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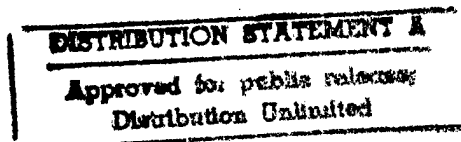
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29 July 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2038



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29 July 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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MOROZOV VIEWS START PROSPECTS, CONTROL ISSUE

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 2 Jul 82 p 2

[Interview with Col Vasiliy Morozov: "The USSR Favors an Honest and Just Agreement"]

[Text] In connection with the talks initiated in Geneva between the USSR and the United States on limiting the strategic armaments of both countries (START), NARODNA ARMIYA asked APN commentator Col Vasiliy Morozov, candidate of military sciences, a few questions which he was kind enough to answer.

[Question] Could the Soviet-American talks on limiting and reducing strategic armaments (START), which began on 29 June, end in quick success or could they take years?

[Answer] The resumption of the SALT process and the reaching of practical agreements on this subject are becoming increasingly acute and urgent, for the development of new types of mass destruction weapons by both sides (unless ended on the basis of an agreement) could remove the grounds for a still possible agreement on limiting, reducing and controlling such weapons.

We know that the Soviet Union has always favored the initiation of talks aimed at drafting such agreements quickly, without delays or strings of any sort. The experience acquired from previous talks -- SALT I and SALT II -- proves that with reciprocal desire and political good will the two countries can surmount any difficulties which are bound to face the participants in the talks, when it will become necessary to take into consideration a number of major strategic and geographic factors which appear to have remained outside the pale of previous talks. For example, during the SALT II talks, despite differences in the structure of the components of the strategic offensive armaments of the parties and other objective difficulties, which were artificially created by the American side as the talks progressed, in the final account it became possible to surmount them and to reach a mutual agreement on concluding the SALT II Treaty. The joint communique, which was issued on the occasion of the conclusion of this historically important document, noted that "the new treaty on limiting strategic offensive armaments and its protocol express a mutually acceptable balance of the interests of the two countries, based on the principles of equality and identical security. These documents make a substantial contribution to the cause of preventing a nuclear war and to the intensification of detente, thereby meeting the interests

not only of the Soviet and American peoples but mankind's hopes for peace as well."

The further course of the SALT process was interrupted for a period of 3 years by the fault of the Carter and Reagan administrations. The SALT II Treaty remains unratified to this day, again by their fault, despite the fact that benefit to the United States is unquestionable. At the time this was quite convincingly stated by U. S. Secretary of Defense H. Braun who emphasized that in his view the treaty strengthens U. S. security, ensures real armament control and offers opportunities for further progress in this direction. Braun described it as a "secret weapon" which could save billions of dollars and admitted that the SALT II Treaty ensures strategic parity between the USSR and the United States without any need for further rearmament.

As to the duration of the talks, which began on 29 June, it is difficult to prophesize, for this depends on the two parties and on the objective factors related to the talks. As it previously has, the Soviet Union expressed the hope that practical agreements can be reached.

Everyone must realize that the prerequisite which will ensure the success of the START process, including the talks initiated in Geneva, is the preservation of the existing parity in Soviet-American strategic armaments and the gradual reduction in their level.

[Question] Is this not precisely the greatest difficulty?

[Answer] Perhaps the most difficult is the nature of the problems to be discussed and the approach of the American leadership: The impression is created that they would like to use the talks as a screen behind which they could speed up the implementation of the comprehensive "American rearmament" program, the purpose of which is to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and to violate the existing strategic armaments parity.

Quite naturally, a position of this kind hardly contributes to the success of the talks. However, let us hope that the U.S. leadership will have sufficient statesmanlike wisdom and political will to change this approach to START and, jointly with the Soviet Union, will make the necessary effort to reach an honest and just agreement which would harm nobody's interests.

To be successful, the talks must be truly aimed at limiting and reducing strategic armaments rather than becoming a screen behind which the armament race could continue and the existing parity be violated. Secondly, both parties must base their talks on the legitimate interest of mutual security, strictly in accordance with the principles of equality and identical security. Finally, everything positive that already exists must be preserved.

In this connection, we must point out that the opponents of SALT II in the United States, who had worked hard to discredit the treaty, are now calling for "putting an end to the shameful past" and restarting START virtually from scratch. One can only regret that such views were being disseminated on the eve of the current talks, which did not begin from scratch, a great deal of useful work having already been done.

[Question] Is the USSR prepared for "on site" control over the observance of agreements reached?

[Answer] Let us point out first of all that disarmament control is a problem of relations between governments. That is why control must be based on principles of international law as codified in the UN Charter, such as sovereign equality and nonintervention in domestic affairs. No control system can be legitimate unless it is based on these principles. A mandatory prerequisite for control is that no harm come to the security of the countries and that the principles of equality and identical security be observed strictly.

What does previous experience in this area indicate? For example, the concept of "control without disarmament" was launched in the United States as early as the 1940s. This means control over existing weapons. During the subsequent decades control problems were always given first priority in U. S. proposals and were considered the main measure. Meanwhile, as a rule, specific disarmament measures were pushed into the background or else were not included at all in the American proposals, as was the case with the "open skies" plan, which Eisenhower proposed in 1955, etc. Such concepts, which were discarded by reality, were recently resurrected by the Reagan administration which called in 1981 for holding "preliminary" talks on problems of control, separately from specific disarmament steps.

Unlike this American concept of control, which is a self-seeking U. S. aim, the USSR has persistently called for using the control principle as a means of securing agreements reached in the field of disarmament. In the Soviet proposals control has always been most closely related to the process of limiting, reducing and eliminating armaments. The Soviet Union believes that regardless of its tremendous significance control, plays a subordinate role compared with the material steps to be taken to restrict armaments.

Control can only be a structural component of disarmament agreements, a tool in the implementation of agreements. The amount of control and its forms must be consistent with the scale of the practical steps taken in the field of disarmament. Should the amount of control, the rights of the controlling authority and the inspection methods exceed the limit of what must be observed in order to execute the respective agreement control may actually turn into legalized espionage.

Such basic principles must be taken into consideration in discussing the forms of control, whether exercised with domestic technical facilities or with "on site" inspection."

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CSO: 2200/122

MEAGER EXISTENCE, POLICE STATE ATMOSPHERE DESCRIBED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 29 May 82 BILDER UND ZEITEN Supplement p 3

[Article by Viktor Meier: "The State Is Ever-Present"]

[Text] At a certain place on the Albanian side of Lake Ohrid, near the Yugoslav border, large springs come out of the hills; forming many small rivulets, they traverse the short distance of level ground toward the lake. These springs are subterranean drains of Lake Prespa, which is located somewhat higher, behind the mountains. Some of the farmers built their houses so as to straddle the streams; they take advantage of the clear, clean water and when the fish move upstream to their breeding grounds, the farmers can catch the tasty Korans, a type of trout that occurs only in Lake Ohrid, in the basements of their houses without having to step outside. Beyond the border, on a rocky platform above the lake, there rises the monastery church devoted to St. Naum, which dates from the 10th century. Until 1926, the church and the neighboring villages on the other side belonged to Albania. Thereafter Ahmed Zogu, the subsequent king, ceded this region--along with the church--to Yugoslavia--in appreciation of the support lent by the Yugoslavs in connection with his seizure of power in Albania.

After our visit to the nearby fishery, a farmer from the village of these basement fishermen invites us to his house. In 1926, after the session of the region, he had been compelled to leave two sisters on the other side of the new border. He participated in the communist "National Liberation War" and now begins--in the style of the popular agitator--to speak of the achievements of the Enver Hodzha regime. He points to the dismal life of former times, when his father--under the customary half- or third- time lease system--had to work for the Bey, the land owner. The family had owned no more than 3 hectares and that had not been sufficient for subsistence. In reply to the question how much land he owns now, he grows somewhat quieter and says: None. But he says that as a member of the collectives he need not worry about anything.

Did he ever see again his two sisters on the other side of the border? Now he grows very quiet; the agitation has come to an end and his eyes fill with tears. No, since the war he has not seen his sisters. Thus for all of his life this man has been fighting and working for the "progress" of the present system, but this system has not even enabled him to see again his two sisters who live only a few kilometers off.

It should be noted that it was not the Yugoslavs who kept the border sealed. Again and again, one is confronted in Albania with the two faces of the system: a guaranteed minimum of the necessities of life for everyone, but next to nothing for the individual and his and her needs. Work involving a 48-hour week and work assignments; average wages of 700 lek, at most 900 lek; inexpensive housing which is allocated provided the individual concerned has the requisite residence permit. The prices: 19 lek for a kilogram of good meat; 8 lek for a kilogram of sugar; 5 lek for a kilogram of flour, but 60 to 90 lek for a kilogram of coffee--and coffee is actually available in Albania, in contrast to other communist states. A bicycle costs 700 lek, i.e. a month's wages. One could say that a bicycle is the maximum material enjoyment an Albanian can afford.

Even motorcycles are sold only to state-owned enterprises and institutions, not to private citizens. A few Albanians have obtained motorcycles from foreign countries. Private automobiles are out of the question. Private homes appear to be obtainable only in the countryside; we were told that the taxes are so high that many people try to get rid of the private homes they built for themselves and to move into a state-owned rental apartment.

It is hard to believe that the Albanians should differ so much from other peoples, that they should voluntarily forego any qualitatively higher individual enjoyment. The Albanian diplomats boarding the plane with us in Rome carried a heavy load of transistor radios, electric shavers, record players and the like. In Kosovo (Yugoslavia), Albanian farmers had explained to us their rejection of the system imposed by Tirana by pointing out that under this system the people were totally dependent on the benevolence or malevolence of the state; the "blood ties," i.e. the clans, had been torn and the people had been deprived of their religion as well; thus they no longer had anything that could give them shelter outside the state. And--they said--there was no point in fooling oneself: those Albanians who try to oppose the strictly regimented system or who dare voice "antisocialist" thoughts are faced with the internment camp, to which one may be committed on the basis of a mere administrative decree, or with imprisonment involving forced labor.

