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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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15 March 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ROMANIANS REVIEW ARTICLES IN HUNGARIAN PARTY HISTORY JOURNAL

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 1 Jan-Feb 84 pp 151-153

[Article by Ana Budura]

[Text] The four issues of the journal, published during the year 1982, mirror the Hungarian historians' concern for elucidating some significant episodes in the early period of the working class movement and the historical circumstances of the creation of the political party of the working class in Hungary, for studying its activity under the extremely complex conditions of the interwar period. Moreover, noticeable is the greater attention paid to expanding the reflection of the results of research on the history of the international working-class movement and of national liberation movements -- a topic to which nine of the 19 studies and reports published are devoted.

Academician Nemes Deszo presents the activity of the HSDP in the crucial days of the autumn of 1918, in two studies titled: "Special Congress of HSDP of October 1918" (No 2) and "Revolution of Chrysanthemums and HSDP" (No 3), and in the article titled: "Foundation of the Hungarian Communist Party and Its Early Activity" (No 4), he demonstrates the evolution of the historical process toward the proletarian revolution.

In his first study, the author sketches the condition of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in the first half of October 1918 and describes the attempts of the ruling circles at preventing its disintegration. He points out that these attempts proved to be fruitless because "in the ranks of oppressed peoples, the flames of the national independence movements were rising higher and higher" (p 5) and also because of the indisputable reality that "the proletariat had become a great political power, its bodies included broader and broader masses and in its ranks there was the widely spreading hope in the close overthrow of the monarchy and the eagerness for action was growing" (p 5). The author dwells at length on the conflict of opinions on the eve and during the October 1918 Special Congress of HSDP, at which the participants formulated the party political line under those complex conditions. He demonstrates that,

if at first, the party leadership believed in the possibility that the HSDP, the only political party in Hungary which had minority commissions, would unanimously speak out for the territorial integrity of Hungary, provided the nationality discontents were met and the democratic reforms introduced, gradually, however, and especially under pressure from the the delegates of the national commissions of Romanians, Slovaks and Serbs and of the delegates of the left wing of the party attending the congress, it was compelled to understand the complexity of the situation and abandon the idea of unanimity on this matter.

In the study titled: "Foundation of the Hungarian Communist Party and Its Early Activity," Nemesz Deszo analyzes the historical conditions under which the party was created and began its activity. He points out the worsening of the national and class contradictions inside the country in November 1918. He emphasizes the fact that this was also caused by the attitude of the new government which, even after the proclamation of the democratic Republic and after the process of separation from Hungary of Transylvania and the other regions inhabited in great majority by the oppressed nations had become irreversible, "nevertheless continued to hope in defense of the territorial integrity of the Hungarian state" (p 9). The author assesses that "these unreal hopes were fostered by the naive belief that by some compromises on autonomy and with the aid of the armed forces there will be a halt" (p 9) to this process.

Two authors, Kovago Laszlo and Tilkovsky Lorant, noted for their research on the minority problem in Hungary, provided two surveys in the journal. The first author wrote: "The Hungarian Communist Party on Revision and the Minority Problem (1936-1942)," and the second author wrote: "The Activity of the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party Among the Ranks of the German Nationality (1919-1931)."

Kovago Laszlo surveys the changes that occurred in the nationality policy of the Hungarian Communist Party after the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935, when, with the adoption of the new tactical line of the struggle for a democratic republic, also replaced was the slogan of the revision of the Trianon Treaty "along the revolutionary or proletarian path" (p 48). According to the new orientation, on the minority problem -- the author -- indicates -- the HCP "must explain to the Hungarian people's masses that the policy of the government, that is aimed at the revision, by force, by military means, of the Trianon Peace Treaty, leads to war, imperiling the independence of the Hungarian nation," and also that "only by the fight for peace, only by means of cooperation with the peace-loving forces in Europe, can the Hungarian people obtain the reexamination of the Trianon Treaty and the rigthing of the injustices caused by it" (p 49). We note here the fact that the author does not take into consideration a great historical evidence, namely the fact that the Trianon only confirmed, gave legal sanction, in international relationship, to the Unification of Transilvania with Romania, an act accomplished by the united struggle of the Romanian nation and unanimously voted at the Grand National Assembly at Alba Iulia. Hence, the problem of "revision" could not be posed either by means of "force" or "peacefully," as advocated by the Hungarian Communist Party in the interwar period.

The author then dwells on the stands of the HCP on the nationality problem and the foreign policy, demonstrating that the party warned against the danger of concluding an alliance with Hitler Germany and Fascist Italy, for obtaining the revision desired by the ruling classes, an alliance that would lead to Hungary's involvement in a war, in which she "might lose her national independence, whether she would emerge the winner, or the defeated" (p 50). Moreover, the party fought for the conclusion of a non-aggression treaty with neighboring countries, that would unite them in face of the Fascist danger. Moving on to the analysis of the HCP policy adopted after 1938, the author indicates that the HCP considered the territories annexed to Hungary, "following the first and second decision in Vienna, as a 'success' obtained within the framework of the policy of Fascist conquest and opined that these cannot be accepted as final or acknowledged internationally" (p 55).

Continuing the thread of his survey, the author describes the nationality policy of the HCP after Hungary's return to the multinational state status, following the annexation of the south of Slovakia, Sub-Carpathian Ukraine and Northern Transylvania, in the circumstance in which, after the forced annexations, the ruling circles proceeded to the adoption of an aggressive policy of denationalization.

In conclusion of the article, the author assesses that, as proved by documents, the definitive program of the HCP on the nationality problem was worked out by the end of 1942. Proceeding from the recognition of the fact that the obtaining of territories "was achieved in the context of the Fascist aggression and that this situation could not be maintained after the defeat of Fascist Germany" (p 80), he foresaw as maximum claim the recognition of the right to self-determination until separation from the Hungarian state for the more numerous nationalities, and as minimum claim, the guaranteeing of the laws which would ensure equal rights and, in some cases, autonomy for non-Hungarian populations on Hungary's territory.

The survey: "Formulation of the Policy of the Hungarian Socialist workers Party (November 1956-June 1957)," signed by Szabo Balint, examines the process in which was finalized the new political line of the HSWP, after the tragic events of the autumn of 1956, integrating it into the overall trend in the international movement in those years. The author assesses that in November 1956, a new era was ushered in Hungary in terms of application of the revolutionary theory (p 234), with the HSWP abandoning the copying of the policy of other communist parties and switching to creative and independent adaptation of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions in its own country.

The articles and surveys on the history of the international working-class movement and the history of the national liberation movements cover a wide range of topics. For instance, in issue No 1 of the journal we mention the study signed by Vadasz Sandor, titled: "Ideology of French Anarchosyndicalism," which focuses on the historical evolution of this ideology and stresses its distinctive

basic traits; the report signed by Jemintz Janos, on the topic: "Conference of Socialist Parties in the Countries of the Entente of 28-29 August 1917," in which the author describes in detail the preparation and unfolding of the conference and its repercussion in the press at that time; the study by Horvath Jenó, titled: "Creation of the Antifascist United Workers Front in the Italian Working-Class Movement (1934-1935)," in which, based on research conducted in the archives of the A. Gramsci Institute, the author describes the domestic and international historical conditions which caused the two workers parties in Italy -- the ICP and the ISP -- to lay the foundations for a united front against Fascism.

In issue No 2 of the journal, Szokolay Katalin signs a report ("Giorgi Dimitrov and the Fight Against the War") on Dimitrov's input into the antifascist struggle between 1929-1940, underlining his personality as an outstanding campaigner of the international communist movement, of the fight against Nazi Germany's war preparations, against the Fascist danger. The same issue carries the study by Harsanyi Ivan: "Political Fight and Disputes in the Working-Class Movement in Republican Spain," in which the author analyzes the situation created in Spain during the April-December 1938 period, when, despite the measures adopted for consolidation of the internal situation, the economic and military difficulties increased, and after September, following the signing of the Munich Pact, it became evident that the popular front government would not manage to resist the troops commanded by Franco.

In issue No 4 of the journal, A. Sajti Eniko signs a report headlined: "The Resistance Led by the Yugoslav Communist Party in Delvidek and the Repressive Policy of the Bardosy Government (April 1941-January 1942)," that analyzes the resistance organized and headed by the Yugoslav communists in the territories occupied by Hungary in April 1941. He provides a documented description of the desperate actions undertaken by the Hungarian repressive organs against the struggle of the peoples in Yugoslavia.

Noteworthy is also the section headlined "Consultations" which carried the following items: "Theoretical-Political Orientations in the Hungarian Working-Class Movement in the 19th Century," signed by Erenyi Tibor (No 2), and "Theory and Policy of the HSDP at the Beginning of the Century," signed by Varga Lajos (issue No 3).

The columns "Biographies," "Reminiscences," and "Documents" provide readers with added information that widens the spheres of research.

The sections "Reports" and "Book Reviews" inform readers about conferences and scientific sessions in the fields of history, the international activity of the Party History Institute under the CC of the HSWP and Hungarian and foreign publishing novelties.

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CSO: 2700/ 137

## COUNCIL OF MINISTERS URGES ENERGY SAVING

AU161230 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Feb 84 p 8

[Text] Sofia, 14 Feb (BTA)--The Council of Ministers Bureau held a joint meeting with the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council yesterday to discuss the fulfillment of the uniform plan for the country's socioeconomic development in January 1984 and the measures for ensuring the implementation of the 1984 counterplans, as well as the accomplishment of the tasks stemming from the National Conference held in October 1983.

It was stressed at yesterday's meeting that, as a result of the expanded socialist competition preceeding the National Party Conference, under the leadership of the party organizations, the January plan has been fulfilled in all major indexes. The country's economy continues to develop at stable rates of speed.

Along with this the attention of the ministries, departments, and the Okrug People's Councils' Executive Committees was drawn to the fact that individual economic organizations and enterprises have failed to produce important goods, that over-expenditures of raw materials and energy have been allowed to occur and that some enterprises and economic organizations have failed to fulfill their contractual obligations toward other workers' collectives and in doing so have disrupted the regular pace of production development. Construction work on a number of important building projects lagged behind in January 1984.

The Bureau of the Council of Ministers and the Bulgarian Trade Unions Secretariat submitted recommendations for the expansion of counterplans in 1984 and for the propagation of a broad campaign movement in connection with their fulfillment. Efforts in this respect must be devoted to the achievement of criteria and indexes as pointed out at the October 1983 National Conference in the purpose of decisively improving production quality.

The meeting stressed that particular attention should be devoted to finding additional reserves for reducing the fund consumption rate, for saving energy and raw materials, as well as labor resources, which will be a guarantee for the implementation of the tasks assigned to us by the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

The necessity of newly expanding and intensifying socialist competition was emphasized at the meeting.

The Council of Ministers Bureau discussed the results of the trade exchange protocols signed with the Soviet Union and with other socialist countries in 1984 and adopted measures aimed at the fulfillment of the obligations stemming from these protocols.

CSO: 2200/81

ASPECTS OF CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALISM EXAMINED

Main Present-Day Contradiction

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 1, 1984 pp 57-60

[Article by Prof Asen Kutov, doctor of philosophical sciences and honored worker in culture]

[Text] The problem of contradiction under socialism is exceptionally topical and important. It is no accident that in his speeches and reports following the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary, has paid such great attention to the question of contradictions in our country at the present time. The course of comprehensive intensification means new social dynamics and new social rhythms of life and activities, i.e., new contradictions and new approaches for their resolution. Also related to them is the objectively legitimate process of intensification of the social homogeneity of our society. Along with building a developed socialist society, friendship and cooperation among workers and peasants are becoming increasingly stronger. New dimensions are assumed by the state and social principles, centralization and decentralization, representative and direct democracy, professionalism and voluntary activities in the functioning of social organizations, the substratum and the structural-functional load of social management, and others. The intensified internationalization of the economy in both the socialist and the capitalist world also leads to new contradictions and approaches to their resolution.

The basic contradiction in the present historical age--the contradiction between socialism and capitalism--has a particular impact on the dialectics of contradictions under socialism. We are building a developed socialist society as an inseparable part of the world socialist system under the present-day conditions of two worlds--the world of capitalism and the world of socialism. The struggle between these two worlds expresses the content of the basic social contradictions today.

The present historical age of mankind is one of transition from capitalism to socialism the world over. The struggle between capitalism and socialism is the main content of the current historical age. The global socialist system is the fortress, the bastion of the international worker and communist movements and the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. It is no longer capitalism but socialism which has become the main global force which determines the basic trends of social development. All contradictions, including those within real socialism, arise and are resolved within this essentially new historical situation.

The impact of the main contradiction of the contemporary historical epoch--the contradiction between capitalism and socialism--of contradictions existing within our society is exceptionally complex, comprehensive and dynamic. As one of the opposites of the basic contradiction of our age, capitalism is of negative and, at present, even fatally dangerous significance to the socialist society and its own contradictions. This, however, does not exclude the possibility of cooperation between capitalist and socialist countries in resolving some global problems of our time. The process is further complicated by the influence which individual capitalist countries have on the development of contradictions in individual socialist countries. The process becomes exceptionally complex if we take into consideration the influence of the other side of the basic contradiction of our historical age--socialism. Essentially, the significance of the global socialist system in developing and resolving contradictions within the individual socialist countries is positive. The unity and power of the global socialist system are the main source of power not only of the international worker and communist movements and the struggle for peace, democracy and national independence, but the individual socialist country as well.

