that there should be an end finally to the stereotype of the school which today functions according to the principle of--learn in class and then go home. After all, it shouldn't be like that, it's not simply a question of stuffing into our heads a minimum of general knowledge but rather of preparing us in some way for our future adult lives. School provides us with knowledge about this and that but basically we leave without any practical experience. We have information in our heads of course, but when it is confronted with reality, young people often become helpless before the problems of adult life. Everyone expects it's not clear what, and the problems of starting out clip their wings afterward. Should it be like this? I don't think so. I think that we could learn a lot about these kinds of things at school. But they don't discuss things like that with us during lessons.

Krzysztof II: The question of fairness. I'll just say one thing: if an ordinary student begins his studies with a grade of three, then he'll get

threes all the way through. And even if he stood on his head, he wouldn't get better grades because they've stuck a label on him, he's someone who gets threes. Obviously, you get such labels from other students also, but not only from them and that's the worst. Another example--what goes on when a student has someone in his family associated with teaching? Then, even if he gets nothing but twos throughout the year, at the end they pull him up "by his ears" to threes. Those "worse" students don't have such opportunities. I personally know of such cases and for me they are examples of glaring injustice in school. I don't know if any of my colleagues agree with such a situation. Of course, our necessarily quiet protests (because who today wants openly to oppose teachers or the principal's office?) don't change anything.

Tomasz: I've already talked about the fear of expressing one's opinion. As a result, instead of discussing, presenting our opinion in a wider forum, and defending our views, we sit in lessons and keep silent. It's not surprising that afterward some pupils uncritically believe everything that someone whispers in their ear as though in great secrecy. Teachers complain that we are too inactive during lessons. But they themselves treat us like a grey mass with who it's not worth discussing anything. And we, after all, want such discussion, but in order to have a discussion you need to know a little more about events and people than is written in textbooks. However, we don't have such knowledge. What has happened, for example, to subjects concerning most recent Polish history, what do we know about Stalinism or about problems of the ideological struggle? We only know what is generally said about such matters but we don't have any deeper analysis. Well, how can we understand everything that has happened and is happening in our country? Many people become confused between rumors and their own unthought-out convictions. I think, then, that if school is to educate us, the job has to be done properly and not just "superficially." After all, I don't take on faith what's written in textbooks, especially if I hear from various sources that it wasn't like that. Why shouldn't school convince us with substantive arguments? Why, instead of these, do we only have a kind of press conference? They'll tell us about some things but not about others--this is, after all, antieducation.

[Question] Would it really be impossible to change this for the better?

Krzysztof II: It would be possible but probably not now. Who would change it? We have little say. Maybe the self-management could take up these matters but, as I've already said, they can't do much. The teachers? Everything suggests that, without asking our opinion, they think they know what's best for us.

Krzysztof I: Let's wait and see what comes out of this. I think, though, that we shall keep on going round in a circle--the students on their own and the teachers on their own. That's how it seems to me. But maybe our conversation will change something. It would be good if it did!

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END