It is difficult for the visitor within 2 weeks to fathom all of the characteristic features of a given system. Generally speaking, we noted that the relations, the daily contact between the rulers and those ruled, between those at the top and those below were by no means cordial. To be sure, the life of the Albanians is not entirely without joy: there are coffee houses, cultural institutions and even a limited internal tourism. The monuments of the past, insofar as they have any architectural or other value, are maintained. But in Albania the relationship between the values that were irradiated from the life of the people and those that have newly been created or transmitted is disproportionate.

In reply to the question why in Albania the communist movement prevailed over the other national forces, one receives an answer that runs more or less along the following lines: during World War II, all of the other movements advocated preservation or re-establishment of the old social and political structures and this was unacceptable to the younger generation and to the intellectuals, but also to the many peasants toiling under the feudal system; the Italians had placed all their hopes on the Beys; only occasionally had they made weak attempts to base their regime on broader segments of the population. That this is true can be seen from the diary of Count Ciano, who under Mussolini was Italy's minister of foreign affairs. Further, one is told that the tribal warriors of the North, who were led by Abbas Kupa, had wanted to get back King Zogu; the "National Front" (Balli Kombetar), which had emerged in the Valona

region, adopted an attitude of wait-and-see; it never gave up its feudal airs; in those times, a young Albanian intellectual was bound to be a leftist; since the South was the socially most emancipated region, it provided the communist movement with the most support. Understandably, the Yugoslav support presently is played down by the Albanian communists; but it was a key factor, especially in connection with the subjugation of the North.

In explanation of the fact that the military is in evidence everywhere in Albania, people point to the 2-year military service: the many draftees, who frequently work in the agricultural sector, must be stationed somewhere, after all. But one also sees police everywhere. Both the police and the military wear simple Chinese-style uniforms without any insignia. The Central Committee building on Tirana's boulevard par excellence, which was built by the Italians, is guarded by a combat-ready detachment. At certain hours, the policemen on Tirana's Main Square outnumber not only the motor vehicles, but also the pedestrians. Necessity or psychosis? "Work, Vigilance, Readiness" reads one of the slogans one sees everywhere, and in official speeches, there is constant reference to "external and internal enemies". One of the arguments against the development of foreign tourism is that it would subject the country to "various influences." But on the other hand there are surprising phenomena as well: every night, a relais transmitter in Tirana broadcasts the "telegiornale," the daily news of the Italian television network and--in addition--1 hour of sports on Sundays.

In January, when the National Assembly "elected" Adil Carcani successor to Minister President Mehmed Shehu, who in December had died by "suicide," there was an unusually great number of policemen in Tirana's streets. Everywhere, the visitor is told that for a Communist suicide is a disgrace and thus Shehu would not be discussed anymore. But there are indications that this was a matter involving power struggles between cliques; probably it was also a matter of attitude toward all the new requirements with which Albania now is confronted. Something has now become clear: the process of cautious "opening"--if one may use this term--has not slowed after Shehu's death; rather, it has continued and--to some extent--even intensified.

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CSO: 2300/301

ALBANIA

NEED FOR WESTERN TECHNOLOGY STRESSED BY FRANKFURT PAPER

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 7 May 82 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Consequences of the Albanian Detours"]

[Text] Tirana, in May--The 5,000 workers of Tirana's "Enver Hoxha" Machine-Shop almost exclusively produce spare parts for the approximately 150 motor vehicle makes that since World War II--in the course of changing alliances--have been imported to Albania. The key vehicle of this "motorization" is a smallish Soviet agrarian tractor (75 hp) which the Soviets started to turn out after 1948 and for which they had obtained an American license in 1920. In 1981, when Albania broke with the Soviets, the Chinese, who in their turn had obtained a license from the Soviets, took over delivery of the tractor. Today the Albanians make spare parts for this vehicle, which they try to keep running as long as possible.

The history of this tractor appears to be characteristic. After having been supplied by the Soviets with a technology that even then was backward, Albania received from the Chinese what the Soviets 10 years ago had sold to the latter. When the Chinese began to set their sights on Japanese machines, the Albanians had already fallen out with them. In the Berat textile plant, the Chinese shuttles noisily scoot back and forth on the machines; the Albanian engineer says tests are being conducted on how the noise could be somewhat reduced. These products give Albania access to the lower reaches of the international textile market: Fabrics for jeans and simple shirts. Likewise, the Shkodra copper and aluminum wire plant uses Chinese drawing frames--probably licensed by the Soviets. It is only for top grades that the plant uses Italian machines.

Viewed from the mountains above Elbasan, the smoke stacks of the Elbasan steel mill, the only metallurgical enterprise in Albania, look impressive--a promise of progress and industrial development, as it were. The Albanian escort, to whom we addressed a few polite remarks along these lines, grew somber: He said that in this respect, too, the Albanians had been duped by the Chinese; the Albanians had intended to base their new metallurgical enterprises on electricity; consequently, they had begun to build power plants, first in the Mati region and subsequently on the Drin River. The Chinese had said, however, that this was not possible, probably because they were not in a position to supply the requisite technology; they had then abandoned the plant half-finished. So now the stacks were blowing smoke in Elbasan and the Albanians were trying to complete the installations as best they could.

It is striking that aside from the power plants and a few metallurgical enterprises, Albania has not started any major industrial projects since the withdrawal of the Chinese in the second half of the 1970's. This is a reflection of Albania's key economic problem; obviously, it is one of the main reasons for the cautious advances toward the West: The necessity to procure modern technology.

Professor Buda, historian and president of the Academy of Sciences, concedes that while Albania in its development has not followed an erroneous course, there have been unnecessary detours. It is for the legacy of these detours that the country now laboriously produces spare parts. Twice the country has been duped, but there will be no third time, says Buda. This is a statement the visitor hears again and again. One is told the country will now take its time; only after cautious and careful scrutiny would it enter into new economic relations, which then would determine the future structure of the economy.

It appears that on principle the country has opted for the West, but the Albanians do not yet sufficiently know the Western products; they are uncertain as to what and where they should buy. During the period when the country placed its hopes on its "own strength," i.e. after the outbreak of the conflict with China, Albania bought CSSR products. Since 1975, Albania has diversified its foreign trade, partly because it hoped to establish an approximate equilibrium between East and West, with the exception of the superpowers. The East has been participating in this game, probably because it hopes later to be able to reestablish points of contact in Albania. For reasons concerning foreign exchange, the East for a long time even predominated in Albania's foreign trade. At present, the proportion seems to be changing in favor of the West. The Eastern Bloc states (excluding Yugoslavia) now constitute a mere 47 percent of Albania's foreign trade (total volume: a little over \$800 million); the trade with these states still is based on clearing in ruble terms. Reportedly, trade with the GDR and Poland has been declining. It appears that after Yugoslavia (exchange volume: approximately 130 million) and Italy (between 70 and 80 million), the CSSR remains Albania's third most important trading partner. We asked whether Albania was satisfied with the quality of the CSSR products; no, we were told, not at all, but payment for these products could be effected through the clearing system. What with an annual export volume of \$400 million, opportunities are limited. The Albanian constitution rules out acceptance of credits and assistance.

Nevertheless, the country has begun to orient itself in the direction desired; on principle, it has opted for expansion of exports, i.e. of products that are marketable in the West. We were told that petroleum, petroleum products and petroleum-derived materials (plastics) presently constituted approximately 35 percent of Albanian exports. In Ballsh in Central Albania, near the oil fields, Albania has built a modern oil refinery, which is already capable of producing most of the derivate assortment. The annual output is estimated at approximately 1.8 million tons.

Albania holds that its precious metals offer the best prospects in regard to exports. Albania is the world's third largest producer of chromium; even now, chromium ore and chromium concentrate constitute just under 15 percent of its exports. The country's reserves are extensive. Chromium ore and ferronickel ore are exported--also to the Eastern Bloc--via the port of Durrës and then via the Yugoslav port of

Rijeka. In Tirana, one hears the complaint that the Federal Republic has almost entirely discontinued the import of Albanian chromium ore and that this move has produced a highly unfavorable trade balance for Albania, what with \$8 million worth of Albanian exports and \$38 million worth of imports. Albania is trying to accelerate the expansion of the ferrochromium enrichment and refining installations and of the nickel extraction plants abandoned by the Chinese. Copper can be processed up to the wire-drawing stage; as for aluminum, the two last electrolysis stages must be carried out in Hungary.

For the refinement of its metals, Albania needs electricity. And the country has laid solid foundations to attain this objective; for the construction of power plants, it has at its disposal experienced personnel. According to the plans, five large-scale power plants will be built on the Drin River in North Albania; two of these plants--the plant near Fierza and the one near Vau i Dejes--have been completed. Albania supplies Yugoslavia and Greece with over \$30 million worth of electric energy per year. Along bare mountain slopes and the first reservoir, we drive up to the Koman construction site, where the construction work on the 100-meter dam is in full swing. Heavy trucks--built in England and Italy--transport the gravel. The chief engineer impresses by his calm; obviously, this work has already become routine for him. Albania's political vicissitudes are reflected in the origin of the turbines for its various power plants: For the first plants in the Mati region, the Soviet Union had procured turbines in Austria; the aggregates for the second oldest plant in South Albania came from the CSSR, and those for the two completed Drin plants, from China. For Koman, Albania has for the first time ordered French turbines.