The third world war which imperialism is preparing is the strongest manifestation of the negative and fatally dangerous significance of capitalism in terms of real socialism and its contradictions. Imperialism is trying to abolish real socialism militarily and to terminate the global revolutionary process leading to democracy, national freedom and socialism. American imperialism spends some \$400 billion in its preparations for a thermonuclear war, the almost entire amount needed to eliminate protein hunger in contemporary mankind which causes 60 million human beings to die of hunger annually. In the United States science, resources and forces are concentrated on preparations for war rather than enhancing the material and spiritual well-being of the people. Most importantly, something which makes a third world war a global problem of mankind, is that, being thermonuclear, it will have the type of explosion which will destroy the globe, eliminate homo sapiens and, thus, all human civilization. The most powerful force which can be pitted against this unprecedented imperialist aggressiveness is the countries of real socialism, headed by the great Soviet Union. However, the cost of this real confrontation is the unparalleled intellectual, resource, manpower and social stress experienced by the members of the socialist commonwealth. This is the most important negative effect of the influence of capitalism on the state and development of contradictions within the countries of real socialism. This negative effect is particularly strong in terms of two of our current contradictions--the contradiction between the possibilities of the scientific and technical revolution for full and comprehensive production automation and the actual condition of our economy--and the contradiction between production and consumption. Given the possibilities of contemporary scientific and technical progress to achieve 100 percent automation, in our country the percentage of production automation remains low. Hence the strategic task in the development of the material production base: during the 8th Five-Year Plan and through 1990 to reach comprehensive production automation and enhance the contradiction between production and consumption to a new and higher level in order to reach an incomparable higher material and spiritual well-being of the people. The military aggressive course charted by imperialism is a factor which is having an extremely adverse impact on the

solution of these two contradictions which are the most important to our country currently. It is entirely clear and no proof is required that the countries of real socialism are forced to set aside substantial funds and efforts to secure their defense instead of investing them in scientific and technical progress, production and consumption.

Imperialist ideological subversion directed against the socialist countries is another important manifestation of the negative influence of capitalism on the development of real socialism and its contradictions. Disinformation, slander, ideological speculations and others are all means used by imperialism in its efforts ideologically to corrupt the countries of real socialism. Imperialism is waging this struggle most persistently and zealously, overtly or covertly and even under the slogan of true socialism free from Moscow's "diktat."

It is very important to take the dialectics of the following three contradictions into consideration: between the great and small truth, between socialism and the antisocialist elements in the country and between socialism and imperialism. The first contradiction is essentially nonantagonist. Under certain circumstances, however, particularly should significant errors and shortcomings be allowed by the party and state leadership, it may become the source of major conflicts to which the antisocialist elements within the country and imperialism on the outside quickly ascribe an antiparty and antisocialist trend, more or less concealed and camouflaged. The other two contradictions are antagonistic. The difference is that whereas the contradiction between socialism and imperialism is openly antagonistic, the contradiction between the socialist society and the antisocialist elements within the country is quite frequently covert.

These manifestations of the negative effect of capitalism on the development of real socialism hardly cover the entire variety of this influence. However, this is not to say that the difficulties in resolving contradictions under socialism may be explained only in terms of the negative influence of capitalism. To begin with, not all capitalist countries are imperialist, not to mention the developing countries. All of them, particularly the developing countries, also experience imperialist oppression to one extent or another and one way or another. On this basis, an anti-imperialist front is objectively possible and legitimate, not only among various population strata but among countries with different social systems. Furthermore, the experience acquired in the course of contemporary scientific and technical progress could and should be used by the developed capitalist countries as well, which is of interest not only to the socialist countries but the business circles of the imperialist countries as well.

Even more significant and varied is the influence of the basic contradiction of the contemporary historical age through its second opposite--socialism--on the development of real socialism and its contradictions. This influence, however, is essentially different. Most generally, I shall stress one fact only: the power of the global socialist system, that of the Soviet Union in particular, is the main power of each individual socialist country. Above all, the power of the global socialist system ensures peace as the main historical prerequisite for the development of each individual socialist

country. Naturally, the most important and decisive in this power are the might and the role of the Soviet Union. In terms of our country and the successful building of mature socialism, the help of world socialism, that of the Soviet Union in particular, is a factor of prime importance. It is an important factor particularly in resolving the contradiction between the possibilities offered by the scientific and technical revolution for full and comprehensive production automation and the true state of our economy. It is self-evident that we shall reach comprehensive automation in our economy with the substantial material and technical aid of the socialist commonwealth, the Soviet Union in particular. It was with such aid that we took Bulgaria from its penultimate position in terms of economic development in Europe to the leading ranks of contemporary progress. In terms of the scale of our country, we laid a powerful material and technical base from scratch, again with the help of the Soviet Union, at a time when it was faced with nursing its terrible wounds suffered in World War II. Unquestionably, we shall build successfully the new comprehensively automated material and production base, for we are prepared for this intellectually and technologically and because we shall be helped by the Soviet Union.

Allow me to stress in this connection that world socialism has even greater possibilities of influencing even more fruitfully the development of the individual socialist countries and their contradictions. These possibilities are rooted in the integration among the socialist countries, in the now-developing internationalist economy. Contemporary scientific and technical progress and its accelerated development and highly effective application require major supranational economies. In this connection it should be expected that the internationalized socialist economy will as yet be developed as the hub of socialist integration.

All of this proves that the successful solution of the current contradictions within real socialism call for taking into consideration also the role of external contradictions and, above all, the importance of the basic contradiction in our contemporary age--the contradiction between socialism and capitalism.

#### Value Aspects of Contradictions

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 1, 1984 pp 60-65

[Article by Docent Vasil Prodanov, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] When we speak of the mechanisms controlling contradictions under socialism we inevitably come across problems such as the principles, norms and values according to which such mechanisms must function and which lead us toward axiological problems, toward the axiological aspects of contradictions.

Today in our country the fact that contradictions exist and that as some contradictions in the development of socialism are resolved others appear is universally acknowledged. It seems to me, however, that this applies to an insufficient degree to the axiological aspects of the contradictions and the dialectics of a relation such as good-evil under socialism. These are problems which must be resolved and which require clearing the theoretical terrain of some old concepts.

The theoretical clarification of the axiological aspects of contradictions will give us the bridge along which we shall cross from the problem of contradictions in general to problems such as negative phenomena, the so-called "petty" and great truth, and to the value categories which are also used in describing some contradictory aspects in our society.

Any contradiction has its axiologically positive and axiologically negative side. Axiological demarcations of the various contradictions are also possible. Some contradictions are acceptable to man and society from the point of view of value; others are unacceptable. Contradictions may be divided in terms of value also on the basis of their optimality with a view to specific social objectives. If a contradiction exceeds a certain level and goes beyond a specific value-normative optimum it becomes far more negative than positive in terms of the development of society or the individual.

In taking some axiological criteria into consideration, we can advance toward perfecting the type of technologies needed in resolving contradictions in which we take into consideration the value hierarchy of the various contradictions and the value measurements needed for their resolution. This calls for answering questions such as what means are needed in resolving a given contradiction and what means are more acceptable in resolving it. We know that as early as the period when Lenin mentioned the two possible types of development of capitalism in Russia--the Prussian and the American--he analyzed each one of them to a certain extent from the value viewpoint as well and through the lens of the difficulties, misfortunes and advantages which each one of them would bring to the development of society as a whole and of the individual.

The axiological aspect of contradictions in general is one aspect of this problem which we could conventionally describe as the axiology of contradictions. The other aspect is that of strictly axiological contradictions. These are contradictions such as value-norm, value-reality, norm-reality, official norms-unofficial norms, and so on.

In discussing contradictions in the development of socialism, we usually single out the main or basic contradictions. I think that such distinctions may apply also to the axiological contradictions within socialism. What is the basic axiological contradiction of socialism? It is related to the basic norm (principle) and correspondingly, socialist value of "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work." This provides the value foundations for socialist justice and is clearly related to the characteristics of the effect of the economic mechanism and the characteristics of the activities in all social areas. It is a question of the fact that, while seeking a technology for resolving the economic contradiction between direct public appropriation of productive capital and the individual appropriation of goods we must analyze the respective mechanism in accordance with specific principles, norms and evaluations which are also a problem facing the theory of values.

We know that a basic principle, a basic norm or action in the distribution processes under socialism is the requirement formulated by Marx in his

"Critique of the Gotha Program" of distribution according to labor. In his view, the overall social product under socialism is divided as follows: a certain part goes to cover production outlays; another is used for purposes of expanding public production; a third part goes to creating reserves and insurance funds; a fourth is used to meet collective social needs (administrative expenditures, schools, health care, pensions and other social funds and others); finally, that which is left is divided among the individual producers in the form of individual income depending on individual labor contributions. All working people maintain the same relation toward productive capital, for which reason they participate in the production process only through their individual labor which, precisely, is the base of the distribution process.

It was on this basis that the ideas of equality and justice under socialism were developed further. Equality means the equal attitude toward productive capital and the fact that the main factor governing the income of the working people remains the same--the labor they have invested. The justice is that everyone receives according to his labor, despite a certain inequality based on differences in the labor contribution of the individual working people.

Marx's classical formula would have been relatively easy to implement if all members of society performed the same type of labor or if precise and clearly defined criteria existed which would enable us to equate the work of an orchestra conductor, for example, with that of a logger and the work of a professor with that of a television technician. The problem, however, is the lack of precise and sufficiently obvious criteria. When I speak of a contradiction basic from the axiological viewpoint in the development of socialism, I am referring to the contradiction between the principle, norm and value expressed in "to everyone according to his work," which is a political-ideological, economic and ethical formula essential to socialism--and the implementation of this principle, norm and value. It is precisely in the course of its implementation that we clash with contradictions which express imperfections in the economic and, in some respects, the remaining social mechanisms. This creates problems in all social areas.

The economists try to implement this principle by introducing one criterion or another in assessing the product of labor: criteria such as the efforts invested in the various types of work; differences in intensiveness--the work of a miner seems to be more intensive than that of a librarian; difficulty; harm to the health; and others. Other criteria are added, such as skill, length of work, level of education, demand for a respective kind of work, and others.

In the final account, however, the main problem remains unresolved. How to reward the people who truly work but are not direct producers? It is in this case that the problem becomes most difficult. How to determine the salaries of a physician, an actor, a scientific worker, a state office employee? In the case of direct productive labor, the value of this labor may be determined comparatively more easily through the value of the corresponding product. A different situation prevails in activities in which no direct results can be determined with the same accuracy. The major difficulties are

to find a sufficiently impartial and objective measure to determine the contribution of the individuals performing various types of work.

It is difficult to determine quantitatively labor features such as intensive-ness, difficulty, harmfulness, complexity, prerequisites, necessary skills, and others, in such a way as to develop a certain general hierarchy, so to say, of the social value of the various types of professions, specialties and positions. Furthermore, should such a hierarchy be developed, it should be sufficiently clear to the normal mind and the individual working person who is told that everyone should receive "according to his labor" and to expect this fact to influence his behavior and views on distribution processes under socialism. We see that now, with the application of the new economic mechanism, in many cases even in production it is too complex for the ordinary worker, given his economic knowledge, to realize accurately and clearly that what he gets is based on "according to his work." The very system of distribution is too complex to be converted into a value foundation which could motivate and stimulate his behavior in the labor process.

All of this reveals the contradiction existing between the general norm "according to the work" and the real condition and subjective conception of its implementation. This contradiction is one of the most important incentives in the development of the economic mechanism. It is unquestionable that with the changes which have taken place, in recent years in particular, the aspiration has been how to make more efficient the implementation of the principle of "to each according to his work" and to surmount contradictions between the principle and its implementation.

A very important problem arises now. It has two sides which I would like to discuss consecutively.

The first applies to the implementation of the principle "according to the work" in the case of economically identical work. Should there be a differentiation if the quantity and quality of this work invested by different people vary? It is necessary if we want to be true to the principle and to observe the requirement of socialist justice. In practice, however, we may come across elements of equalization in other identical types of work as well. In recent years, when we have frequently discussed the need to surmount cases of equalization and, respectively, neglect of the principle "according to the work," we have actually been developing practical mechanisms for the elimination of contradictions between the principle and its implementation.

Although this aspect of contradictions seems to be easier, the practical implementation of the principle is no easy matter. For a long time popular among the theoreticians was the view that the solution of this problem can be accomplished essentially through the better norming of labor and gauging labor through the wage rate system, in the course of which the theory of labor value is given second priority. The aspiration was to determine precisely who was doing how much work and thus to establish his wages on the basis of the scientific and centralized formulation of specific norms and regulations governing labor and wages. With such a mechanism for the implementation of the principle of distribution, however, we do not take sufficiently into consideration the individual and the enterprise and we also

neglect the role of value relations. Thus, the subject of social justice is centralized and the criteria as to what should everyone receive "according to his work" were established on the social macrolevel without the necessary differentiation. This, however, intensified the contradictions between the principle and its implementation. As early as the 1960s we realized that a number of weaknesses existed in this respect and that distribution was carried out without taking sufficiently into consideration the quantity and quality of the labor invested. The working people were neither interested in nor responsible for the proper distribution, which lowered their role and creative activeness. The enterprise and the working people did not sufficiently participate in distribution processes and had no incentives for such participation.

The result was that quite frequently the principle "to each according to his work" was implemented, particularly in economically identical work, in terms of "to each equally" and the value-normative contradiction which had to be surmounted existed between two norms (correspondingly, values): "to each according to his work" and "to each equally." The gradual improvement of the economic mechanism and national economic management was the way to surmount it. This way proved to be long. There was no previous experience and theoretical difficulties were quite numerous. The contradiction between the principle "to each according to his work" and its implementation and between "to each according to his work" and "to each equally" remained to one extent or another. In the empirical sociological study made by the Institute for the Dissemination of Marxism-Leninism of the Sofia City BCP Committee in 1979, the workers and managers and frontrankers in construction and industry in the okrug were asked: "Do you believe that your enterprise is observing the principle 'from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work'?" The answers indicated a stronger contradiction between requirements of the principle and its implementation. Only 20.9 percent of frontrankers in construction and industry answered most confidently that it was. The percentage of managers who believed that it was being observed was even lower--16.9 percent; 20.6 percent of the workers believed that it was.

It was precisely for such reasons that, in recent years, when the application of the new economic approach and its mechanism was undertaken, that again and again it became necessary to emphasize that equality and justice at the present stage should be understood only as "the equal right of every member of society to work and earn according to the quantity and quality of the labor invested" (T. Zhivkov, "The Twelfth BCP Congress and the Further Building of Mature Socialism," 1982, p 248).