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CSO: 2300/300

CONTACTS WITH THE WEST, DOMESTIC CHANGES DISCUSSED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 16 Jun 82 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier: "In Albania Something Is Astir"]

[Text] Tirana--For the international press, Albania has become a fashionable item. Since the Albanian leadership has realized that it could be advantageous, if its standpoints and concerns become known abroad, numerous Western journalists have been allowed to visit the country. Coming into Tirana's Dajti Hotel in the evening, one always runs into a colleague who has just arrived or has returned from a trip across the country. To be sure, a Western journalist cannot move about in Albania without an escort; the country is not ready for this and it also lacks the requisite transportation network. Only in exceptional cases does Albania allow people to enter the country in their own automobiles. However, a foreigner is ill advised to drive a car in Albania; the Albanians are not used to traffic and the visitor driving his or her own automobile is bound to encounter critical situations. As a rule, the foreign journalist is escorted and driven across the country in an automobile of the "Committee for Foreign Relations." But the foreign journalists may freely take solitary walks in Tirana or any other city and--if they please--talk to the people. In doing so, however, they will run into the language barrier and then they will soon be made to feel that for whatever reasons the people are not especially interested in talking to a foreigner.

Again and again, the Albanian escorts emphasize that they do not want to develop any foreign exchange tourism. They feel that this would subject Albania to too many "uncontrollable" influences. They also state that foreign tourists occasionally engage in unacceptable activities and even in "religious propaganda." In fact, the Albanians are well advised to forgo foreign exchange tourism. For this would require sensitivity to the wishes of Western visitors and it would necessitate establishment of the requisite infrastructure. Such adaptation cannot be expected of a country that for so long kept and still keeps its citizens in seclusion. Since Albanian citizens must report to the police any--even innocent--contact with foreigners and since both sides are "cautioned" against contacts, a climate favorable to tourists cannot develop. Thus travel to Albania is likely to remain restricted to interested individuals traveling singly or in groups. For such individuals the existing institutions are sufficient; every larger town has a hotel that provides comfortable overnight accommodation.

In regard to changes in the present conditions, the West cannot expect Albania to

perform miracles. Nevertheless, one can safely say that something is astir. This so-called "little opening" has been initiated by the secretary of the Party, Enver Hoxha, who now is over 74 years old. It appears, however, that Hoxha and his followers want to restrict this "opening" as much as possible; aside from the interest in Western technology and the pleas for understanding for Albania's national problems--including Kosovo--there are as yet no real points of contact. However, Albania has never been as isolated as might have been assumed. There has been substantial development--"parallel", as it were, to the outside world--albeit on a more modest level. In the cities on the coast, television antennas are to receive the domestic, Albanian program; the Italian program comes in by itself.

Albania has a writer of international status--Ismail Kadare. Recently, the press published reports according to which Kadare had been criticized at a plenary session of the Writers' Association on account of his international contacts. A few days after this session, we had supper with Kadare in Tirana and we did not feel we were speaking to a remorseful individual. According to our Albanian escorts, the intent of this Writers' Association plenum, at which Ramiz Alia, the functionary in charge of cultural policy, delivered a speech, was to oppose "schematism"; reportedly, it was stated at the plenum that life in Albania was richer, more complex and difficult and less straight than its descriptions in the works of certain authors. Kadare intimated that he felt encouraged rather than restricted by this plenary session.

Some foreign observers in Tirana have advanced the thesis that Minister President Shehu, who last December allegedly committed suicide--a suicide similar to those of Beriya and Malenkov in the Soviet Union--tried--for power- and tactics-related reasons--to outdo the cautious opening initiated by Enver Hoxha and suddenly presented himself as a great pragmatist. These observers are basing their thesis on the fact that approximately at the time of this discussion Hoxha published a long-withheld manuscript on his relations with the Anglosaxons--a manuscript, the last 30 pages of which contained an unusually strong defense of the policy of isolation. Something must have happened around Shehu, but observers in Tirana have noted that there have been no changes in regard to the more pronounced orientation toward the outside world, which orientation had cautiously been initiated last year. The new minister president, Adil Carcani, who like Hoxha comes from an urban family in Gjiroka and who--in addition to other languages--fluently speaks Italian, embodies the type of the enlightened, realistic functionary.

In other countries--not least in Yugoslavia--people occasionally voice the fear that after the stepping-down of Hoxha--who as yet seems to be firmly in control--pro-Soviet elements may again win the upper hand in Albania, above all in the police and in the military. At present, the defense ministry is headed by Kadri Hasbiu, who generally is considered the "third man" of the regime, ranking above Ramiz Alia, the cultural leader; a veteran, Kadri Hasbiu reportedly is a relative of Shehu's. Surprising developments can never be entirely ruled out in Albania; Shehu's "suicide," immediately after the great unity demonstration at the last party congress, was such a surprise. However, visitors presently do not notice any pro-Soviet influences. Among the functionaries, the prevailing attitude is pro-Western; according to the view commonly held, the West no longer poses any threat to Albania and the "enemy" now is in the East.

There is little cause for the West to rush into onesided shows of goodwill toward Albania. This would only serve to give rise to suspicion in Tirana. As for the

Federal Republic, there is no reason why it should abandon the position according to which the establishment of diplomatic relations cannot be made contingent upon conditions. But if there is a Western country that even today could perform mediation services in Albania, it would be Italy. Albania is trying to make its contacts with the West as direct as possible and in this respect, too, to emancipate itself from Yugoslavia, which--at least in the field of technology--has often played the mediator's role. At times one wishes for the Roman ministries to show a little more boldness and imagination. Geographically, Albania occupies a strategically important spot and for this very reason it merits the attention of the West.

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CSO: 2300/300

SHORTAGE OF BABY FOOD CRITICIZED

Sofia STURSHEL in Bulgarian 7 May 82 p 1

[Article by Naiden Iliev: "Out of Love for the Child"]

[Text] The well-informed reader certainly remembers that 3 or 4 years ago in the pharmacies and food stores there were acceptable quantities of several varieties of Humana baby food--out of love of children--and banana pudding which children ate with relish--as did old folks too. But now there is no Humana. Or, to be exact, in the pharmacies there is only Humana-0, which is for premature infants and which remains unsold on the shelves. Statistics show that about 7-8 percent of the babies in the country are premature. The main demand is for Humana-1 for children up to 3 months old. But the Main Pharmaceutical Trust has used its entire foreign currency allotment for Humana-0. Import of other types has been halted for 2 years. It was decided we should use local materials and products. Thus the Lovech factory "Dairy Industry" is beginning production of "humanized" milk, "Baby-0," "Baby-1", etc., which are to replace the imports. But the local product will have a long way to go to replace the imports, which can stand on the shelf unspoiled for 2 years and which have a much higher nutritional value and better flavor. Until recently however "Baby" retained its freshness for only 6 months (now up to 8) but by the time it was produced, shipped to warehouses, and from there to the stores, it was no longer safe for consumption. Last year a large amount of it went off to feed calves in farms. There is no way to avoid a similar situation in the future and so we pay through the nose.

And even though the quality of "Baby" food products is still far from acceptable, "Dairy Industry" will not give the so-called production permit for the import of "Humana." The regulation prescribes that if something is produced in our country, it may not be imported. This is all well and good, and expedient, but in that case the following question inevitably arises: why, even though an abundance of brandy, wine, and cigarettes are produced in our country, are they still imported?

With a need for 2 million cans of banana pudding only 500,000 are imported annually. Foreign currency is not allotted. None is available. This may be true, but then with which supplies of foreign currency are the machines purchased that rust for years on end in the backyards of factories?

Nevertheless, one may accept, up to a point, the lack of variety in imported baby food. But there is not way to explain the insufficient variety of ready-to-eat foods produced by the "Brigada" plant in Asenovgrad. The only thing which can be found in Sofia's stores now are three or four kinds of food for children over 5 months old and apple and pumpkin puree for children over 3 months old. But as we know pumpkin is hard on the stomachs of adults, not to mention nursing infants. Is this a question of foreign currency?

Moreover, along these lines of thought we want to touch briefly on vitamins and medicines.

There is no **argument** over the fact that our country produces many different preparations and vitamins to improve the health of the children. The question is, do they taste and smell good so that children will take them readily? And, how effective are they? Let us take as an example the vitamin compound "Vikompleks", **whose** effect is almost the same as when it is not taken--not to mention its flavor. Children won't drink it--naturally. But they snap up the imported Multisanistol, whose import is not permitted by the Medidation Committee of the Ministry of Health and which is not listed in the list of imports of the Main Pharmaceutical Trust. It can be found only in the pharmacies of two or three specialized hospitals.

In the lists of the Main Pharmaceutical Trust there are not even soluble vitamin-aspirins, not to mention other things.

We do not want to be misunderstood--we are far from thinking that baby food, enriched preparations and medicines must be imported. Let us produce them in our country--the main thing is that they be of good quality and variety. But let us not be stingy on importing what is better. The issue here is the health of our children--those who are our future and whom we say we love.

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CIVIC INITIATIVE SHOULD ENLIVEN ECONOMIC REFORM

Rome LISTY in Czech No 2, May 82 pp 1-4

[Article signed by Jindrich]

[Text] The continuing decline of our economy, which cannot be checked by half measures, will probably lead to the revival of cooperation among Czechs and Slovaks soon. And when such a situation occurs, there naturally will be demands for this or that, attention will be paid to scandals that will undoubtedly surface and there will be a tendency to make utopian demands that will solve nothing, etc. The more one was afraid in the past, the more he will try to adopt a radical attitude until it will be possible to progress and check our misery. Hence, it makes sense already to think about the complexity of realistic demands that, when the time comes, our society should present to the authorities. It is also necessary to consider the initiative that must be taken without delay in order to give the necessary weight to these demands.

The text that we publish today is so far only an attempt to reconnoiter the situation and the practical program. Immediately after its reading, you could suggest a number of amendments and other comments. Why, for example, look for new prescriptions for enterprise self-management within a framework of a reformed economic system when we have had them since the Cernik government or, to put it more precisely, since 1969? We are referring to a draft law on enterprises, which even then was the subject of thorough discussion. It would be sufficient to dust off this draft law and update it in some respect. Similarly, we have at our disposal readymade and well-thought-out proposals from the 1968-1969 period concerning the revival of private and cooperative enterprises, whose implementation would have an immediate and salutary effect, especially in the neglected sector of repairs and services. The individuals who drafted these proposals live among us. They also gained important experience from the initial practical realization of their ideas. Why call for a reduction in defense expenditures (an issue difficult to control) when our people have talked of a demand for years: shorten the time of military service by at least half. This would in no way diminish our ability to defend the country, and our national economy would immediately benefit, etc.

For these reasons we ask our readers to consider the text that they will read below first as an inspiration, as a preparatory essay in the right direction. We will also welcome the readers' viewpoints. And perhaps we will succeed in this way to continue the artificially disrupted development of the late 1960's.

The energy shortage in the winter of 1979, which caused a partial interruption of production, was the first serious signal that our economy had reached a crisis situation. Much time has passed, warranting changes. However, we have witnessed merely words and pious wishes. The economic situation has been worsening. Much more dangerous is the fact that in this serious situation not a single sign appeared in our social life to improve or reform things. This only shows that we are not dealing exclusively with an economic crisis. The decay and stagnation have affected our economic, political and cultural life and overall public activity. Under such serious circumstances, it is our duty to offer our citizens and government an analysis of the current situation and propose improvements.

Causes of Decay and Stagnation

1. The maintenance of fixed prices is part of our official economic policy. So far, we have experienced two price increases. The regime is forced, against its own will, to raise prices. Such price increases are introduced surreptitiously under the guise of innovations. This tactic is used with the majority of industrial products as well as food, clothing, shoes and commonplace items. In instances where this tactic cannot be used or would be too conspicuous, there are no goods at all. It is difficult to estimate the rise in the cost of living resulting from these surreptitious price increases. There are no official data. However, the guess is that such price increases represent approximately 10 percent annually. If we compare this with the rise in wages, which is approximately 2 percent, we find a permanent and significant decrease in our standard of living.

The shortage of products, especially those in great demand, is a natural phenomenon. Many products can be purchased only as a result of a long search, standing in long lines and humiliating bribes. To this one must add an almost scandalous shortage of spare parts on the market and the absence of repair services. Consumer goods, priced in thousands of Kcs, are often unusable because of the impossibility of buying a spare part costing a few Kcs. Buying fever, which now affects consumers because of alarming rumors of planned price increases, shows how easily the market can be deprived of available consumer goods. The purchasing power of our population obviously greatly exceeds the supply of better-quality consumer goods.

2. The situation in housing has somewhat improved in comparison with past years, although it continues to be critical in larger towns. The number of applicants for apartments continues to rise and the waiting period for an apartment is ridiculously long. At the same time, the owners of new cooperative apartments, which constitute a majority of completed housing units, pay rents several times higher than those for apartments in the state housing sector. Characteristically plans anticipate a radical decrease in housing construction.

3. The health sector is one area immediately affected by the deteriorating economic situation because it is the first to suffer reduced social expenditures. A lamentable shortage of hospital beds and drugs, backward medical techniques and methods of treatment, the appointment of unqualified but

politically reliable people to positions of responsibility and jobs requiring high technical qualifications, corruption and the absence of fundamental medical ethics in the case of many physicians--all are a daily reality of our health care. The situation will worsen because we lack hard currency to purchase drugs and modern equipment. There will be less money for medical care.

4. The economic difficulties lead to the reckless plunder of our environment. Economic and investment plans are always favored over maintaining an acceptable environment. This is the case even if the consequence may be an ecological catastrophe. This can be illustrated in the cases of the Low Erzgebirge, in the Most and Ostrava areas, in Prague and other places. The living conditions in these places would in other civilized countries immediately lead to the closing of all harmful production units and in some instances even to the evaluation of the entire population. This does not mean that our standards are less demanding. It only means that thousands of exceptions granted by the government to enterprises are responsible for this state of affairs. Also, fines paid for violating regulations are ridiculously small. At the same time they are factored into costs with the result that the fined enterprises are not penalized.

5. Approximately one-half of our production is earmarked for export. The competitiveness of our products on foreign markets is most decisive for economy. Foreign markets appreciate primarily quality products, service and price. For 10 years the quality of our products has fallen behind not only of Western countries but in many instances also the products of those socialist countries. Material and power use in the manufacture of our products is several times higher than in economically advanced countries. Today, for all practical purposes not a single branch of production can export without problems. Often we are forced to sell below cost. During the era of socialism we have always had difficulty in exporting to advanced countries. What is new today, however, is that we are experiencing difficulties even with our exports to CEMA countries. These countries are not interested in our backward products.

The volume of our exports is decreasing. It is estimated that in 1982 it will be less than one-half of the planned amount. We can import only for the amount earned from exports. Reduce next year's imports to one-half of the planned figure would affect our entire economy. There will be no raw materials, spare parts, advanced technical products and equipment. Temporarily we could deal with such a situation by borrowing money. However, our indebtedness to the Western countries is estimated at \$6 billion. Nobody in these countries will grant us additional loans; on the contrary, we must pay growing interest charges.

6. The structure of our economy is inadequate. The orientation toward heavy industry, inherited in the 1950's, means that our per capita energy demand in production is the largest in the world. This is taking place when the world is experiencing the most serious energy crisis. As far as structure, our economy is comparable only to that in the Soviet Union and the United States. No other country except these two can afford such emphasis on heavy industry. The superpowers need heavy engineering for their strategic plans regardless of its economic costs and high energy requirements. Why we have this "superpower" structure of the economy is not clear.

7. Our agriculture has evolved and emphasizes an intensive use of chemicals. Pesticides and artificial fertilizers senselessly damage our land. Soil impaired by the constant use of chemicals ceases to be fertile. This year's bad harvest has occurred when other countries celebrate record yields. Reckless spraying with chemicals increases the volume of harmful elements in our food.

8. At the same time, we have a class of inhabitants who have a vested interest in the regime and are not affected by the problems faced by the rest of society. These people have special access to goods imported from the West, special health care, their own villas and homes, unlimited travel (mainly to the West), their own woods, farms, hunting areas and recreation centers. They are quite apart from average life and its problems. The larger the difference between the standard of living of this privileged class and of an "average" citizen, the more members of the privileged class are drawn to the system.

9. The legal order guarantees security only to those who give up the right to free and critical speech. He who starts to speak independently, stops following the parameters of official ideology and propaganda, loses legal protection. He is subject to repression, which otherwise is forbidden by our legal system. Independent cultural creativity and adult education, loaning and transcribing unofficial publications, public criticism of a situation, either justified or unjustified--all are classified in our legal system as incitement, slander or subversion and as such are punishable according to the pertinent articles of the penal law--up to 10 years in prison. In addition, there is an ever-growing number of cases of physical violence and torture, which have become an approved form of police repression.

10. Material shortages, inequality of citizens, unchecked authority of officials, absence of elementary economic mechanisms, no prospects in life for the underprivileged--all these have given rise to widespread corruption, protectionism and a search for profitable jobs. Nihilism and profiteering predominate. Morally pure action is considered comical childishness. The regime itself prefers, and through its propaganda supports, the consumer society. It tries to purge higher values from the subconscious of the people. It presents the pursuit of material things as the only way of life. On the surface, the citizen is forced since childhood to profess belief in official dogmas even if the reality is long different. The citizen prefers to keep his opinion to himself in order not to come into conflict with the regime. Thus, since childhood he learns how to lie and pretend.

11. The economic management system is based on command central planning. The latter is based on the fact that the center--i.e., the State Planning Commission and the ministries--allocates to the enterprises certain resources--i.e., manpower, materials, equipment, buildings and funds. In return it expects results corresponding to the allocated resources. These results are defined as the enterprise plan. This system of allocation leads to a situation where the enterprise is interested only in getting the highest possible allocation and in being assigned the lowest possible target. The center has an opposite idea: to get the best results with the lowest allocations. A natural economic mechanism based on competition among different producers, the state's interference through taxation, credit and price control with the aim to protect the

interest of the economy as a whole, or the demands of consumers are replaced by struggle between the enterprise and the center over targets. In this struggle the consumer is a bystander because he must be satisfied with whatever he can buy. There is no producer other than the state.

At the same time, under such a system technological development stagnates. In the system of allocated economy the enterprise does not care whether it manufactures new and quality products or outdated and inferior products. It is interested in one thing only--the relationship between the allocation and the plan. This relationship is not at all affected by whether the enterprise introduces new machinery, updates its products or turns out good quality. The enterprise will always have its customers because the latter are directed to it by the central organs and must buy the products. From the point of view of the plan, what is always decisive is the volume but not the quality because the latter cannot be defined and evaluated. This system of management has been unmasked and rejected several times in the past, among others by Polish, Soviet and our own economists during the 1960's. For all practical purposes it has been abandoned in Yugoslavia and Hungary.

Civic Initiative

It is easy to see that a common denominator of these shortcomings is the absence of a dialogue between the regime and citizens. The regime has unlimited power at its disposal in all spheres of social life without being responsible to anybody. The regime always defends its interests, even to the detriment of society. This is a consequence of the apathy of rank-and-file citizens who, during the course of the so-called normalization following 1968, in part allowed themselves to be forced from public affairs and in part voluntarily relinquished any role in them. In return they received relatively good material benefits. Thus the citizens fell for an illusion that one can exchange well-being for freedom. However, such a deal cannot last forever. The absence of freedom will not affect the standard of living immediately but will after a while. In our case this has happened. We are now paying for our indifference toward everything not affecting us or our family immediately. With the coming crisis, the cost of this indifference will be bigger and bigger. If we want to stop the growing crisis, we must get out of our private shell and get involved in public affairs. We either start to behave as free and independent people who themselves want to have a say in their lives or we will lose any prospect for a decent life.