This problem faced not only our country but other socialist countries as well. It is a question of a basic axiological contradiction. In those countries as well the contradiction between the political-ideological, economic and moral norm "of each according to his work" and its implementation was manifested to one extent or another. That is why Comrade Yu. V. Andropov especially emphasized at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum that "we must not forget that we live in a socialist society and that development must be controlled by the basic principles of socialism, including, naturally, the principle of distribution according to labor. In our country everyone has equal rights

and equal duties to society. However, total equality in the sense of identical use of material goods will become possible only under communism. The road to that point is long... Today, if we ignore a certain share of the social consumption funds, in our country every citizen has the right only to the type of material goods consistent with the quantity and quality of his socially useful labor, and to this only. Here again it is important strictly to take into consideration and to observe this principle" (Yu. V. Andropov, "For a Planned and Comprehensive Advancement of Developed Socialism and Further Progress Toward Communism," 1983, p 12).

We think that the principle "to each according to his work" is basic to socialism but that its implementation is not fully accomplished immediately. It is the result of a long, complex and difficult process of development of socialism and even in the seventh decade after the socialist revolution a certain contradiction remains.

I believe that the new economic mechanism in our country, in the course of its advancement, will offer increasing possibilities of easing this contradiction. Particularly important in this respect are the following aspects:

First. Changes in the subject of social justice, in the one who distributes "according to labor." In this respect the central role is played by strengthening control over distribution relations on the part of the labor collective. This also favors changes in the moral and political behavior of the people. When control over distribution relations is exercised on an entirely centralized basis, shortcomings in distribution and the view that the basic principle of distribution under socialism is violated become identified with the state organs on the higher management levels. These organs are related to justice or injustice and the perception of the individual as to what is fair and unfair. The new economic mechanism gradually creates prerequisites for the responsibility for distribution relations and fairness in distribution to be assumed to a far greater extent by the labor collective.

Second. So far, the emphasis was far greater on taking into consideration quantity rather than quality in the implementation of the principle "according to the work." Today the task is to begin to consider to a far greater extent the quality of the goods produced.

Third. The development of value relations--cost accounting, self-support, and wages based on results--plays an essential role in distribution "according to the work." Profit begins to be used as a factor in what the enterprise and, respectively, the individual working person should receive "according to the work" to a far greater extent.

The implementation of the principle "to each according to his work" in identical types of work is one side of the matter.

The second side applies to the implementation of the principle "to each according to his work" under economically heterogeneous types of work, in which the question of reducing them to a single measure appears. For

example, how to compare the work of a physician and a hog breeder, of a professor and an assemblyman. This is an exceptionally important problem which is becoming increasingly more difficult in some respects, for the variety of specific types of work increases with the development of public production. The number of skills increases. New forms of work appear with their respective complexity, intensiveness, difficulty and characteristics; the possibilities of determining on a centralized basis a specific uniform measure through which to correlate the various types of work become more difficult in some respects.

Let us consider that the difference in the wages of a hog breeder and a physician, or a professor and an assemblyman is "obvious" to all. On the basis of this "obvious" criterion, ethically we could say that the physician and the professor should earn 2 or 3 times more than the hog breeder or assemblyman. But here comes the economist and says: "Look, not enough people are willing to become hog breeders and assemblymen. That is why we must give them additional incentive, otherwise there would be no one to engage in this kind of work." This leads to a further complication. In order to resolve it, once again we resort to criteria such as education, skills, condition, intensiveness, social prestige of the work, and so on, and so forth. Generally speaking, we resort to a more complex system of criteria which constantly clashes with the ideas of the various social and professional groups as to what is unfair and what is fair.

This is the second aspect of the contradiction between norm and implementation in the stipulation "to each according to his work." I think that regarding the solution of the first aspect of the contradiction the main thing is to improve the economic mechanism; what is important in terms of the second is to improve the activities of all social mechanisms and the satisfaction of the entire range of human interests and requirements. The question of justice also arises in each one of them. From this viewpoint the principle "to each according to his work" should not be conceived only in connection with material interests and respective distribution, but comprehensively, from the viewpoint of opportunities for the comprehensive realization of the individual.

I believe that one of the merits of our party is that it has aspired, particularly in recent years, to formulate this problem within a broader context, within which the principle "to each according to his work" is given new dimensions, thus compensating for the shortcomings which we encounter whenever it is conceived only in connection with the distribution of material goods and with material interest. In this sense as well the solution of the contradiction between norm and implementation, in relation to this principle, is not merely a problem of finding a better yardstick for the various types of work and does not depend exclusively on improvements in the economic area but on improvements in all areas of social life. The principle "to each according to his work" applies not only to the material interest of the individual but to the overall personality, to the development, satisfaction and realization of the individual's interests, needs and capabilities. At this point we approach most urgent and topical problems which were already raised in T. Zhivkov's letter to the Komsomol Central Committee, the party concept of a new labor code and a series of other recently issued documents.

It is precisely along this line, the line of the improvement of and search for increasingly more accurate mechanisms for the distribution of social opportunities and the development and realization of the individual and his interests, needs and capabilities, rather than merely distribution affecting his material interests and needs, that we are following and should follow in resolving the contradictions related to a basic axiological principle of socialism such as "to each according to his work."

It is thus that we shall truly implement the dialectics of equality and inequality in the effect of the basic principle of social justice under socialism. This will increase equality in terms of productive capital through the more accurate assessment of inequality in distribution, due to the fact that people invest different types of work. For the equality among the individual working people in terms of productive capital under socialism is not a constant value. It changes with the development leading to nationwide ownership and equalization of conditions for the development and life of the various social strata. Correspondingly the opportunities for the development and realization of the individuals increase. In turn, this creates opportunities for the more accurate application of the principle "according to the work," for with the reduction of the social differences independent of the individual, which lead to differences in the possibilities of his development and realization, to an increasing extent the life and destinies of the individual will depend on his own efforts and the results of such efforts will be determined in accordance with the principle "to each according to his work."

#### Contradictions, Propaganda

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bularian No 1, 1984 pp 66-68

[Article by Docent Aleksey Fedotov, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] The topic of contradictions under socialism is indeed exceptionally important and quite relevant. It is very rich and varied in content. I shall discuss only one aspect of this large topic which, in my view is of inordinately great importance: the role of verbal and written propaganda, party propaganda above all, in the proper interpretation and clarification of the reasons for the appearance of contradictions under socialism and the determination of the means for their resolution.

Experience proves that the efficiency of party propaganda always depends on the extent to which it is truthful, realistic and scientific. Unquestionably, if such propaganda does not smooth sharp angles and bypass unpleasant questions but informs the people's masses of the objectives and tasks set by the party on a principled and objective basis, persistently and convincingly, and ably and clearly, it indeed fulfills its main purpose. Furthermore, sharp and open criticism of shortcomings and of weaknesses and errors allowed in the process of the implementation of party policy may have a tremendous mobilizing impact on the masses. Innumerable examples can be cited which indicate most clearly that party propaganda wins over the minds and hearts of the people when it does not conceal or gloss over shortcomings in building a

socialist society and when it critically analyzes the reasons for their appearance and indicates the means for their resolution.

Such basic requirements facing party propaganda fully apply to the cases in which it deals with one contradiction or another in the socialist society. Contradictions under socialism or, perhaps we should say most accurately, under real socialism, are the motor of socialist social development. It is quite important that today we do not scornfully ignore "boring" questions as we did in the recent past, and even only a few years ago.

The significance of party propaganda and its role in strengthening the faith of the masses in the party as the leading and guiding force in building socialism will grow if, regardless of individuals, it "grabs by the ear" the party members, including party and state leaders, who display subjectivism, voluntarism, incompetence and alienation from reality, and who violate the socialist ethical norms and principles of the socialist way of life. Manifestations of this kind, as we know, lead to difficulties in the socialist society, to violations of socialist legality and to lack of understanding and, occasionally, even deliberate distortion of the laws.

Both the CPSU and the BCP have emphasized and emphasize that there are no secondary and main ways and means in ideological work. There are only main and secondary objectives and tasks for the implementation of which the most optimal means are chosen. It is precisely in this area that communist propaganda plays a primary role, for its main purpose, naturally and most generally is, first of all, to provide to the masses prompt clear and specific answers to arising questions of social development, steadily to enhance their spiritual wealth and to try to enhance the consciousness of the individual to the level of the Marxist-Leninist outlook and to involve him in active social efforts; secondly, to transmit to a maximal extent to the new generations achievements in the fields of science, technology and culture, conceived in the broadest possible meaning of the term; thirdly, to create in the mind of the individual socialist working person a strong immunity to bourgeois ideology and the political and ideological subversions of imperialism and to develop vigilance and a feeling of intolerance of anything negative, of all negative phenomena which hinder the successful building of the new life.

If party propaganda is to be sufficiently effective we must not forget a rather important feature, namely that we must not be carried away by purely theoretical propaganda. Such an inclination alienates party propaganda from life, from the problems on which the attention of the party and the people is focused. If party propaganda is separated from socialist practice it inevitably becomes a house of cards built on sand. Even the slightest breeze would make it disappear like a mirage in the desert.

Therefore, it is a question of the quality of training of propaganda cadres. It is no secret that occasionally one propaganda or party worker or another, addressing the masses, begins to speak in such hifalutin terms that the audience is unable to understand anything. Usually a pseudoscientific and meaningless style is used to conceal ignorance of life itself and the specific situation; it even reveals a lack of principle-minded class-party

position on a given matter, i.e., as Lenin said, it means bypassing that "which is the very essence, the living soul of Marxism: the specific analysis of a specific situation."<sup>1</sup> Someone unfamiliar with the electric welder will not be allowed to do assembly work, for all he could cause would be harm. Yet we sometimes come across such "propagandists" who are unable to explain even the meaning of what they are talking about.

Naturally, not everyone can disseminate the ideas of communism and the socialist way of life in a passionate, convincing and emotional manner. That is why the propagandist must be not simply a person who considers himself a link between party policy and its target--the masses--but a highly skilled speaker and psychologist, an educator and a sociologist, a person well-familiar with the opinions, feelings and vital interests of the audience. Poor knowledge of the people and their social status could reduce to naught the practical significance of propaganda. The unskilled or underskilled propaganda worker is unable to identify the reasons for specific contradictions which arise in building socialism. He usually speaks or writes only about successes and keeps himself within the range of the appearance of things without engaging in the necessary competent analysis or making the proper summation. On top of everything else, he uses poor language and style in his presentation. In such cases all the propaganda worker does is to create in the audience a mistrust in what he is propagandizing. V. I. Lenin paid particular attention to the personality of the party propagandists, who should be not only the spreaders of knowledge but also the creators of spiritual values. They must be able "to define the mood of the mass and its real needs, aspirations and thoughts on all matters and at all times, impeccably. They must be able to define without a shadow of any false idealizing the extent of its consciousness and power of influence of one prejudice or vestige from the past or another."<sup>2</sup> This Leninist instruction regarding class-party criteria gives us an accurate guideline in training highly skilled party propaganda cadres.

The accurate and specific analysis of existing shortcomings and contradictions in the life of the socialist society are of great importance also in the struggle against ideological subversion which has become today state policy of the leading imperialist countries. All malicious slanders of the imperialist ideological subversive elements and subversive anticommunist and antisocialist centers, despite their clever strategy and tactics, could be properly rebuffed only if all citizens of the socialist society show high political activeness and vigilance. This, however, calls for receiving prompt and truthful information on events within the country and abroad. Party propaganda can fulfill its tasks the better the more substantiatedly it brings to light the content and contradictions of the capitalist social system and analyzes comprehensively the truth of real socialism, the truth of building the new life, without embellishing it but also without minimizing its social advantages.

Every one of us would like to see the end objectives of the communist movement and the most profound aspirations of the people's masses implemented as rapidly as possible. Experience has proved, however, that this is a lengthy process. Lenin said that it was no accident that "we cannot speed up that

for which historical conditions are not ripe."<sup>3</sup> This circumstance makes party propaganda even more important. It is called upon to help resolve arising contradictions in the course of the progress of socialist society and, hence, the ripening of the necessary historical conditions for the full triumph of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Subr. Such." [Collected Works], Vol 41, p 131.
2. Ibid., Vol 44, p 336.
3. Ibid., Vol 27, p 113.

#### More Realism Necessary

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 1, 1984 pp 68-70

[Article by Nikola Nikolov, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] I shall begin with a methodological stipulation of rather important practical significance. I am referring to the fact that social contradictions are also contradictions in human interrelationships. As we know, the primary, the basic social relations are economic or ownership relations. All other social relations are based on them. Yet, as Engels wrote, economic relations in any given society are manifested above all as interests.<sup>1</sup>

The question arises at this point of the nature of the content of the social contradiction. Lenin expressed his view on the content of the social contradiction most clearly and categorically on the occasion of the writings of the populists who revered Sismondi's romanticism in political economy and, while acknowledging existing contradictions, failed to formulate the question on the basis of the real grounds of the Russian social system at that time and to engage in a truly scientific analysis. They simply used indications of specific contradictions in formulating best wishes for their resolution, going no further. Objecting to such a pseudoscience, Lenin pointed out that the scientific study of social contradictions "reduces them to a variety of interests growing on the soil of a given economic system."<sup>2</sup> In Lenin's view, the populists ignore the minor circumstance of "the real interests the conflict of which was also a contradiction."<sup>3</sup> Lenin further explained that whereas the romantics believed that "political economy is not a science of accounting but a science of morality," Marx took as his starting point the "simple and sober assessment of interests."<sup>4</sup>

For the time being, it is precisely on this level that the question of the content of social contradictions is almost ignored. What predominate are stories on contradictions within society and the noting of certain facts without presenting such contradictions as living and developing entities, which would make them understood by the mass readers. Authors or lecturers who quote contradictions and pour out a variety of terms difficult to understand by readers and listeners find themselves in an unenviable position.