Civic initiative is universal and the only effective medicine for the current and future crises. Each of us must approach the public affairs as if they were his own and act accordingly. Civic initiative has an enormous number of methods and forms. We can start to criticize bad conditions at our workplaces and pillory incompetent managers, complain about shortcomings in the supply system, sign petitions concerning the protection of the environment of our homes, ask for higher wages and ultimately perhaps initiate strikes. One thing is certain: the citizen independently and critically reacts to those phenomena of social life and together with all others similarly affected, defends himself against such phenomena. If he succeeds, it is fine. If he does not succeed, it is also fine because he has entered a game in which the other side must recognize him as one of the players.

This leads to social pressure, which becomes a real political force that any government respects. The regime is forced at all levels and in all spheres to talk to rank-and-file citizens, to retreat in those instances where the pressure is too strong and to reach a compromise where the forces are even. The result is real political life, a dialogue between the regime and citizens.

So far, in the period of normalization, we have not witnessed a strong civic initiative. Over 1,000 citizens participate in the only significant movement of this nature, Charter 77. It is not a big number but shows that independent social activity is possible. The more we have such movements, the more people will participate. This will result in the greater effectiveness of the people, who will feel more secure. The regime will then be forced by the strong existing social movement to react responsibly to our increasing problems and to solve them together with our citizens. It will have full opportunity to apply its own experience from management and organizational work, use better the possibilities that the centrally planned economy has at its disposal. It will be forced to introduce new forms of management that are being applied with such success in Hungary in order to be able to face problems that the people would not permit to be circumvented. The program of reform that we are submitting is therefore a program for the revival of a dialogue between the regime and the rank-and-file citizens. We are submitting our proposals in good faith, in the belief that they will benefit the people and the government, because we have in mind the catastrophe that looms at the end of the present crisis. The program also defines the institutional forms in which such a dialogue should take place.

The Reform Program

1. Every citizen has a right and duty to express his opinion on public affairs, at any place and time; he also has a right to propose solutions and, provided others agree, to insist on their implementation. No issue should be taboo. The conditions of life in the home, working conditions, wages and the economic and political situation are all realities with which the citizen lives and which he can and should influence.
2. Every collective activity requires an organization for the participants. Only organized people can achieve their goals. The same applies to public life. For this purpose official institutions and organizations can be established. Insofar as this will not be possible or effective, it will be necessary to create new and unofficial organizations. In either case it will always be necessary to observe two principles of social action: solidarity and discipline. Especially those who become spokesmen or natural leaders of such a movement must be protected even more than the demands that they formulate. Without such protection even the strongest movement or action has no chance to succeed. Such is the historical experience of the more than 100-year workers' movement.
3. The regime must release all political prisoners. It must abolish repressive laws that enable it to prosecute unreliable citizens. It must start to observe basic human rights as it promised when it ratified the UN International Covenant on Civil and Human Rights. The covenant's article 10 states: "Every

citizen has a right to express his own opinion without any limitation; every citizen has a right to freely express his opinion; this right includes freedom to search for, receive and disseminate all information and views in the spoken, written and artistic form or in any other way he chooses." Article 22 states: "every citizen has a right to freely join public organizations which includes the right to establish trade unions and join them in order to protect his own interests."

4. Economic reform is necessary. A decentralization of economic power must become a central point of reform. This includes a strengthening of the jurisdiction of enterprises, reintroduction of economic mechanisms and strengthening the role of the market. The enterprise as a basic economic unit must independently decide personnel policy, technical innovations, and varieties and volume of production. It alone must choose its suppliers and customers, establish its own commercial policy and cooperative agreements and determine investment policy within the framework of the enterprise. Hand in glove with decentralization goes the strengthening of the role of workers in the management of enterprises. Independent enterprises will, according to their own decisions and actions--and this is the opposite of today's situation--run their affairs more or less successfully. Obviously, it will primarily be the result of the pressure that the workers will exert on management whether the individual enterprises will do well. What form the workers will choose to exert pressure on management will depend on concrete application. The optimal form seems to be a parallel existence of management and workers' councils. Such a council would represent the interests of the workers in the successful operation of an enterprise. Management would function as professional personnel hired to run the enterprise. The management's activity would be evaluated in the light of economic results.

The state assures the pursuing and securing of all societal interests. In this respect it is a rival of individuals and enterprises whose interests may differ from the interests of the aggregate society. Thus the state's jurisdiction includes capital construction at above-enterprise level, determination of credits and taxes, and operation of social activity of a nonproductive character, namely, health, education, etc.

In addition to these basic changes in the management system, it will be necessary to adopt quickly national economic measures to improve immediately the standard of living. We have in mind reducing defense expenditures, closing unprofitable operations and transferring their workers to other jobs, reducing the number of administrative personnel especially at the top (where the reform of management would substantially reduce the number of central organs and in some cases eliminate them altogether), eliminating the surreptitious price hikes, increasing expenditures for the health sector, reducing salaries of managers, giving up representation funds and prohibiting luxurious official vehicles.

5. The leading role of the communist party in society is guaranteed by the military power of the Soviet Union. For this reason it would be necessary to respect it. However, one cannot respect the methods and results of this leading role. The present crisis shows that the party alone is unable to solve the complex problems of modern society at the end of the 20th century.

Other citizens must help, regardless whether they are invited by the party to do so or not. For the partnership between the party and other citizens in joint management of public affairs, it will be necessary to create the needed institutional forms and to change the legal system. The nonparty citizens must be organized in independent institutions, which will represent their interests in dealings with party and state organs. An independent trade union organization must exist at every workplace. In the communities it may be more suitable to establish an organization of a temporary character to tackle concrete problems. The new organizations would not only recognize the leading role of the communist party but also assert their right to defend in a dialogue with the party the interests of their own members. The electoral system of the National Front must be reformed. Every candidate who receives a certain number of votes must be included on the ballot alongside the candidates of the National Front. Only in this way can we be sure that the will of the majority will prevail.

Our proposals are not a readymade prescription or directive for action. We do not want to win over or arouse anybody. We only want to share our experience and apprehensions with others. At the same time, we appeal to others to do the same. Let each and everyone of us decide from his own place what is necessary to be done and let him do it. There is nothing more in our proposal. When such actions become a general norm, then our proposals will become superfluous.

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INTERVIEW WITH SOLIDARITY OFFICIAL RYSZARD BATORY

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[Interview with Solidarity official Ryszard Batory* by Wilfried Ahrens; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] "The winter is yours, the spring is ours"--the defiant slogan of Solidarity, which has been driven underground, could be read on the walls of hundreds of houses after the 13th of December. Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands have followed Solidarity's appeals for demonstrations, boycotts and strikes. Is this the "Polish spring" promised by the slogan? After all, since then the number of political prisoners has grown by at least another 2,000.

[Answer] Thank you for saying "prisoners" and not "internees." This "...the spring is ours" was meant to and should mean: After the night of suppression in Jaruzelski's war, Poland will return to a brighter time of justified hope for freedom, self-determination and respect for the dignity of the individual. But as long as this goal is not reached...

[Question] ...in other words a return to Solidarity's chances for influence and results as in the time prior to 13 December...

[Answer] ...spring in Poland is not "Polish spring." It can, if one wants to be optimistic, possibly come in the spring of 1983. The regime still considers itself too strong to really be prepared for the much-implored "national understanding." Obviously it still has too little experience with its own impotence in view of the mounting economic problems and a population driven to hatred. I fear that the worst still lies ahead for Poland.

* Ryszard Batory, born in 1951, is the most prominent official of the Solidarity independent union who was surprised in the West by Jaruzelski's 13 December military putsch. The Germanics instructor at the Lodz Technical University was foreign affairs expert and security chief for the Solidarity National Commission in Lodz, and since 9 December he had been in the FRG, where he was to acquire electronic equipment to find "bugs" of the National Security Service in union offices. He now lives in Frankfurt.

[Question] How will Solidarity force the regime to take part in a dialog?

[Answer] It has already started. The demonstrations in recent weeks have shown the government that the 13th of December has not suddenly erased the strength of this movement of millions and that this strength is growing. Of course that takes time. After the invasion of the Germans in 1939, it was 5 or 6 months before an effective underground was organized in Poland. This time it may take longer, because the occupation forces are from our own family, so to speak. But the organizational structure exists. The central National Commission meets regularly at a secret place. Regional committees have been organized and are operating.

[Question] Effective underground--that sounds like violence. Is Solidarity seeking violent confrontation? After all, there have already been street battles in Warsaw, Krakow and elsewhere with the Motorized Reserve of the Citizens' Militia [ZOMO].

[Answer] Violent confrontation would be a bloody catastrophe. The Polish people would always get the worst of it. The Solidarity leadership knows that, and, for example, Zbigniew Bujak...

[Question] ...one of the key underground....

[Answer] ...also emphatically warned of that in his latest flier. It is a matter of showing the undiminished vitality of the democratic movement of the Polish people by means of disciplined nonviolent demonstrations of its own strength. In this regard, the demonstrations on 1 and 13 May, as well as the brief strikes, were a successful attempt to demonstrate strength to the oppressors.

[Question] Does that mean that the bloody confrontations on 3 May, Constitution Day, were not Solidarity's responsibility? At that time mostly youthful demonstrators advanced against ZOMO's tough troops with cobblestones.

[Answer] Here it has been shown that some young persons are not subject to Solidarity's discipline. There is a danger that certain circles in the party and security apparatus may use this fact for provocative acts in order to deliver a destructive blow of terror. There are a number of indications that agents provocateurs were involved in the 3 May confrontations. But that is nothing new. In the case of the confrontations during the so-called intellectuals' rebellion in 1968, as it later turned out, provocative agents in the service of the inflexible wing of the party were involved. Also, on several occasions in 1980 and 1981 specific provocations sabotaged negotiations for an understanding between the union leadership and the government. At time authorized strikes were staged, and at other times, as in Bydgoszcz, it came to beatings by ZOMO. And even after 13 December there were such provocative acts. Remember the explosive blast near Warsaw Clinic in February. One can certainly count on more of that in the future.

[Question] Are there not also people in the Solidarity underground leadership who are pushing for a confrontation? Or have the differences in opinion in

this regard from the time prior to 13 December been resolved in the meantime, perhaps in the same way as the dispute about the blame for the inadequate preparation for the military putsch?

[Answer] Any differences of opinion that may have existed on the course after 13 December have been overcome. In this respect, the successful actions of recent weeks were an important political and ideological signal for both the regime and the population. In regard to the discussion of the largely nonexistent preparations for the event of a military putsch--it was quickly ended by the need to survive and to continue working underground.

[Question] How is it possible that the Solidarity leadership was taken by surprise so spectacularly by Jaruzelski's coup d'etat?

[Answer] Until the night of 12 December key people in the leadership simply believed that they would never do such a thing. They believed the other side when it said that it was prepared for a serious dialog, for honorable agreements. And they were overly confident, in accordance with the motto: There are 10 million of us--let them try.

[Question] But there were isolated preparations to go underground. In your case in Lodz for example...

[Answer] We did make a start, but so it was too on the Baltic coast, in Warsaw, Katowice and Wroclaw.

[Question] What did these preparations involve?

[Answer] The organization was structured in action circles, small groups in the individual enterprises that were to take over the work in an emergency. Of course after 13 December it was clear that these preventive measures were undertaken only halfheartedly. And the people at the middle and lower levels were also overly confident, thinking that all of that was quite unnecessary. Fortunately, it did work in a number of enterprises. Thus, strikes could be organized after the military putsch. Resistance was most effective where there were functioning work groups. We also had hidden some printing machines, but unfortunately not enough.

[Question] How many?

[Answer] You know, 300,000 policemen are roaming around Poland trying to find that out. After all, six weekly newspapers appear regularly from the underground, along with the fliers of course.

[Question] For several weeks now there has even been an underground radio broadcasting station.

[Answer] Do not be surprised if there is an underground television broadcasting station very soon. Technically that is quite possible. A broadcasting station like that is no larger than a video apparatus. To be sure, at the moment that is still a question of money.

[Question] What is in the newspapers and pamphlets, aside from specific actions such as appeals for demonstrations?

[Answer] That is information that does not appear in the regime's censored press--for example, names of prisoners, reports on the conditions in camps and prisons, descriptions of police actions in the enterprises and instructions from lawyers on how one should behave when arrested or when under arrest. In short, it is information and propaganda as in war.

[Question] Instructions for sabotage too?

[Answer] One does not have to write something like that. There are enough people who experienced World War II. The enemy is different, that is all. A typical example was an appeal that was repeated many times: In order that those distributing leaflets can move in safety, everyone on the street should carry bags, large bags, along with full coat pockets and full trunks in their cars. If there are 10,000 people to check every day there can be no effective control.

[Question] Has it worked?

[Answer] That works great. In such cases one can count on this people. It is fun too. Many young people with a complex because they had previously participated neither in the union nor in the Independent Student Federation are now involved. Still, they do risk 3 years in prison. According to a decree by the military regime, even juveniles under 17 can be locked up for that long for distributing leaflets.

[Question] What is to happen now? Will it just be more demonstrations or can one count on larger strike actions?

[Answer] We will experience further demonstrations. The next large ones possibly as early as 13 June. But strike actions, regular large-scale walkouts are excluded. If it were to come to strikes now, ZOMO and the army would not have to storm the factories first as they did after 13 December. This time the military has already occupied the workshop halls and mines.

[Question] The official word is that Polish industry has been militarized. What is that like in practice?

[Answer] Like in the Gulag or in a concentration camp: A soldier or policeman armed with a machine gun stands behind every group of workers and makes sure that they do work. As long as he is watching, they work. But should he turn away for just a moment, no one lifts a finger; in the first 6 weeks a total of 13 tractors were built in the Warsaw Ursus Works. Forced labor is not our thing. Jaruzelski militarized all important industrial enterprises and mining. This is the way that he wants to "normalize" the economy. If that is to work, then he needs 12 million soldiers to watch over 12 million workers. Even a communist general must soon see how absurd and impossible that is. The present martial law in Poland's economy is no solution. The climate in a work camp cannot motivate performance.

[Question] Since 5 April the regime has had the opportunity to consider a sort of minimum program for the return to truly normal conditions and thus for economic recovery as well.

[Answer] Yes, the 10 theses worked out by the "Social Council under the Primate of Poland." In this paper, the conditions for a "social agreement" are realistically formulated to the extent that they proceed from the one indispensable precondition: Whatever the government, on the one side, and the representatives of the society, on the other side, settle on in the future, it must also be accepted by the population. This is possible only if the now bitter and disappointed people can be convinced and guaranteed that their hopes from the time following August 1980 will not remain forever thwarted.

[Question] Specifically, the theses demand: Lifting of martial law, release of political prisoners, safe-conduct for people in the political underground, rehiring of all those fired for political reasons, readmission of suspended academic and artistic associations and, as the most important step, the revival of unions, especially Solidarity. That is a full program. Does it have a chance? At any rate, so far the 10 theses have been officially ignored by the party and the government.

[Answer] Does Jaruzelski have an alternative? Either he takes up this dialog with the nation, which he has managed to unite against himself to the last man and which in Solidarity has a representative and disciplined organization, or he allows the representatives of the Stalinist line, the "hard-liners" in the party and the police apparatus, to take ultimate control.

[Question] Which certainly would be conceivable.

[Answer] Yes, but at what cost! The country is already finished economically, and should it go even further downhill under the increased pressure, then possibly hundreds of thousands would starve to death. Even now hunger-related diseases such as dysentery and hepatitis are increasing by leaps and bounds. The result would be revolts, bloody suppression and mass terror. I know that in principle that does not deter communists, and I also know that there are people in Moscow and Warsaw for whom such a solution would be preferable to a return to even modest forms of pluralism. But even the "hard-liners" are realistic enough to know that even after mass terror and deliberate famine, there is still too much remaining of a nation of 36 million. And there is something else that the Stalinists in Poland and Russia must know: Such a period of night may last 10 or even 20 years, but history has shown that in the long run Poland is not a nation that lets itself be caged. In the end we will achieve what we want. The Polish spring will come, even if it is after the Jaruzelskis have been pensioned.

[Question] It may be that Jaruzelski will soon be ready to talk. The question is whether he can. Moscow...

[Answer] In Moscow they will calculate what is better for the USSR: a gigantic concentration camp called Poland or a neighboring country united

in hope and consensus and largely able to recover through its own efforts. It seems to me that more important for Poland's immediate future than what Moscow now wants and plans is the West's Poland policy.

[Question] You, along with Czeslaw Milosz, Nober Prize winner in literature, philosopher Leszek Kolakowski and other Polish intellectuals living in the West, have been especially critical of the FRG's Poland policy. You warn of a "policy that could remind one of the German-Soviet alliance prior to World War II," and you express concern over "the activity of some German politicians who attempt to play down the violence applied on Moscow's orders against the defenseless Polish people." You oppose further credits to the Polish regime, but you also oppose East-West business in general in accordance with the past pattern, especially the natural gas pipeline deal.

[Answer] Does it not in fact appear that those people in the West, especially in the FRG, will prevail, who want to deal with the Jaruzelski regime as though nothing happened? Preparations are being made to follow up the \$27 billion wasted on the Gierek regime during the decade of so-called detente with new credits. As we wrote in our appeal, here a myopic view to economic interests masks all historical and moral perspectives. It is a tragedy how key politicians are also prepared to accept this Soviet aggression without any consequences for their own policy. These people do not understand that in the end they are endangering Western Europe's independence.

[Question] When Herbert Wehner, chairman of the SPD parliamentary group in the German Bundestag, traveled to Warsaw as the first high-ranking Bonn politician for talks with the Jaruzelski regime, he referred to the constraints and laws of practical politics.

[Answer] One need not be a Germanist to know that there is a difference between "real" and "honest."

PHOTO CAPTIONS

p 41. Solidarity official Batory: "We will experience further demonstrations."

9746

CSO: 2300/295

PZPR RZESZOW FIRST SECRETARY KARP INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 21 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Franciszek Karp, First Secretary, PZPR Voivodship Committee in Rzeszow by Wlodzimierz Syzdek; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Rzeszow is a dynamic industrial and academic center. In such environment various trends and positions tend to clash with each other. Comrade secretary, how would you in general characterize the current situation among the Rzeszow youth?

[Answer] We have many young people in Rzeszow Voivodship. Today, 25 high schools and 200 technical high schools and vocational schools are attended by 50,000 students. The schools of higher learning, such as Rzeszow Technical University, the Higher Pedagogical School, the [Rzeszow] branch of Maria-Curie Sklodowska University in Lublin, and others are attended by more than 11,000 students. More than 42,000 persons below age 30 are employed in industry and construction. These are very diversified environments. The outlook of young people depends on the political climate at home and in the environments where they live and work. A tremendous role is played here by the example of the older generation. I must say that the youth today grows in totally different conditions than its predecessors of the interwar and first post-war years in People's Poland. It does not have, then, any direct link with difficult and sometimes tragic periods; it exhibits great sensitivity and impatience, and it constantly compares ideals with reality. The young observe propaganda activities as well as actions and behavior of their parents, teachers, and social activities. Based on that they make certain judgements, because unfortunately we do not have a cohesive educational system which would combine all institutions responsible for shaping views and actions; the young often stand at the crossroads.

[Question] How are the young influenced by these phenomena?