The people read and listen and finally give up, saying that this is not a science for them and that is that! But then for whom is the science of contradictions, for they are not resolved on paper but must be resolved by those same people in practical life. Is it not far better for contradictions not to be resolved spontaneously, by guessing, but on the basis of a profound knowledge of matters by the direct participants and with a clear view of the future, keeping the major objective within sight?

At this point abstract writings have become quite compromised in the eyes of the readers, for they are considered either as unwillingness to take a side in the contradiction between interests in life for the sake of personal interests or else as an expression of the inadequate scientific training of the author. Others show their inability for self-criticism. Instead of breaking with their abstract treatment of contradictions in their writings, they themselves assume the position of zealous fighters against such writings and sharply criticize other authors (mentioning no names) for lack of practical precision in their publications. This is both ridiculous and sad, is it not? It is nevertheless a fact for which they will never be forgiven, for if we delay a scientific discussion of a given problem in the press we also delay the solution of one social contradiction or another in the life of the people. This already involves personal destinies and causes specific material and moral harm to individuals and entire population groups. Words are of great value when they have been charged with the stressed rhythm of action and this should be our slogan.

Social contradictions are interrelated in life and one leads the others, as is the case with social phenomena themselves. Lenin speaks of the "unbreakable chains of living interests," which means that we are dealing with unbreakable chains of living contradictions within society. Our urgent task is to study and describe them such as they are. Naturally, this is a very difficult task, for we ourselves do not stand above social contradictions. No, we are within them and they are within us. What is required is a high moral tempering, a firm conviction in the accuracy of the scientific analysis and the bright prospects for social progress stemming from such an analysis. However, it is precisely at this point that we should remember that in the past some of the bourgeois ideologues who had reached the level of a theoretical understanding of the entire historical movement switched to the side of the proletariat. It is far easier today, under the conditions of building developed socialism, for a person to go against a narrowly understood personal interest if he has reached precisely a theoretical understanding of the historical process.

Finally, I would like to discuss the contradiction between public ownership of productive capital and the individual appropriation of consumer goods. This contradiction plays and will continue to play an exceptionally important role in the process of building mature socialism and in the preparations for a transition to the higher phase of communism. The most burning issues today meet within this contradiction: those of labor incentives, labor discipline, full utilization of material facilities, quality of output, leisure time, duty to the collective and society, and others. I think that the more comprehensively and totally this contradiction is resolved the more the specific

application of the socialist principle of distribution of goods will be improved and the higher will the living standard of the entire population grow.

Said contradiction runs through all areas of social life and affects most profoundly the daily human interrelationships. In a certain sense it is a part, an aspect of the main contradiction at the present stage in the development of our country, described by Comrade T. Zhivkov as the contradiction "between a material and technical base which we have, and which is large in terms of the scale of the country, and its partial and inefficient utilization."<sup>5</sup> Bearing in mind the complex interweaving and interdependence of social contradictions, the party realizes that their resolution "requires not partial measures but an overall comprehensive approach which would cover all of their aspects and actions."<sup>6</sup>

It is precisely for the sake of surmounting the main contradiction in our development that the most accurate approaches must be sought and proper steps taken leading to the gradual resolution of all contradictions organically related to it, thus reaching down to their deeper reasons.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Such." [Works], Vol 18, p 271.
2. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 2, p 259.
3. Ibid., p 266.
4. Ibid., p 267.
5. T. Zhivkov, "The Twelfth BCP Congress and the Further Building of Mature Socialism," Sofia, 1982, p 74.
6. Ibid., p 238.

5003

CSO: 2200/80

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

MALTESE PRESIDENT VISITS--Sofia, 16 Feb (BTA)--The president of Malta, Mrs Agatha Barbara, stopped over here on a brief visit on her way back from Moscow. She had talks with the chairman of the Ministerial Council, Mr Grisha Filipov and with the deputy chairman of the Ministerial Council, Mr Andrey Lukanov. During the talks, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, there were discussed the Bulgaro-Maltese relations and the chances for their expansion and deepening in spheres of mutual interests. There were reviewed also views on topical issues of the present international situation. The first vice-president of the State Council, Mr Petur Tanchev, gave a dinner for Mrs Agatha Barbara. [Text] [AUL61826 Sofia BTA in English 1813 GMT 16 Feb 84]

CSO: 2200/81

## RUDE PRAVO ATTACKS CSSR PUBLICATION'S CONCEPT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Feb 84 p 4

[Article by Prof Dr Karel Rychtarik: "Unclean Tones on an Old Theme"]

[Text] I belong to the generation of those who considered sociology with all its growing pains of the 1960's a power able to fill often half-empty declarations, overcome the effects of superficiality, return to thoughts their original true meaning, charter new horizons, replace speculative utopia with truly revolutionary analysis of social phenomena, and contribute to the elaboration of the strategy and especially tactics of real social change. We were literally fascinated by the depth of what could be discovered through sociological research, how sociological knowledge could be made more concrete and alive. A poet would say we succumbed to the yearning to learn the truth about our life. It was a commanding impulse to enter the service of ideas whose realization has become life's meaning for entire generations.

With unprecedented concreteness and candor, sociology discovered for us everyday, ordinary "trivialities" which happen to be the most common ground for human struggles, yet also the foundation from which stem the social relations in a socialist society.

The second half of the 1960's, however, demonstrated the importance of theoretical and methodological prerequisites from which sociological knowledge emanates, and where we end up following concepts of "pure" sociology stripped of "ideological bias." For those who were unable to fit their "revolutionary" fervor into the concepts of the party, sociology became the "fountain of scientific discovery" where everyone paraded empirical research. When one wanted to promote popular politicians, there were the public opinion polls. It became fashionable to emphasize all the negative aspects of socialism, and it is there that sociological research obliged. With all this, it was only a question of what type of political demagogy the results would serve, since empirical data are "precisely enumerated." A small matter, however, was overlooked, namely that the tabulation of numerical correlations provided for us by a computer depends entirely on what material we put in and on the basis of what theoretical construction the information was selected.

From a certain point of view, the most important task for the development of Marxist-Leninist sociology in recent decades was to show the fraud and nonsense of the claim that "collection of empirical data is undertaken without biased theoretical influences," that "facts are examined as such," that "research uses only reliable material," that "checking of facts will be conducted in pure form," that "researchers are not burdened with prior and extraneous knowledge," etc.

None of these arguments can change anything in the fact that empirical knowledge--beginning with the choice of subject and ending with the accepted collection, sorting, correlation and assessment of the empirical data--necessarily includes certain of the researchers' own postulates, as well as either clearly expressed or "hidden" theoretical and methodological intentions with which the material was accumulated, sorted and, above all, interpreted.

Just as we know that at no stage of sociological development is there a "true" form of the sensual and the logical, by the same token no empirical research can be conducted blindly and totally objectively. All empirical research operates with certain idea mechanisms and is directly or indirectly linked with the needs of the life of society. Consequently, it is in its own way always ideologically determined and necessarily remains part of a certain "macroanalytical orientation."

We Marxists draw attention to this fact quite openly and repeatedly. Moreover, we are aware that if we are to acquire and produce reliable and truthful data, our research must be preceded by a program-oriented, theoretical and methodological grasp of the questions under examination.

Marxist-Leninist sociology in its knowledge necessarily proceeds from a certain macroanalytical orientation which represents a philosophical concept of the world, reflects the fundamental world outlook, the origin of the world and the source of our being, and the place of a human being in society. Because of this, it is clearly ontologically oriented. It always proceeds from certain theoretical and methodological principles which it subjects to concrete analysis, thus enabling us to know the world of people. Because of this, it is clearly gnosiologically oriented. In its conception of the world which determines its relationship to class and social movements, it emphasizes certain complex views. Because of this, it is globally oriented.

Marxist-Leninist sociology, like other special social science disciplines, is in these approaches a component, instrument and implementer of a process of philosophical concretization in the sphere of society. This "concretization" reaches from the ordinary to the unique, and vice versa. Therefore, it is natural that in sociological findings each individual phenomenon (e.g., not only better education, absence of unemployment, but also problems in our health care, corruption, drunkenness, etc.) is to some degree and in some form anchored in the processes of a functioning society.

These realities, of course, represent no new scientific discovery, they are problems to which dozens of studies have been devoted in the specialized press.

The Czechoslovak Sociological Society has organized many theoretical and methodological seminars which demonstrated that to serve revolutionary changes in society means to grasp both "macroproblems" and "microproblems" in our life and suggest ways to reach their practical resolution.

What should we think, however, of theoretical and methodological approaches which, without any intensive argumentation and with self-assurance, denounce contemporary sociology for putting macroanalysis in a much too important position? This allegedly leads to loss of concreteness which causes it "to be replaced by abstraction, thus eliminating the source of reality."

All this we hear from authors who have long dealt with the problems of abstract patterns, but it is conceived in a manner which makes it inapplicable to social reality. On the other hand, however, they offer us an "alternate sociology" which is to examine society not in the unity of macroanalytical and microanalytical approaches as this unity is perceived in Marxist-Leninist philosophy, but rather "in the light of an ordinary day" because only the "drama of everyday life" can allegedly rehabilitate social phenomena. This is supposed to be the new road to discovering and understanding ordinary manifestations of social life and its processes. Only in this manner can we allegedly reach our goal, which is the "alternate sociological orientation," changing the methods of acquiring knowledge of social reality.

What can we say to this? Similar alternatives were offered to us years ago by Ivan Svitak. Thus it is nothing new, we have seen and heard it all. Svitak wanted to change the methods of acquiring knowledge of social reality by stripping empirical knowledge of its "ideologically-burdened" theories. It is true that he chose somewhat more understandable and potentially effective formulations and wrote about the primacy of macroanalysis over paradigms. The language of those who today militate against the "macroanalytical orientation" in our sociology apes Western sociological terminology and shows where such authors get their inspiration.

Our proponents of "alternate sociology" are quite emphatic and outspoken in their criteria. They are bothered because they find that "analyses of social phenomena are somehow always anchored in the laws of a functioning society," and that "sociological reality does not consider phenomena and processes which are caused by specific circumstances and conditions" (unfortunately, they do not say which circumstances and conditions they have in mind).

For these and many other reasons, our sociology is allegedly dialectic. Not only this, it is also claimed that in our sociological findings "there is today a marked deviation from reality... a fanatical resignation in the positioning of the individual in his society." Therefore, the life of an individual in the examination by contemporary sociology allegedly becomes somewhat secondary and the reality of sociological findings is pushed aside, rather than being assessed.

We can read about these and other "scientific" discoveries in an article entitled "Theses on the Approaches of Sociology to Reality." It appeared in a collection of studies published by Sportpropag, Prague, under the title

"Methodological Problems in Future Sociological Research." This publication also contains many other "interesting" items. This problem, however, is much too serious to be dealt with in "sporting" terms.

Let us for a moment leave aside the question of why such topics as "problems of rationalism and its limits," "prognoses and practice," "possibilities of formal description of social objects," concepts of social intellect, and others, are prepared as part of the state plan for economic research by one section of Sportpropag, Prague, who has assessed these materials and how are they applied to society. It would be difficult to explain how this subject relates to the propagation of sport. This rather involves propagation of erroneous theoretical and methodological approaches, as well as various positivist and phenological trends in our social sciences.

The scope of this article allows us merely an abbreviated version of the "arguments" in the above-mentioned material. This, however, does not alter their content and meaning. They inevitably evoke the question of where the author has lived during the past 10-15 years, since he criticizes our sociology for focusing excessively on macroanalysis. Every student of sociology, every enterprise sociologist, even more so scientific researchers, or all those who are even minimally conversant with the sociological production of recent years, would reply that our Marxist-Leninist sociology has lived and lives today under quite different--and one is tempted to say diametrically opposed--problems than those so ostentatiously presented by the author of the above-mentioned study. Does he realize at all the timely problems of his discipline, or is he inspired (as the language of his text indicates) by the concepts of the "great theoretical systems" of Western sociology?

Our sociological findings can indeed be criticized, but from the opposite pole. We have too much microanalysis and not enough macroanalysis. There are dozens if not hundreds of studies on such individual problems as, for example, the position of the overseer in the construction enterprise, utilization of technical personnel in industry, causes of fluctuation in metallurgy, opinions of university students, material orientation of apprentice youth, problems of an incomplete family, favorite radio and television programs, etc. There is also much of what in modern professional language could be called "mezzoanalysis," i.e., analysis dealing with broad problems and providing general information within certain categories, such as sociology of youth, lifestyle, social structures in the countryside, sociology of labor, etc.

What is becoming particularly timely is a comprehensive, all-embracing macroanalysis which would sort the results of microanalysis and mezzoanalysis, re-evaluate them and integrate them into the broader casual relationships.

We could cite many party documents which remind us precisely in this connection that we must produce new, deeply conceptual thinking, closely linked with the reality of today and showing the ways of future progress, a new, profound sociological and philosophical definition stemming from our contemporary reality and offering informed, reliable prognoses enabling us better to visualize the future and make appropriate decisions.

Such tasks can be met only by a sociology which proceeds from the "macro-analytical orientation," represented in dialectic and historic materialism. This is the most widespread philosophical theory of objective reality, thus the most thorough macro-orientation of our knowledge, the universal method of learning and transforming the world of nature and society. Within it are integrated, formulated, intensified and culminated thousands of years of human experience with the development of social knowledge, as well as the roads leading to such knowledge.

All that has been said here does not, of course, mean that today's progress in Marxist-Leninist sociology is without weak points. These, however, are problems of a different order and their resolution must follow different paths than those suggested by the authors of "alternative sociology."

Empty spaces in the house of sociological theory and methodology cannot be filled by someone who, with the help of the "light of an ordinary day" would deprive sociological knowledge of its ontological, gnosiological and global world outlook.

Sociology is a part as well as an instrument of the struggle for the meaning of life of an individual and the historic community which is socialism. Without participation in the concrete, truthful and differentiated recognition of social phenomena and processes, there can be no prosperous society, much less a socialist one. The latter draws increasingly more people to its historic forward march and, in the dynamism of social movement, copes with ever more complicated tasks of its construction which comprehensively affect all spheres of people's lives. Thus, without sociological knowledge it would be difficult to manage such a society.

We all bear a great moral responsibility for our work. Especially in times when the dialectic of socialism brings unexpected problems requiring a concentrated effort toward their resolution, things are not at all easy for a sociologist. He must not be afraid to expose those who in various functions and managerial positions are not meeting their duties in a manner required by the interest of society. Nor must the sociologist succumb to pessimistic, decadent and pragmatically oriented moods which usually carry with them gross utilitarianism and selfish desire for self-advancement.

New views and new discoveries cannot even in sociology be determined by their shock effects and pretense of redeeming omniscience and omnipotence. The new is dialectic negation. It preserves and develops knowledge whose value has been confirmed in the extential struggle of man and society.

This is not a simple and easy program. On the other "alternative roads," however, sociological knowledge would become parasitical and useless. There is only one alternative for our sociology, namely to unite sociological knowledge with the experiences and struggles of the party, the workers class and all people of this land. Only in this manner will sociology be needed and interesting, only in this way can it truly enter the revolutionary movement of our time. It can find its self-fulfillment only in a union with the new historic type of practical life which a socialist society certainly represents. Consequently, sociology cannot be merely probing but also serving and giving.

CATHOLIC CHURCH SOCIAL WORK BACKGROUND, STATISTICS

East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German Vol 24 No 2, Feb 84 pp 6-8

Article by Clemens M. Maerz: "The Church as a Band of Brothers--the Church's Charitable Work in the GDR"

Excerpt The Approach to Organized Social Work

Following the Second Vatican Council that set out to proclaim the Christian message to 20th Century men in their own languages, the Church turned into mainly the "Church of social work," the new people of the covenant that, throughout the centuries, has represented the living Christ. In the resolution "charitable work in the community," the pastoral synod of the bishoprics and jurisdictional districts of the GDR (1973-1975) proclaimed "commitment to our brethren in the strength and succession of Christ" to be the constituent and essential element of any Christian congregation, one of its main pillars in addition to faith and the praise of God.

This "commitment to the brethren" had always been practiced in the undivided Church. At the time of the Reformation, the dissolution of many monasteries initially cut the ground from under organized charitable efforts. They were later revived in the Catholic Church by Vincent de Paul (1581-1660) who is rightfully called the "father of charitable works." After secularization and Bismarck's campaign against the churches had abolished almost all charitable institutions, a strong sense of responsibility for the tasks of charity arose among Christians of both denominations.

Following last century's foundation of the Internal Mission, charitable groups spontaneously arose in the Catholic Church also. They established as their over-all organization the "Charity Federation for Catholic Germany," founded in 1897 by Lorenz Werthmann. In its statute, the "German Charity Federation" (its name since 1921) assumed the task of strengthening, widening and deepening the spirit of active Christian charity among Catholics, to promote the work of charity according to plan and endeavor to achieve the orderly cooperation of all those involved in charitable works.

In 1961 the Fulda Bishop's Conference bestowed recognition of the German Charity Federation as the legitimate representative of Church social work and suggested the establishment of diocesan social work federations. The National Socialist regime had ravaged Church charity efforts. Some sections were entirely removed from the Church and many institutions confiscated. In the postwar period Catholic

charities provided help, solace and new hope for innumerable persons in distress, exiles and the homeless. In what was then the Soviet zone of occupation in Germany, the Catholic charities obtained some more institutions in the course of the land reform, (in addition to those still in existence), some as compensation for wartime losses.

Catholic charities in the GDR are organized by the local bishops by means of the diocesan charity federations in each jurisdictional district, assisted by the 59 deacon and kreis secretariats for charitable work. The "German Charity Federation--Central Agency Berlin" is assigned to the Berlin Bishops' Conference. It is in charge of coordinating and inspiring charitable work in the GDR, represents charitable institutions at state and labor union agencies and, among others, at the management of the bishops' work of charity "Worldwide Need."

#### The Bishops' Work of Charity "Worldwide Need"

It has by now become a solid tradition for Catholic Christians in our country that the collection for the bishops' work of charity "Worldwide Need" is taken at the start of each new ecclesiastical year, the first Sunday in Advent. Churchgoers are prepared and informed by the protector of "Worldwide Need," Magdeburg Bishop Johannes Braun's letter accounting for the use of the money collected in the past year and, at the same time, indicating further projects.

This work of charity was established 13 years ago by the Berlin Bishops' Conference. Its name and commitment are inextricably linked to the late Berlin prelate Otto Gross. He had subsequently been assigned the management of the new work of charity. It was his task to work out the details of good ideas and intentions. Actually this meant obtaining the aid materials, coordinating the many appeals to the bishops' work of charity, choosing the most urgent among them, negotiating with customs and transportation firms.

The first major donation was sent to the Algerian charitable organization in 1970. The bishops' work of charity has always been guided by the principle never just to give alms to the needy but to offer them help to help themselves. This concern is reflected in the range of goods provided. They are dispatched by GDR shippers, by sea, land and air. The persons in charge of the bishops' work of charity stress the readiness of the competent state organs quickly to expedite these shipments.

It is a very welcome fact that Catholic Christians in the GDR are increasingly generous in their support for the bishops' work of charity "Worldwide Need." On the average, churchgoers put M30-50 in the special envelopes provided at the services on the first Sunday in Advent. A medium sized congregation is thus able to send some M15,000 to the bishops' work of charity. Some individuals and groups also send money to the account of the charity in the course of the year.

Pope John Paul II mentioned the initiatives of the bishops' work of charity when addressing the GDR bishops on the occasion of their ad limina visit in October 1982: "I am asking you to pass on to your faithful a word of grateful appreciation for the practical help they extend the people in those regions by the bishops' work of charity 'Worldwide Need'."

## Service to Society

At the present time many denominational institutions of the Internal Mission and the Catholic charities operate in the GDR, enjoying equal status with state institutions. While we must consider the starting point and objective of their efforts primarily from the aspect of devotion to the works of charity--aimed at healing men's bodies and souls--, these institutions at the same time--and quite deliberately so--perform an important service to society by their contribution to the health and social services. Society, in turn, represented by the government and its officials, appreciates the work done not only by laudatory words but also by equal treatment and assistance with further development.

Among the 563 hospitals in the GDR with a total of 178,555 beds, 82 are denominational hospitals with 12,538 beds. The Catholic Church in our republic maintains 34 hospitals with 5,438 beds and looks after some 76,000 patients per annum. These hospitals largely serve as kreis and city district hospitals. They are firmly incorporated in the social welfare network of their catchment areas and therefore serve patients of all persuasions. Catholic charities also operate 118 old-age and nursing homes with 3,571 places, 14 homes for the mentally handicapped with 791 places, 30 children's and infants' homes with 1,130 places, 137 parish nurse stations and many recreational and spa homes, kindergardens and daytime children's homes.

## Training in the Charity Federations' Own Facilities

The charity federations train their personnel in their own training facilities for Catholic social workers. Available are 1 welfare workers' school with 25 places, two kindergarden teachers' schools with 150 places, two geriatric nursing schools with 20 places, 2 schools for teachers'aides with 27 places, 25 academic training institutions with 264 places. Following an agreement concluded by the Catholic Church on the one hand and the State Secretary for Church Affairs and the Ministry for Health on the other on 10 July 1975, the 9 Catholic teaching hospitals obtained 215 training places for nurses and 49 for children's nurses; these were allocated as follows: St Antony Hospital in Berlin 25, St.Hedwig Hospital in Berlin 40, St Joseph Hospital in Potsdam 25, St Carolus Hospital in Goerlitz 25, St Elizabeth Hospital in Leipzig 25, St Nepomuk Hospital in Erfurt 25, St Vincent in Heiligenstadt 25 and St Elizabeth in Halle 25--all of these training nurses; the 40 training places for children's nurses are at St Barbara Hospital in Halle.

Some 7,400 staff work in the charitable institutions of the GDR, including 1,300 nuns. Parish and deaconage charity work is carried on by around 90 social workers, assisted by 7,900 volunteers. By the conclusion (in 1967) of a settlement with respect to remunerations between the Catholic charities and the labor union, the remuneration of employees in the Catholic health and welfare services was put on the same footing as that paid in state institutions. The operating costs of denominational health and welfare institutions are met by a government payment rate for nursing care, and this is brought up to date annually. All other financial needs are met by the Church, in other words by donations from the faithful.

These figures may fatigue some and sound like boastfulness to others, but they certainly prove that charitable work is more than a pious hobby. The charitable

institutions of the Catholic Church operate as our representatives and on our behalf, because each individual Christian is obligated to practice charity unless the praise of God and witness to the faith are to lack credibility.

A church as a band of brothers is not populated by dreamers and utopians but by people who, by their living faith and strengthened by the spirit of Jesus incarnate, love and make this church come alive wherever they are permitted to consciously live and work. And this lasting incarnation, reflected in the many types of service and committed solidarity, simultaneously turns into our mission, the criterion of the Church's identity here and now. Jesus lives and dies, blesses and heals, suffers and loves--even here and even today--by the medium of ourselves.

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CSO: 2300/303

## WARSAW COLUMNIST RIDICULES EMIGRE CRITICS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 4, 28 Jan 84 p 16

[Article by Daniel Passent: "What's New at the Mangle Shop?"]

[Text] At first, I received a calling card with the following text: Andrew Targowski, M. Sc., Ph.D., Professor of Information Systems Science, Hofstra University, Department of Administrative Computer Systems and Quantitative Methods, Hempstead, N.Y. 11550. Next, I received a letter in which Mr Andrew defends himself against accusations made against him for his activity in the field of information science. This letter was published (POLITYKA 44/83) because we try to act with dignity even under pressure and print the reply of even someone who had decided to remain abroad and is simply acting like a fool over there. I felt that the dispute between Bozyk and Targowski was just another argument in the information science community which was noted for being a place where various swindlers would finish themselves off-- everyone was at everyone else's throat. Not comprehending much of the essence of the matter, an average reader of the press during the 70's could see that none of the disputes and attacks were as fierce and ruthless as those which the information scientists put in writing about each other. This brutality resulted either from the fact that with the aid of computers this handful of hotheads attempted to save the current economy which was headed toward collapse or because in this way, they tried to mend their own personal careers and snatched as much as possible from big money, contracts, managerial and academic titles as well as visits to countries abounding in electronic brains. Thus, I looked upon these countless polemics and mutual battles as upon a specific form of degeneration in our relations so far removed from propriety. I knew that there were followings of Targowski, Karpinski, Straszak and Kulikowski and that Stefan Bratkowski is involved and active in and around this arena but no one was able to understand who the professional, the swindler was.

When I related this recently at the mangler's while waiting for my handkerchiefs to come out from under the hot roller--handkerchiefs previously soiled and tear-stained after reading Michal Misiorny's serial article, which I'll talk about later, a neighbor of mine who was waiting in line with her wash reminded me that 2 years ago fierce infighting took place in ZYCIE WARSZAWY between Andrew (at that time he was still known as Andrezej) Targowski and a group of Polish mathematicians. I took a look at ZYCIE WARSZAWY from February

of 1981 and there, the day before the news about the results of the Eighth Plenum that Wojciech Jaruzelski was nominated for the premier's position, I found an open letter from four professors of mathematics (Lukaszewica, Turski, Blikly and Mazurkiewicz) who stepped all over Targowski's book, "Information Science. Models of Systems and Development" [Informatyka. Modele Systemow i Rozwoju] because of "the author's lack of knowledge, dishonesty and violation of the fundamental value of words"; because he "wasted 10 tons of paper" (the mathematicians quickly calculated the book in terms of weight); "academic pretenses"; the abuse of trust in science and the "absurdity of huge segments of the text."

This letter made an impression on me as on every ignoramus who read such a categorical text by four professors of mahatma. After reading ZYCIE WARSZAWY, I came to the conclusion that since four mathematicians are making a fool of someone in such harsh words then this fool must be hollow inside.

My belief was confirmed by the fact that other mathematicians did not come out in defense of Andrew Targowski (if that were the case, I would have been totally lost). Stefan Bratkowski was the only one who conclusively repelled the accusation as discordant "with good manners," an insinuation not preceded by a debate within the professional circle of PAN [Polish Academy of Science] and, above all, one which indicates a lack of courage because none of the four mathematicians are there when information science could have used a few brave souls while "the boldness of those who were too late to create barricades" was directed toward one who could not defend himself because he is abroad. As for Stefan Bratkowski's courage--I had no doubts. However, I was not certain whether he is also a good enough mathematician to be capable of standing up to the quartet of professors. However, in the publication "Who Is Who in Poland," I read that Bratkowski's hobby is, among other things, "helping others" and, therefore, I attributed the content of his letter to his kindheartedness. However, mathematicians are fussy, especially four at the same time. Thus, they cooked up another letter (ZYCIE WARSZAWY No 48/1981) in which they pointed out Targowski's glaring professional mistakes, adding that during the 70's, "this unemployed emigrant" was the coauthor of investment policies and also of the contention that Poland had surpassed all other countries in terms of the development of information science because Premier Jaroszewicz stood at the head of the Information Science Committee. The task groups directed by him "balanced" capital expenditures in PRL during the 1976-1980 period--something about which A. Targowski writes proudly in his book. Finally, this group of four mathematicians have attached a label to Bratkowski which implies that he was Andrew's associate.