[Answer] In the 1970's tremendous aspirations were awakened in society; the people were presented with chances of acquiring an apartment quickly and a general growth of the standard of living. Due to credits obtained abroad more was shared than produced in our country. When the time came to pay the debts, and the economic system did not function effectively enough, the reality became too hard to take. The lack of opportunity to realize the ideals of prosperity

quickly and to participate in the decisionmaking process gave birth to apathy and sometimes even to revolt. I must say that in general this was not a revolt against socialism as an ideology of social justice. It was an opposition to bad management of the country. Were it not for the abuses in the realization of the fundamentals of socialism the youth would not have had a reason to be dissatisfied.

[Question] Rebellious attitudes -- often justified--are being used by forces opposed to socialism.

[Answer] Naturally, the participation of young people in strikes was overwhelming, but at schools of higher learning, for example, the number of striking students was small in relation to the entire student body. Among strike participants there were mostly first- and second-year students, that is the young with the least life experience and limited knowledge. In most cases they were inspired by older people, thus there were attempts to use them in a direction incompatible with the bases of our political system. Today, the young work better and better, or diligently study in the schools of higher learnings. No doubt, there are among them those who would eagerly return to the period of anarchy. This group consists of people who learned their hatred for the socaillist system at home. They do not accept our present situation. However, their influence on [the rest of] our youth is presently minimal. Yet, this does not mean that we can relax with the feeling of self-satisfaction.

[Question] What should be done, then, in the conditions of model and value crisis, to keep the youth from being used by such forces and to win it for the program of the party and socialism?

[Answer] To win the young we must tell them the whole truth about the state of our economy and the ways to get out of the crisis. At the same time it is necessary to create opportunities for them to carry out various forms of social activity; to participate in various areas of life. We must create conditions in which the young will feel needed and equally responsible for the fate of our country. It is necessary to look for new methods and forms of work with the young. Also, in our party work we must offer concrete help to youth organizations and generate more interest in the youth's affairs in various elements of government and economic administration. It is necessary to develop activities for the promotion of better work, utilization of domestic raw materials, and effective development of our agriculture.

[Question] In all of these activities the party rank and file may play an important role.

[Answer] Naturally. Party members, particularly the young, ought to be the instigators of all undertakings and activities. They must strive to unite the young in activities which improve the situation in our country.

[Question] In conditions of economic reform, which has placed the young in a difficult material situation, there are necessary actions by the party, it seems, aimed at helping the young.

[Answer] I do not agree with this opinion. The young have not been placed in a difficult situation by the economic reform, but by tremendous debts to the West and errors in the economic policy of the 1970's. The reform, in turn, is a big chance for the young, because within the framework of independent enterprises there are many opportunities for action, for example, in the area of inventions. The invention movement can be for many young people a chance to improve their material situation. What are we doing as the party to help the young? Above all we are trying to secure the material basis of enterprises so that the young will not lose their place of work. We have seen some effects of that already. For example, due to good performance in the Rzeszow Furniture Factories the management was able to put on sale several suites of furniture from the credit fund for young married couples.

In trade we are trying to secure a proper amount of goods for the young. We are supporting patronage construction and we are encouraging the youth who belong to the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] to work on some free Saturdays so that the additional goods produced this way can be put on sale for the young in other voivodships.

[Question] To undertake actions of this sort, however, the youth should possess proper political knowledge. In your opinion, do the ZSMP and other organizations properly utilize their opportunities in the area of ideological influence on the young?

[Answer] In my opinion the ideological-educational activity among the young, both by the party and youth organizations, is insufficient and not very effective. Today organizational training seminars cannot work. Parties and youth camps at which the young could learn about our revolutionary traditions, exchange their views, and debate, would be a better form to use. Today a particularly valuable form can be an honest discussion of ideological attitudes and behaviors of the organization members. If somebody drinks too much, steals, has conflicts with his family, or performs poorly at work then his own milieu and youth organization ought to criticize such attitudes and at the same time point out positive attitudes. This can have a big educational impact.

[Question] For many years the party policy had been dominated by the model of directing and steering the youth movement. On what basis should the relations between the PZPR and youth organizations be based now?

[Answer] We want the leading role of the party in the youth movement to come from the activities of young members and candidate members both within the party and youth organizations. We want the young party members, who are also members of youth organizations, to affect and influence the prepared program of forms and methods of activity in specific circles, echelons, and entire youth organizations in voivodships, rural communes, or enterprises.

The basic party organizations and party committees ought to make decisions on youth's affairs in close cooperation with the leaderships and memberships of the entire youth organizations. We ought to jointly analyze situations and take actions to solve existing problems. We do not intend to replace or give orders to any youth organizations or interfere with their forms or methods of activity. What we want is to be their friendly prompter and offer our experiences and remarks.

[Question] There is an urgent need now to cultivate among the young our rich traditions of national liberation and revolutionary struggles. Have you developed any forms to utilize them in your everyday work with the young

[Answer] This is one of the most important problems we are working on now. We want to bring about meetings of former youth activists from the interwar and war periods for the purpose of exchanging views and experiences. We will be presenting attitudes and characteristics of these activists and the involvement in the affairs of our country. Until now we have been talking about this subject very little.

[Question] Comrade, years ago you were a functionary of the Polish Youth Union [ZMP]. The crisis of 1956 also forced the young to make ideological and moral choices. How much the problems facing the young today differ from those problems?

[Answer] I was not only a ZMP functionary, but also a member of the Union of Young Fighters [ZWM] and of the Union of Socialist Youth [ZMS]. The previous period significantly differed from the present one mostly because the crisis was not so deep. The country was not in debt, and there were no oppositionary forces. Also, the ideological ferment in the party and society was smaller. The criticisms of various phenomena did not go so far. The hope of getting out of the crisis fast was bigger. And there still was a very committed core of activists both within the party and ZMP which with all might got involved in improving the situation.

In both periods, however, the overcoming of difficulties depended on the attitudes of people and their involvement. That generation of postwar period better understood that the improvement of the situation depended on their own efforts. Today unfortunately too many people hope for a miracle. And yet without involvement on a personal basis by everybody we will not achieve much. Nobody will solve our Polish problems for us. Hence the entire young generation faces big tasks. Its attitude will decide our future. Nevertheless, I believe in the wisdom, prudence, and deep patriotism of the young part of our society.

8609

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PROBLEMS POSED BY MARTIAL LAW STUDY REGULATIONS EXAMINED

University Students Speak

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 5, 23 May 82 pp 3, 6

[Article by Tomasz J. Niemierski: "What Next, Student?"]

[Text] It would be naive to say that students returning to school after the interruption caused by the imposition of martial law found their schools unchanged or changed only slightly. They no longer saw the blatant bulletin boards of the student organizations and the trade unions and they could no longer stop at the booth with the illegal press and literature. One of the first things that awaited them within the school walls was a meeting with the dean, rector, or military commissar and a lecture on the necessity to impose martial law. Also, they began their lessons under new, very strict, regulations which force them to study more intensively. But they themselves have not changed much. It is not surprising that after a period of "pursuing a study program" they have begun to discuss matters pertaining to their own community. The question "what next" now pertains not just to the next day's lessons, but also to social matters, future work, and an organizational representative.

Regulations

Marzena Mazur (fourth-year organization and management student at Lublin Technical University) is not impressed with the new regulations.

"The students taking university courses," she says, "probably do not see a big difference, but we do... For several weeks during our free Saturdays we worked to make up the time lost due to the November strike and the extended holiday break. So during one week we had as many as 50 compulsory classes, which lasted from 8 am to 8 pm with an hour's break for dinner. But only those ate during that break who had a guaranteed meal in the mess hall. The rest did not eat until evening, for who can afford dinner at a cost of 80 zlotys each day in the cafeteria."

The students in the technical schools truly had it hard for several weeks. They always had to be prepared for their planned lessons and laboratory work and there was no time for preparation when one returned to the dormitory or home no earlier

than about 9 pm. Marzena recalls that after dinner and the evening film she sat down to her studies and did not go to bed until three in the morning. Yet it was necessary to get up early the next day so as not to be late for class. During the session when she had to take five exams in nine days there was really no time at all for sleep.

"We thought at first that compulsory attendance at lectures would not be strictly enforced," she said, "but when seven students were stricken from the rolls for non-attendance we became a little frightened."

Students can now be stricken from the rolls for many reasons. In addition to such reasons as failure to pass examinations or obtain the necessary credits, which always caused a student unpleasantness, he can now also be removed when "current inspection does not show proper advancement in studies".

"That is a very dangerous regulation," says Grzegorz Ciesielski (third-year history student at Maria Curie-Skłodowska University [UMCS] in Lublin). "It is possible that for an unintentional bad grade at some oral examination a student can be dismissed and after all, with the present pressure of classes and the overall lack of time, there is no way in which credit can be given correctly for all types of oral examinations."

Marzena Mazur says that not much has changed at Lublin Technical University relative to attendance at lectures, for even before martial law students attended most of the lectures. At some, even before, attendance was taken, and even oral questioning and grading took place. Now, it is true, all lectures must be attended, but we know this is simply not possible.

"Let us take, for example, a case such as this," says Marzena. "Many students did not obtain mess hall privileges and must provide their own meals. When are they supposed to do their shopping, if classes last from morning until night?"

Under these circumstances it is necessary to cut some classes. But the problem also is that during this two-hour shopping expedition not everything necessary can be obtained. Food, maybe, but shoes or a coat would also be useful.

It is also said that the authors of the regulations intended for the students to complete their studies on schedule, but present conditions in the school are not conducive to this. At UMCS, for example, just as everywhere else, students can remain on school grounds only during classes and during the hours that the libraries are open. On a weekday, of course, this is unimportant for the libraries are open until evening, but on Saturdays and Sundays? These are the only days when one can prepare, for example, to write a master's thesis, for there are no classes at UMCS on Saturdays, yet the library is open only until 2 pm.