It was significant that no one came out in defense of the book's merits, something which was considered to be normal in the opinion of our local mangle shop and which tilted the support of those at the mangler's towards the mathematicians. In general, at the local mangler's, mathematicians are placed higher than information scientists because it [the mangle shop clientele] is dense and reluctant to accept progress (that is why whenever Michael Misiorny comes for his laundry, all discussions stop because no one at the mangler's would give even one embroidered towel for humanists-Germanists: "Ein, zwei, drei--Polizei, vier funf, sechs--alte Hex, sieben, acht--gute Nacht, neun, zehn--schlafen gehen"). The mangler's clientele which seldom changes its opinions, became

even more firm in them after the letter sent by Andrew, who at that time was still Prof Andrzej Targowski from Western Michigan University, which sounds impressive in Poland. The professor from Western Michigan no longer claimed that Pope Sylvester II was a contemporary of Euclid or that as early as in the 1930's robots contributed to the world unemployment crisis but that his book "is a monument to several hundred Polish information scientists," and that he has the distinction of having the first doctorate in Poland in the field of information science, 5 books and 100 publications to his name as well as 3 years of experience abroad in such companies as IBM and BULL and finally that he "directed and codesigned the more important pilot systems of information science management in Poland." Everyone at the mangler's bowed their heads in recognition and when we got to the end of the letter in which the author claimed that all this is "hell" in which the four mathematicians are frying him, tears began to stain Michal Misiorny's sheet, pillowcase and covers. Michal Misiorny became speechless at the sight of his covers.

Glee finally made its presence known at the mangler's when PRZEGLAD POLSKI, a newspaper which comes out in the United States, fell out of the combined bedding of Professors Turski, Blikly, Lukaszewicz and Mazurkiewicz, having been brought to the mangler's together with jelly-filled doughnuts (at the mangler's, these are flattened out into blintzes).

Everyone at the mangler's tore this paper out of each other's hands. Some wanted to read an article by Mariusz Ziomecki, who until recently was a journalist in Warsaw but left PRL and published a weepy article in the American newspaper about himself, about the fact that he has finally left the ugly Communist Poland, that he is out of work and that his wife just had a child. We were all very happy at the mangler's to know that Mr Mariusz has a job already, as indicated in the reprint of his article in PRZEGLAD POLSKI about "villainy called socialism."

Unfortunately, the circumstances are such at the mangler's that one cannot finish reading something--either you have to stretch a tablecloth or dampen sheets or evenly fold towels which are monogrammed M.M. Thus, when we had finally completed all these chores, the only one among us who knew the alphabet (the mangle shop is an abode of dim-wittedness and illiteracy) read aloud Andrzej Targowski's article, "Dr Lech Walesa and Polish Science of Recent Years" (PRZEGLAD POLSKI, Thursday, December 8/1983). The professor who this time presented himself as Andrzej and not Andrew, treats Lech Walesa's doctorate as one scholar treats another; it is he and now Rakowski who carried on a discussion as one doctor with another. "Dr Walesa," he writes, "abolished experimentally the thesis about the absence of conflict between employers and employees within the system of true socialism...." The further theoretical and practical contribution of Dr Walesa is also based on the presentation of a new thesis that in the present-day struggle of Poles for independence, political realities should be taken into account, i.e., that this struggle should not change the Soviet system of government. On the other hand, it should change the economic system.... In practice, this thesis turned out to be invalid, writes Andrew, adding: "Although Lech Walesa did not write a scholarly dissertation on this subject and did not defend it at an institution of higher learning before a group of professors, he, nonetheless, conducted a reliable

experiment in practice which is rare in social sciences and is more important than a dissertation.... It is enough to mention Roentgen, who wrote his dissertation on a piece of paper, or Sklodowska or Edison, who confined their scientific laboratory to the description of experiments and their patenting."

Our mangle shop, which was a part of this great experiment, became even hotter than an electric mangle from the discussion about whether Andrew is right in comparing the scholarly accomplishments of Lech Walesa with Curie-Sklodowska, Roentgen and Edison. There were those who claimed that, indeed, this was a valid comparison because Walesa X-rayed and illuminated the reality of the 1970's and, therefore, he may compete with Roentgen and Edison. The fact that Warsaw did not want to patent this--that is another matter. Attention was called to other similarities, namely, that excessive irradiation with X-rays is harmful; but this discussion was interrupted at that point because M. M. [Michal Misiorny] walked in and the mangle shop became silent.

After he left, attention was focused on the person of Prof Andrew Targowski. Why has he begun to prop himself up with Lech Walesa in his new life? Why is he taking advantage of his [Walesa's] popularity in the United States? Thus, in this same article, he writes that Polish science is run by "charlatans," that "it is necessary to be extremely shrewd, as a charlatan, to function in full glory without, of course, being General Kaliski," and that Polish "'scholars' have not automatized a thing in their lives (with the exception of Prof St. Wegrzyn)--they have extinguished projects in the field of automation and information science in Poland." Someone at the mangle shop noticed that the syntax of that sentence is such that it is unclear whether Prof Wegrzyn has automated something or whether he himself has become automated. However, we decided to ask this question a year from now when Misiorny brings us his next wash (he launders more often than that, only mangles rarely because our mangle shop disgusts him).

In unmasking Polish science further, Andrew writes that a feudal system prevails in it--something which was discovered many years before him by Urban in his work "Feudal Lords and Vassals," however, the professor does not, of course, mention this but claims that, above all, the system of advancement "blocks those who are talented and promoted mediocrity." Now we understand why Andrew obtained the first doctorate in Poland in the field of information science and the rank of assistant professor; why he was a member of many scientific councils and the so-called Szydlak Commission; why he published 5 books and 100 publications here and why while being at the head of the National Bureau of Information Science he attained the highest offices in this field and is currently the pride of Hofstra University. He prevails over Roentgen and Edison in that he published quite a lot and has a doctorate. "It is too bad though, that this is a Polish doctorate," one of the mangle shop's regulars remarked aptly.

PS. TRYBUNA LUDU unjustly allows Michal Misiorny to take advantage of its authority and space to settle his personal scores with other columns, namely, with KULTURA and ZYCIE LITERACKIE. He was criticized by me for two deeds: for the fact that in August 1978 (!), the dispatcher of the propaganda of

success recommended his article "Impatience or Joint Responsibility" (KULTURA No 35/1978) to the editorial staff of KULTURA. In this article, the author claims that workers are happy and that it is only the intelligentsia that is heard grumbling in cafes. "The style of many reports on present-day Poland in, among others, certain sociopolitical weeklies (as all know whom he had in mind--D. P. [Daniel Passent]) is reminiscent of the prewar style of reports on Zulus." He wrote that workers see "constant, though not necessarily rhythmic improvement of social condition and the development of socialist democracy." He claimed that the reality of things is not bad only its reflection is black. "The main problem which we must deal with, in terms of the proper presentation and interpretation of phenomena, is not so much difficulties arising from objective and subjective causes as the reflection of problems and conflicts in collective awareness...." He, therefore, proclaimed in the second half of 1978 that we are on the right track but that only a "certain part of our opinion-making communities" sees as its obligation to "shout warnings," and if anyone is susceptible to frustration it is the descendants of "lower middle class spheres." I tried to respond at the time to this outrightly damaging text written with cool composure but I was unable to do so, not because of the author but because of the text's dispatcher. An attempt to save the honor of KULTURA by way of polemics was made by Maciej Wierzynski with whom I may differ on the issue of internal emigration and the discussion in the Jesuit paper. They remember things well at the mangler's.

At the mangler's, they also remember that at more or less this time, M. Misiorny became a member of the Polish film industry's final review committee and that recently he defended himself in ZYCIE LITERACKIE with all the agility of an elephant against the absurd accusations of Tadeusz Konwicki, who claimed the murder of the film "Palace Hotel" and particularly that of its scenarist.

Misiorny defended himself by claiming that he was a new member of the commission and did not understand at all what was going on between Poreba, and Wilhelm and Kawalerowicz and that he was as much a greenhorn as a newborn baby. But naive babies do not write texts like the one which appeared in KULTURA and are not members of a review committee--film making or political experts are hired to do this.

If Misiorny had passed over this criticism in silence, or had ignored it or responded by admitting his mistakes--this would have been a dignified reaction. However, what he does is to mention only in the columns of the leading paper about "the blabbering of a columnist" and that it is "not worth one's while" to carry on a debate with me "especially on the level of a mangle shop." Granted, perhaps it is not worth debating and especially on a mangle shop's level if one does not feel like polemizing on a different one but in that case it is better to fill one's mouth with water than to exploit TRYBUNA LUDU for writing invectives pertaining to this matter.

Brushing against me brings more luck than grasping a damsel's knee does for the rallying of racers before the start. Whoever had an encounter with me, advanced to a higher position the very next day: Kakol became Jaroszewicz's minister; Drozdowski scarcely placed me on the Pentagon list when he received the monthly POEZJA; Roszko scarcely had the chance to hurl insults against me

and already he is the vice-chairman of the Union and now, within the framework of positive selection, Misiorny has been appointed to the Literary Fund Council. It only remains to see Andrew Targowski get to the White House. Until then--we invite you to the mangle shop. Various things may be said about us but our memory is good.

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CSO: 2600/617

## EMIGRE COMMUNITY RELATIONS DESCRIBED

Krakow ZYCIE LITERACKIE in Polish No 3, 15 Jan 84 pp 1, 4

[Article by Alicja Lisiecka: "The Emigre Writer's Fate"]

[Text] Neither the postwar emigration, called "the old," nor the second wave of emigres of the fifties, sixties and seventies, have Polish passports. Nearly all of them use emigre documents, which do not grant them the right to enter Poland, and many have taken up foreign citizenship. Yet, many of those who have been so unyielding in political disputes, mercilessly attacking every event in Poland and every line printed in the "official" press, fight for a small patch in the national memory before passing into non-existence on the banks of the Thames or Seine. Emigre ashes, for which a quiet wish had been made that they be shipped to the motherland, lie precisely there. In Warsaw "Aleja Zasluzonych" [Avenue of the Meritorious] lies Kazimierz Wierzynski. Silence only hangs over the tragic New York ending of the would-be repatriate Lechon, who, as wrote in a letter-obituary his well informed literary companion (WIADOMOSCI No 23, 10 June 1979\*), having "difficulties in obtaining American citizenship as a result of former testimony about him (...) fell or jumped out of a high floor" of the Henry Hudson Hotel. It is not known from which floor; there were no witnesses. Paradoxically, the year was 1956, the year of returns to Poland; for the first time, despite his cooperation with Radio Free Europe, in which he was earning a living, Lechon could go to Poland. We know from his "Diaries," published in England, that he wanted to return before his death.

Writers, artists and political activists of the war generation in London and Paris, more unyielding than Lechon and Wierzynski, are now completing their 40th or 41st year abroad, and a 70th or 80th year of life. They still dream aloud of "victory beyond the grave." In the nooks and crannies of libraries collected over the years, they hope for recognition of their work, for a biography, an entry in dictionaries published in Polish--in Warsaw and Krakow, cities they have not seen for forty years and never will see again.

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\* Kazimierz Wierzynski; published with abbreviations, 23 years after Lechon's death.

Lately they have been accepted in the official press and science by virtue of the inventory, although only fragmentarily; only poems by some, critical essays by others, semiliterary works and a few reprints. All this despite publishing difficulties and lack of paper in Poland. Even the emigre vicissitudes of some members of the "diaspora" (they do not accept this term) are being studied, and not only at the Torun seminar of Professor Hutnikiewicz, about whom they chat in London cafes, or in the papers of scientific conferences, from which they expect so much. In the corridors of the Biblioteka Polska [Polish Library] in London young master and doctoral candidates stroll, being met (and meeting) with pious delight. They are writing on the emigre theater, in which Poland's SPATiF [Association of Polish Stage and Film Directors] is still condemned, yet in which the greatest laurels are reaped by its former members: Zapasiewicz and Olbrychski, and some lesser known actresses from Poland. As long as they are from Poland, not from here, not from local dull performances deprived of even social attractiveness. Something has changed in the totally implacable negation of those formerly "forbidden" meetings. How much? Now they even rise from their chairs to applaud when an "underground" publisher reprinting their books makes a guest appearance from Warsaw. They did not come in 1981, when he remained permanently abroad. The first, presidential row of those same chairs remained empty during his speech. They came a few days later to meet a writer promising them a publication of a "real" monograph about "emigre literature." They have not read Lichniak yet, so far it is unavailable in the library here. He popularized the name of the former "minister" in the emigre government, philosopher Wieslaw Strzalkowski, who 2 years earlier asked Lord Carrington for a British passport, so that he could ... go to Poland for a vacation.

The second half of the seventies brought new facts, and I do not mean the acceptance by the old emigration in London of the existence of the "official" culture on the banks of the Vistula. Paradoxically, that happened through "reeducational" meetings with representatives of that culture who on the west European arena presented mainly its "politically controversial" current.

In fact, the "old" generation of the "unyielding" is basically no longer liked, even by itself. Until 1980 it did not accept the Nobel laureat Czeslaw Milosz, who never said a word in the London milieu, who never made pronouncements in Radio Free Europe, who did not write in WIADOMOSCI and did not belong to the Union of Writers Abroad. Let us tell readers in Poland the sad truth: until the Nobel price, he was a "Polonia" poet little known in the world. A few translations of his novel (fewer than Szymon Szechter's, recently deceased in England), one significant hard cover poetry selection (it can be bought even now, after many years, like other Milosz books, not only in London bookstores), provided future laureat with the possibility of presenting himself to foreign language readers. Let us add that until recently, Milosz was for them mainly the author of "The Captive Mind." It was an American university, far from his "homeland Europe," which gave him material independence, and it was not the Union of Writers Abroad that backed him up for awards. Can material independence be attained by even the greatest Polish poets or prose writers living in Paris, Sao Paulo or Munich? Not

if publications by Paris KULTURA are not accompanied by a job in a bank, as in the case of Gombrowicz; by begging and leaving for Guatemala as did the ill critic Andrzej Bobkowski, who died there lonely and unknown; by post-humous financial aid from compatriots, so that the "Great Grydz" could publish the first volume of Lechon's diaries; by welfare benefits in West Germany, where the most unyielding of anticommunist writers, Jozef Mackiewicz, ended his days in conditions often unfit for human existence.

I once wrote in a London article "about the old and new emigration" what difficulties a visitor to Mars encounters when, immediately after landing, he does not secure a university post in the so called country of settlement or a cushy radio broadcasting job. I was denounced as an ingrate, reminded of the "wreaths of roses" on the route to emigre publishing houses, and even Adam Ciolkosz (may he rest in peace), at first close to my anti-endeck [National Democracy] stand in Poland, pointed to my vacations in Greece and Morocco. Indeed, his life supposedly was not easy then. If it was not for collaboration with the Munich radio station, he would have had difficulties making ends meet, particularly because his work on the history of socialism was being done in Great Britain, a country which is having increasingly less in common with "socialism." I shall quote here the well known English writer Gore Vidal: "Britain is nothing any longer. It belongs nowhere. To wish to go there is like wanting to go to Oslo." Of course, seen from Ravello, "Oslo" is somewhat apocalyptic. Thus the choice is often between terrible Polish envy, about which Milosz wrote--and terrible Polish poverty; between American donations from the Polonia Book Fund and publishing with one's own funds in the Oficyna Poetow i Malarzy [Poets and Artists' Printing House], which is less sensitive to the author's political convictions and for years has been called "the red plague."

Emigre firms will not publish a book without certain subsidies. Any scribbler can have his book published for money, with one reservation. Here enters the emigre "a priori censor" with the magnifying glass to examine the author's life history. There is another censor: the "independence" emigration, which after 13 December has again stiffened its neck. For example, there is no dialog on the question of American sanctions against Poland once the "government" in London has adopted a hard line. There is no criticism of its opinions and its institutions, recognized as the representative of "The Motherland."

A long time ago, in 1973, I wrote the most bitter words about the fate of writer-individualists lacking the long-term material support of a specific institution: about their floor scrubbing (already excluding myself) in Danish convents, about the difficulties with integration, and about being lackeys to local "patrons" About the hostile cast of "millionaires" once disliked by the "old" emigration and now attaining prestige in those milieus at the price of material independence and progressive conservatism of political views.

The end of the seventies gave a relative economic security and new passports to the newcomers who managed to remain on the wobbly surface of emigre life,

and the appeasement of the hunger for "fame" to others who in their golden age finally saw the first edition of their work in a foreign language or a volume with their own name on the cover in Warsaw or Krakow. The London "government" forgives such small offences. It never forgives "the other side"; neither Milosz nor Brandys.

The mood change was temporary. Then came the "opposition" press, which made it possible to be published alongside Warsaw "autochtons"--the dance of Petroniuses from Paris with Petroniuses from Poland. Polish writers appear increasingly more often in emigre publications and emigre-oppositionists jump (fortunately, not literally) over the Berlin wall. The sounds of rallies and quarreling, however, accompany the continuing bustle of more or less fascinated professionals. Polish language specialists visiting London, a bibliography of emigre periodicals, popular studies of Milosz's work with copious references to Paris KULTURA. The roles of a deceased actress, diligently written down conversations and press interviews with the illuminaries of emigre life (TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY--I am thinking of the series which I would subject to a more penetrating personal analysis), work on the subject classification of groups, the contents of archives, the access to knowledge about particular individuals. This latter is the most difficult and most debatable, particularly knowledge about the younger ones who came to the West late and often--warned by their predecessors--did not wish to risk anything. Complexes and the tragedy of the "asylum," justified the fear of being thrown overboard and its consequences, the loss of the right to return to Poland and gradual, careful, according to possibilities, settlement and involvement on the other side. The generation of writers--"politicians"--and the generation of "organic work" proponents, joining the emigre mainstream on different principles. Of outsiders in dispersion and the making of more or less instant contacts, depending on a particular need, lecture, discussion, article or signature. Scholarship guarantees, contracts, fees, honors terminated or are extended not always in relation to the international situation; once granted, they generally secure the minimum necessary for existence. Nevertheless we learn from the "Hegelian" Andrzej Kijowski that youth and political conspiracies in the 19th century did not change in the least the map and image of Europe and only broad international circumstances achieved it. Once Kijowski believes that the history of Poland was formed in the melting pots of emigre disputes and was written by emigres, and on another occasion he seems to believe exclusively in the "popular," game-type conception of history: a game, great players and political dictators, Polish and non-Polish disciples of Machiavelli. Where are today those "great" politicians and demiurges the of emigration with their 19th century ancestors? Are they in Paris KULTURA, promoting obedient talents, or perhaps in the bookstore of the London "Ognisko" [Polish Hearth] club? Or in the Polish bookstore in Israel (it can be substituted by the words Israel or "POSK" [Polish Social and Cultural Center], or "Combatants," with no malice intended).

And how do foreigners view today's Polish emigration? I saw it while editing in the French language a special issue of CAHIERS DE L'EST, a quarterly of the intellectual right, for the first time devoted to the work of Polish emigres, whom I cultivated for the fastidious, elite readers in France as demigods of

contemporary literature. The result was not inconsiderable: 228 pages of print, reviews in the weekly and daily press, and even a note from Philips Sollers, the star of TEL-QUEL, whose early and not at all "avantgarde" texts I brought in 1961 from Paris for the editors of NOWA KULTURA.

There were also German reviews, mainly by journalists specializing in writing on cultural events, and a large article in the London WIADOMOSCI, in which since 1970 I wrote a semi-charitable column "Books from Poland."

In CAHIERS DE L'EST could be found all those who for years had thrown mud at me: poet Jozef Lobodowski, the author of a monograph with my name in the title, prose writer Leopold Tyrmand, now in Illinois, who when he was still in Warsaw criticized the clothes (and private life) of this author; the translator removed at the last minute the name of Tadeusz Nowakowski, who used to notice me only in Warsaw. I also invited the editors of Paris KULTURA, who did not publish my articles, including Herling-Grudzinski, gentlemen who used to revile me on the grounds of my sex, looks, convictions, and--significantly enough--tastes (excessively "strange," as defined by "the old gentleman," Edward Raczynski, at a meeting). Apparently I did not manage to refashion them sufficiently to please my emigre judges. Neither did Marek Hlasko, or the fine poet-suicide Marian Osniowski, and many others, who did not care for cautious procrastination and adjustment to local fashions, and for bowing in the direction of the "only" two centers that count, which would be happy to employ our services if we were "on the other side." I am thinking about the editorial offices of Paris KULTURA and Radio Free Europe, with their more or less neutral annexes, where the pens of the "transients" living between emigre editorial houses and the Polish consulate's waiting room, can find shelter. This is the last chance for the "new wave" of 1981, who are finding comfort in the bosom of Mother-Europe, finally being noticed when they had reached manhood after 40 years of teething. This "ninth wave," on semi-emigre papers, only superficially has anything in common with the younger groups of men and women under thirty accompanying it, who from dishwashing gradually move on to government benefits or clerical jobs in the POSK. All of them eke out their living rather than make a living. Sometimes, in addition to small earnings from painting walls or a 60-hour week in second-rate restaurants, they "eke out" a monotonous ideological motivation, which, however, they find boring as soon as they leave large meetings. They have continually less time for them. If they work, they have not enough time for acquiring a profession, learning the language, politics and cultural entertainment. They are never seen in movie houses and theaters. They do not read newspapers. They borrow from each other the local issue of DZIENNIK POLSKI [The Polish Daily] to study the classified ads. Competition for the lowest categories of work, accessible to them, often eliminates traditional ties of friendship and impoverishes emotional life, replaced by an exchange of goods. The children of Canadian professors of Polish origin no longer speak the language of Mickiewicz and Norwid. Under the impact of the school and foreign-language environment they lose their nationality. The new "economic-political" emigration of 1981 does make bonds with the long established Polish communities in the West. They cannot be compared in any way to the most prosperous arrivals of the previous wave of 1968, mostly of Jewish origin. The difference is not only in the passports, but in a much more

painful trauma for the former ones. These of 1981 will return one day. How could they live, some without their friends and acquaintances on the other side ("must at least send a parcel"), others, writers, without squabbling with the "opportunist" Kozniewski, or Machejek who used to give them shelter, or without throwing insults at Sandauer, and after a series of bitter disappointments (let us hope they will be spared them) on this side. Also beckoned by memories of not a bad start. The start given them by Polish universities and publishing houses, Polish press and scientific institutes. They will never forget. They will never stop speaking and reading in Polish.

12270

CSO:2600/616

## TEACHER BLASTS STATE OF HUMANITIES

Warsaw TYGODNIK KULTURALNY in Polish No 4, 22 Jan 84 p 11

[Article by Marian Janzga: "Degradation of the Humanities in Poland"]

[Text] As a provincial high school teacher, I have noted some alarming phenomena in the humanities in Poland which are responsible for the fact that in the press the teacher finds less and less so-called "intellectual ferment" stimulating him to self-improvement.

In my opinion, the last straw for the humanities in Poland were, first of all, the laws regarding compulsory retirement of university professors over 70. (It happened, as far as I remember, somewhere around 1961-1962). This was the time when such top figures of the humanities in Poland as Professors Tadeusz Kotarbinski, Wladyslaw Tatarkiewicz, Stefan Szuman, Zygmunt Myslakowski, Stanislaw Pigon and others left their university departments, very embittered, as evidenced by published interviews with these professors. Secondly, the changes in scientific customs (the changes introduced under influence of so-called nonuniversity factors) amounted to a discontinuation of the traditional, forms of teaching perfected over centuries, such as lectures, seminars, tutorials, lecture series on topics at the discretion of a given professor and without a specific time limit (a semester or two, a trimester). When these traditions were undone, which took place more or less at the time the above-mentioned professors were leaving their departments, people said that the above-mentioned forms taught how to study, whereas the newly introduced customs turned the system of higher education, and especially universities, into schools. Mockers even added: The Sunday schools. The old university traditions of holding open lectures for students from different faculties as well as for "outsiders", "people from the outside," is nowadays almost unknown, even unheard of.

More light should be shed on the two facts mentioned in the introduction. Compulsory retirement of professors over 70, legalized by the laws, was meant to clear out the field, to get rid of people of old, "conservative" and "bourgeois" views. At the celebrations to commemorate his 50 years of scientific work organized by the Adam Mickiewicz Literary Society in Warsaw, Stanislaw Pigon, the son of a peasant from Kombornia near Krosno, said: "In 20 or 30 years, students will not distinguish Pigon from Bystron anymore. And this is understandable. Science makes progress and old scholars find their places in footnotes, more

and more inconspicuous footnotes. The only thing I am asking you is, please do not write that I was a bourgeois scholar. I have always been a peasant's son and so I have remained until the very end."

Worthy professors left their university departments. New staff members were young and greedy, not so much for knowledge and progress in science as for chairs, positions, and titles. In the past, to receive a doctoral degree one had to have essential publications, preferably in book format.

A doctorate used to be a link in the chain of research and scientific activity. Today, we have many "doctors" whose names have never shown up even in an insignificant piece of scientific writing. Fragmentary contributions at a low level, lack of a broad knowledge of the humanities, far-reaching specialization, all of these are the heavy clouds that have cast shadow on the humanities in Poland in the past couple of years. Scholars such as Brueckner, Kotarbinski, Tatarkiewicz, Chalasinski, the Ossowskis, Pigon, etc, had their own scientific methodologies and hundreds of publications, as evidenced by bibliographies of their works. It was an ambition of the scholar to write, to publish. How interesting and creative were the popularizing articles of these scholars that used to appear in sociopolitical weeklies. Today, the provincial teacher misses such brilliant contributions in the periodical press. Only very rarely does a pearl of this kind appear in the columns of ZYCIE LITERACKIE, POLITYKA, or TYGODNIK KULTURALNY.

It might be asked why one should wage war for such things now that lectures and other forms of scientific work are part of today's university life. That is just it. The name remained but the form and content are different. A traditional lecture by a university professor consisted, inter alia, of a review of his current research, that is, of what was still not to be found in a book or available in the form of duplicated lecture notes. For a semester, a professor of Polish would analyze in a very detailed way a single poem or a particular literary work. Critics of such a method claimed that the professor was then not in a position to cover all the material. Therefore, it was decided that professors should be disciplined by putting them under obligation to fulfill the requirements of specific curricula in their lectures. And that is what changed universities into schools. The professor is now obliged to give a cyclical lecture, while the student is obliged to digest the readymade gruel. In this way, university students can no longer study. They have to learn. Large scale admittance to universities - mockers began to speak even of a stock of students - led to breaking up direct and personal contacts between the professor and the student. Apart from this, extramural and evening studies lowered the level of university studies.

Another tradition of German and Polish universities in the late 19th and early 20th century was that the university staff was enriched with high school teachers. That is how such scholars as Kotarbinski, Doroszewski, Ajdukiewicz, Suchodolski, Sosnicki and others began their academic careers. A high school start taught good teaching skills and clarity in giving lectures. It also taught how to be systematic and communicative in presenting the material.

In the 40 postwar years, considerable changes also affected lyceum-type high schools. Just after the war, high school teachers, who for the most part had teaching experience before the war, transplanted certain traditions (traditions of prewar grammar schools). These amounted to high requirements and grading commensurate with authentic results of the process of teaching. Thus, it was often the case that some students of a given class had to repeat a class, that some students did not pass the examination for the secondary school certificate. These strict requirements gave the stimulus to maximize the effort not only to talented but also less talented students. High school and university education was considered a step towards a higher social standing, both from the objective and subjective point of view, i.e. in the eyes of students and their parents, regardless of the social class they belonged to. As a result, high school teachers and university professors enjoyed a high social prestige. It used to be so until more or less 1965. From that time on, more and more improvements (reforms) began to be introduced into our education system every year, which eventually led to such paradoxes as the assumptions that every high school student should graduate and that repeating a class by a student is uneconomical. It followed then that a teacher imposing high requirements on his students was considered to be a bad teacher. In the early postwar period, there was an essential difference between salaries of elementary and high school teachers. In the late 1960s, the salaries were set on the same level. And so university graduates, regardless of their intellectual powers but depending on other criteria, could start teaching either in a high school or in an elementary school. They could also look for other jobs, which was most often the case with the most talented. In the early postwar period, the humanities enjoyed a traditionally high status while, as the years went by, as the process of industrialization of the country progressed, more and more high school graduates were attracted by technical studies. And hence the interest of high school students in science.

This is how the humanities began to play a minor role in Polish universities and high schools, giving place to the so-called technological civilization. Lyceum-type high schools began losing their fame for the benefit of technical high schools, among others those with automotive engineering and electrical engineering profiles. The talented peasant youth began avoiding lyceum-type high schools, and universities in particular, in favor of an immediate professional promotion by taking part in vocational training preparing them for well-paid occupations as house painter, plasterer, taxicab driver, with earnings varying between 1,500 and 3,000 zlotys per day. To put it bluntly, the model of a so-called cultured man has also changed in the country. Just after the war, it was an educated man who could speak standard literary Polish and for whom money did not mean everything. Now, it is an upstart who serves as a model for peasant youth, a man who has a foreign car, a villa, goes abroad to earn some bucks to buy foreign goods and clothing in Pewex shops. And so, a man well-read in belles-lettres, fond of poetry, philosophy, music, and art is not what the young generation dreams of becoming. Rather it is a fashionably dressed man with a posh car and exclusively furnished apartment or villa. I venture to say that only a small minority of them want to improve themselves in such luxurious conditions by reading outstanding works that the human mind has created in the humanities. Others are blindly fascinated with technology.

12607

CSO: 2600/611

## BRIEFS

UPCOMING PLENUM ON INTELLIGENTSIA--A two-day sociological conference on the role of the intelligentsia in the process of socialist renewal came to a close in Warsaw on 7 February. The conference was convened in order to review the current state of knowledge about the intelligentsia, its current problems, and its role in Poland's social and political life. As was pointed out by professor Hieronim Kubiak, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, in his keynote address to the conference, the party leadership is considering, among other things, the advisability of devoting one of its Central Committee plenums to a discussion of issues and official policies related to the intelligentsia. At the end of its proceedings the conference was regarded by its participants as, among other things, a sign that preparations are under way for such a meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Feb 84 p 2]

NEW EDITORIAL LINE FOR WEEKLY--The first meeting of the public editorial board of TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY, which is made up of workers council officers and experts on self-management matters, was held on 21 February 1984. At this meeting it was decided that, in response to the needs of workers and the wishes of the paper's readers, this weekly would become a publication specializing in workers self-management issues. Professor Leszek Gilejko from the Main School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw was named to serve as chairman of the publication's editorial board. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Feb 84 p 2]

CSO: 2600/673

MEMBERS OF CENTRAL COUNCIL FOR WORKER CONTROL

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 99, 22 Dec 83 pp 2-4

[Text] Presidential Decree for approving the composition of the Central Council for Worker Control of Economic and Social Activities on the basis of article 12 of Law no. 15/1972 concerning the organization and functioning of the Central Council for Worker Control of Economic and Social Activities, the president of the Romanian Socialist Republic decrees:

Article--The composition of the Central Council of Worker Control given in the annex which forms an integral part of this presidential decree is approved.

Nicolae Ceausescu  
President  
Romanian Socialist Republic

Bucharest, 20 December 1983  
No. 290

Composition  
of the central Council for Worker Control of Economic and Social Activities

- |                      |                    |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Ilie Verdet       | president          |
| 2. Nicolae Busui     | vice-president     |
| 3. Stefan Croitoru   | vice-president     |
| 4. Eleonora Cojocaru | vice-president     |
| 5. Stefan Kiss       | secretary of state |

Members

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 6. Agurita Alexandrescu | director general of the Bacau clothing industry central office |
| 7. Dumitru              | director of the Rimnicu Vilcea central electrical enterprises  |
| 8. Anica Albu           | foreman of the Savinesti synthetic fiber complex               |
| 9. Cheansa Andoreanu    | foreman of the Vaslui synthetic yarns complex                  |

- |                           |   |
|---------------------------|---|
| 10. Alexandrina Ardelean  | Vice-president of Iasi regional council for worker control of economic and social activities  |
| 11. Anghel Gh. Ban        | foreman of the Turnu Magurele chemical fertilizer complex   |
| 12. Giorge Bolohan        | president of the Iolomiti regional council for worker control of economic and social activities   |
| 13. Vasile Burlec         | miner, brigade chief of the Aninoasa mining enterprise  |
| 14. Constantin Caloianu   | vice-president of the state planning committee  |
| 15. Ion Calinescu         | first deputy of the commission for the workers' economic, professional and self-governance problems of the Central Council of the General Union of Syndicates |
| 16. Constantin Ciocan     | president of the Arad regional council for worker control of economic and social activities   |
| 17. Constantin Clinciu    | electrician specialist at the Rovinari central electrical enterprise  |
| 18. Vasile Cojocaru       | president of the Galati regional council for worker control of social and economic activities   |
| 19. Rodica Coman          | C.T.C. worker at the Alba Iulia porcelain enterprise  |
| 20. Flora Cret            | worker at hte Baia Mare "Agrofruit" enterprise  |
| 21. Andrei Csilag         | president of the Cluj regional council for worker control of social and economic activities   |
| 22. Mihail Comsa          | locomotive mechanic at the C.F.R.-Timisoara depot   |
| 23. Gheorghe Costea       | state inspector general of the state inspectorate general for product quality control   |
| 24. Elena-Ionela Darabana | vice-president of the Constanta regional council for worker control of economic and social activities   |
| 25. Emilian Dobrescu      | minister secretary of state of the national council for science and technology  |
| 26. Dinu Dragan           | secretary of the U.T.C. central committee   |
| 27. Ioana Dragan          | president of the Buzau regional council of worker control of economic and social activities   |
| 28. Florea Dumitrescu     | counsellor to the president of the Romanian Socialist Republic, minister secretary of state   |
| 29. Georgeta Dumitrescu   | foreman of the Tulcea fish industrial enterprise  |
| 30. Constantin Dumitru    | deputy to the minister of the machine construction industry   |
| 31. Ion Floroiu           | foreman of the Drobeta-Turnu Severin railroad car enterprise  |
| 32. Maria Flucsa          | deputy to the minister of internal commerce   |
| 33. Petre Fluture         | president of the Bucharest municipal council for worker control of economic and social activities   |
| 34. Gheorghe Fulca        | deputy to the minister of mines   |
| 35. Constantin Gheorghita | branch chief of the central council for worker control of economic and social activities  |

36. Ion Gheorghisor iron-concrete worker of the Pitesti industrial construction trust
37. Mihai Hatieganu steel worker at the Calarsi siderurgical complex
38. Alexandru Heinrich deputy to the minister for equipment and materials provisioning and for management control of assets.
39. Floarea Hutanu spinner at the Miercurea-Ciuc combed wool spinning mill
40. Petre Ionescu foreman driller at the Viforita-Dimbovita oilfield
41. Cornel Iuga deputy finance minister
42. Silvia Kirilla superintendent of the Satu Mare postal and telecommunications office
43. Doru-Sabin Lopatita blast-furnace worker foreman at the Resita siderurgical complex
44. Eugenia Mandita president of the Bucharest municipal women's committee
45. Maria Miclea vice-president of the Salaj regional council for worker control of economic and social activities
46. Nicolae Mihalache deputy chief of the organizational section of the RCP central committee
47. Dumitra Miron foreman of the Focsani clothing enterprise
48. Vasile Popescu president of the Dolj regional council for worker control of economic and social activities
49. Radu Voinea academician, professor at the Bucharest polytechnic institute
50. Eva Richter president of the Covasna regional council for worker control of economic and social activities
51. Iustin Rogoz deputy minister of the chemical industry
52. Alexandru Rosu minister secretary of state of the ministry for external commerce and international economic cooperation
53. Teodora Gh. Sandu foreman of the Botosani integrated flax enterprise
54. Teodor Sas joiner at the Bistrita-Nasaud wood-processing complex
55. Ilie Salapa director general of the central statistics office
56. Gheorghe Sion foreman at the Suceava wood-processing complex
57. Ana Spirache vice-president of the Giurgiu regional council for worker control of economic and social activities
58. Katharina Szabo laborer at the Sibiu milk industry enterprise
59. Judita Szabo laboratory chief at the Tirgu Mures children's polyclinic
60. Ion Stoichici deputy labor minister, chief of the state inspectorate for labor protection
61. Ilie Tita director of the Slatina food tools enterprise

62. Elvira Tripsa                    chemist foreman at the Brazi petrochemical  
    complex
63. Ioan Ungur                        president of the Brasov council for worker  
    control of social and economic activities
64. Demeter Vasadi                    construction foreman at hte Oradea local  
    construction trust
65. Vasilica Vilcu                    president of the Braila regional council for  
    worker control of economic and social activities

9794

CSO: 2700/128

## CRITICISM OF 'CULT OF VETERAN' REITERATED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1314, 10 Jan 84 p 5

[Commentary by Dragisa Vitosevic: "Zeal, Truth, and Responsibility"]

[Text] The "cult of the war veteran," which I discussed among other things in an interview with Aleksandar Djivuljski for GLAS OMLADINE of Novi Sad (along with 32 other "cults" before that in the book "I Think Otherwise"), reprinted by ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, seems still to be a taboo topic. This can be concluded from the objections raised by reader Branko Popovic, no doubt himself a veteran, against my remarks. This is even clearer from another circumstance reported to me by the editors of ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA: While only one other letter arrived opposing my views, several arrived supporting my views, but none of the latter could be published--they were unsigned. In other words, it is not the case that readers have nothing to be- grudge veterans--they just do not dare. It is not "convenient." That is a much more severe criticism of veterans, I would say, than what I said! Ac- cordingly, frank dialogue is much needed in this realm as well. I must credit Comrade Popovic for the calm and civilized tone of his remarks; that is the only true way, still so rare in Yugoslavia!

I agree wholeheartedly with Popovic that "the critical situations through which our society today is passing require answers, among other things, to the inevitable questions: Who made what kinds of mistakes, when and why, in the course of our development?" At the same time, this means that ours is no longer a time of amiable recollections, reports, anniversaries, ban- quets, etc.; it is instead a time that calls for sobering up (as Federal Ex- ecutive Council ex-chairman Veselin Djuranovic would say) and especially for drawing lessons from experience.

In this country, which owes its existence to centuries-old struggles and to people who fought, one must be cautious in dealing with this topic. However, we must not overlook the other, less bright side of our sacrifices and victor- ies. In life, as in history in general, nothing is simple or harmless in- cluding victory. For example, the brilliant exploits of the participants in the first and second Serbian risings and the self-sacrifice of Stevan Sindjelic, Hajduk-Veljko, and Tanasko Rajic ought not to hide from our view of other facts: that there were voivodes who immediately began to live luxuriously, like unruly bullies, just like the Ottomans against whose violence they had

risen! Likewise, after the extraordinary exertions during the "Albanian Calvary" [of 1915] and the Salonica front [of 1917-1918], the courageous veterans of the latter were disgraced by "prominent individuals" exploiting the far-from-glorious sham "Salonica spirit." And at the end of all the partisans' epic struggles, the word "partizanstina" [in no dictionary, evidently a derogatory diminutive referring to uncouth behavior by victorious guerrilla warriors] came into existence; probably all of us know the word, yet presumably no one says it in public. This "decorum" cannot last a long while, surely, nor can the word be driven out of the language.

My generation learned about partisans and their morality from the "Truthful Legends" of Jovan Popovic and the early short fiction of Antonije Isakovic ("The Red Shawl," "The Spoon," etc.), but we soon heard different, oral, no less truthful stories from everyday life. For example, the stories about the large-scale postwar expansion of the rolls of veterans (on the basis of testimony by two witnesses!), the origin of the familiar joke: Our war would have been much shorter if all those "certified" veterans had actually caught the smell of gunpowder.

Comrade Popovic has attempted to explain why everything after the war and revolution had to be in the hands of veterans, even in places where they were absolute nonspecialists. But he does not mention what is most essential today: Why, if there were so many "tested" and "reliable" "personnel," did so many things start rolling downhill or go downhill? This is precisely what asks for an answer today.

We know: Our fellow-citizen, often clever but also disorganized, easily loses his sense of measure and becomes (as Skerlic said long ago) a "know-it-all and universal expert." Has that not especially been the case when he has had the halo of a veteran? Has not veteran status, combined with "involvement," often been our highest and sole important "qualification"? We have built so many "political factories" on glass supports, i.e., on imports without anyone asking or listening to the experts. A veteran in the world at large, from ancient times, has been a person who has honorably fulfilled his obligation to his fatherland. In Yugoslavia, however, a veteran is a person who is constantly collecting payment for that fulfilled duty. Dusan Radovic recently published a bitter aphorism in POLITIKA on the subject: "If some of the meritorious ones ask for all their merits to be paid for, we might calculate the value of those merits. All honor to individuals, but perhaps we have already paid off some of the meritirious ones."

It is nice of Comrade Popovic not to have overlooked, in his letter, writers who fought in the war: Goran Kovacic, Nazor, Racin, and the others. However, the customary commemorations (or speeches!) cannot be of much help today. Above everything else, such reminiscences ought to stimulate the renewal of a revolutionary and critical spirit and other (alas!) forgotten values; otherwise, they do not make much sense and already sound empty and phony to young people.

The period of reexamination ahead of us cannot ignore writers or other artists, of course, just as the earlier overall process of bureaucratization (especially

in connection with the artists' associations) did not pass them by. We are all responsible! For example, and regrettably, some literary folk found it much more convenient and advantageous to associate with political leaders (even of the lower ranks), while swearing by the working class and travelling (at its expense) abroad, than to make an effort to acquaint themselves even slightly with that class, much less to write something about it.

To conclude: In this country of centuries-old fighting and dying, respect for veterans is the most natural thing; however, in my opinion, not the "cult of the veteran," nor the cult of the writer-guerrilla, in its day-before-yesterday parade form. Three quiet virtues--zeal, truth, and responsibility--are perhaps the only ones that can help us.

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