The second aim of the new regulation, it may be said, is highly controversial. Everyone knows that the threat of unemployment hangs over the present students. To whom does it matter, therefore, that lawyers and graduates of liberal arts and certain technical courses, complete their studies as quickly as possible? Rather, attempts should be made to have the students qualify for other jobs, change their

majors, and not, at this time, put themselves in the position of having to stand in line for a job. At Warsaw University, for example, many improvements have been made for administrative law students in the Faculty of Law and Administration. After obtaining a diploma, they can begin intramural or correspondence judicial-law courses if they have a grade-point average of at least 3. If their average is 3.5 and they continue their studies in the administration courses, they can, at the same time, take a judicial course. Furthermore, in studying by correspondence, one does not have to take a job! It is apparent, therefore, that the authorities do not want administrators hanging around unemployment offices when there are no positions available. This should have been considered, however, when the administration courses were established and 150 persons were accepted at each university.

What Kind of Organizations?

For a long time after classes were renewed, student organizations were not active. The Independent Association of Students [NZS] had already been suspended (5 January of this year) and the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] and Polish Athletic Union [PZA] continued to be suspended. At present, only SZSP is active.

"The lack of student organizations did not matter, for in the beginning everyone had classes from morning until night and nobody thought about them," says Marzena. "All social matters, such as stipends, mess halls, dormitories, were taken care of by the social commissions, and they did this well. There will never again in the school be just one organization to which everyone belongs and which takes care of everything possible. At my school, no more than 100 persons belong to this organization and no new members are joining now."

Grzegorz Ciesielski prefers to evaluate the NZS, of which we had been an active member, more from the standpoint of its successes and service campaigns, such as the self-improvement and informational campaigns and the symposia. He says that he did not endorse the strike regarding Radom because he never knew what the struggle was really about. He says also that NZS unfortunately took over a part of the bad forms of SZSP operation and that the NZS members were not very active. He adds that the decision to dissolve the NZS was the only one open to the authorities. The NZS was entering into contacts with the opponents of socialism in the country and abroad, contacts which were dangerous to the authorities and the system. It frequently attacked the party in its publications and made it difficult for the state authorities to make many decisions.

But who is to take care of the social matters? Are the social commissions to continue to do this?

"That would be intolerable," says Leszek Jaczynski (fourth-year law student at Warsaw University). "Persons working in the social commissions are not students and are not able to understand all of the student problems. Certainly, a different approach to the matter of the size of the stipends will be taken by one of our contemporaries, who shares our problems, than by someone over 30 who has housing, a small Fiat, and a good salary, who cannot know what this means and how much it costs to live in a room-and-board setup. Let the self-governing bodies handle this."

The fact is that the self-governing bodies continue to be suspended and in some communities could not be formed at all. So who? Perhaps delegates. One person could be chosen from each class year, a person in whom the majority had confidence, who would negotiate these problems with the school authorities. This idea does not arouse enthusiasm.

"It would be really hard to find someone like that," says Ciesielski.

"There would be the danger of abuse," adds Miss Mazur.

The delegate would, therefore, be supervised, let us say, by peer courts. Despite this, it would not work, from many standpoints, they believe.

"There could be a delegate, but he would have a somewhat different scope of authority," says Marzena. "After all, either the students are entitled to a stipend, dormitory or compassionate allowance, or they are not. This award does not rest within the purview of the school authorities--this is controlled by the regulations. Why, then, a self-governing body, organization, or delegate? Let the students go directly to the dean with this. The amount, however, does not always reflect the actual living situation. Sometimes it happens, and not at all infrequently, that the income per capita in the family is truly rather high, but for example, the price of room and board makes it much lower. Who not give someone like this a dormitory assignment? Anyway, it happens the other way around, also. Every day we see students who have declared a very low income per capita, yet they spend a lot of time in expensive coffee houses and are expensively dressed. Here the delegates would come in handy. Only in such exceptional cases, confidence is necessary. A student organization or delegate could also intervene if the school did not grant a student aid despite the fact that he was entitled to it, but I know there are not too many such cases."

Ciesielski is against the formation of large organizations:

"It is impossible at this time for an organization to be established which would include most of the students, or even, for instance, one-third of them", he says.

He advocates small organizations, comprised exclusively of people who are genuinely interested in given problems. Miss Mazur, who agrees with this concept, gives examples: lovers of antiques, music, art, tourism, etc.

Such organizations, which simply put are special-interest clubs or circles, could really catch on among the students. They would not lead to any public activity, would not attempt to obtain new members, etc. They would serve only to satisfy the needs of their few members.

Factors Against Student Apathy

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 5, 23 May 82 p 6

[Article by Jacek Marczyński: "Instead of Recapitulation, or Who Will Find a Way Out of the Impasse"]

[Text] Students today do not want to do anything more than is required of them, and if the stricter study regulations force them to work harder, the more they take that as justification. But the more normalized the situation becomes, the more apparent is the need for an organization-spokesman to defend student rights, an organization-helper that will serve diverse individual interests and assist in developing them. The traditions of cultural, scientific, tourist or sport activities in the community are much too rich and vital to forget about them so quickly.

Who is to do this? If those involved do not want or do not know how to answer this question, then a journalist suggesting a ready solution would feel like an intruder. However, we must call attention to three factors affecting attempts to break through the current inertia:

--The Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] is now commonly spoken of as the only student organization. Yet the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] is also active in the schools and the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] is attempting to enter into this community. There are also the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] Student Instructor Circles. Potentially, they make other forms and methods of activity possible. But if only one organization is perceived, this means simply that the others do not feel strong among the students. And none of these unions now has the support of the majority of the community. And so the question remains: who is to be the spokesman for the students' interests? How are the activities in the social-welfare sphere to be reconciled with the ideological and educational activities? Attempts in past years to give one organization a monopoly did not end successfully. One type of activity usually took place at the expense of another, and the unity of inordinately large memberships was a sham.

--The SZSP is charged with a list of errors, both its own and those made by others. An attempt is being made to hold this organization accountable for all of the so-far unsolved problems, for all of the policies relating to youth in the 1970's--the youth who created this organization--for the policies relating to higher schooling, science, culture and even the economy. After August 1980, SZSP changed its style and program of activity. Not all of these changes persuaded the students, and besides, not all of them were carried out consistently. It is also a fact that during the stormy events that occurred this past year in the student community, SZSP did not always act quickly and effectively. Suspension of SZSP provided an opportunity for minimum credibility in the eyes of those who wanted it to be a contesting organization. It aroused distrust among those who, in a sharp political struggle within the community, aimed at having the SZSP defend the conceptions of socialism and come out in favor of solutions based on existing constitutional and legal order. Suspension of the organization did not bring around either one group or the other to the organization. Moreover, it forces its members to again consider whether they should form a mass organization of a union nature or to concentrate primarily on ideological-training work.

--Student self-governing bodies, despite the fact that they are currently suspended, did not fulfill the expectations vested in them before December 13th, either. In many schools they were not formed at all, because the students were not interested in them, and also where they were formed, they were not very successful. And so the question remains: are they able to assume all of the social and practical matters--distribution of stipends and spaces in the dormitories, problems relating to study procedures, arrangement of lessons and sessions? None of the organizations that are presently active or will possibly be formed in the future will want to relinquish these matters, since they are now basic to the community.

Disentanglement of these three difficult problems, which are not, in any case, new to the schools, will surely help in overcoming the apathy. But certainly it will not overcome it completely. This will happen only when the academic community itself begins a discussion on a model of the student movement. All kinds of solutions imposed from above will not at this time meet with broad acceptance. But who will take on the role of initiator of this discussion?

9295

CS0: 2600/742

BACKGROUND ON MICHNIK; HIS SMUGGLED-OUT REPORT NOTED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German No 10, 8 Mar 82 pp 124-127

[Article: "Adam Michnik: 'More Freedom for Poland.'" DER SPIEGEL (No 10, 8 Mar 82 pp 128-138) publication of Adam Michnik's report was translated in the field and published in FBIS Daily Report/Eastern Europe dated 10 Mar 82 on pp G-18 through G-27.]

[Text] Arrested 32 times, convicted three times, but not to be squelched or silenced: Adam Michnik, 35, planner of the Polish revolution of 1980/81, now isolated in jail, wrote for SPIEGEL about his thoughts on Poland and the rest of the world after the military junta's takeover of 13 December.

Familiar-sounding harmony between Moscow and Warsaw--the Moscow which for 18 months loosed it shafts of lightning against the Polish "counterrevolution," and that Warsaw which had appeared to be entirely indifferent to the storm.

But now, at the end of party, government and military chief Jaruzelski's visit to Moscow, the joint communique talked about "the determination to stop all efforts to change the social and political order in Poland"--the doom of the "Solidarity" union, the end of the hopes on millions of people in the East bloc that there was a chance of evolution for the pitiful, so-called real existing socialism.

And back in Poland, firebrand Stefan Olszowski went even further: "The time of critics of the regime has gone forever."

The fact that the people currently in power in Poland, contrary to their previous promises that there would be no return to the situation as it existed prior to August 1980, are nevertheless determined to retreat to that desolate past of Soviet communist power structures, sounds convincing in view of their desire for survival. Whether they will accomplish this as desired largely depends upon what they intend to do about those thousand of dissidents whom they have isolated in camps and jails since 13 December 1981.

One of them they will have to keep under arrest indefinitely, or to ship him across the border, or else the Polish revolution will immediately resume gnawing at the system.

In the past they have chased him from the university, beaten him up, arrested him more than 30 times, convicted him 3 times and put him in jail 6 times: Adam Michnik, 35, foremost Polish civil rights advocate, has for the last 14 years been forbidden to exercise a profession. He had been an advance thinker of Polish reform and thus became--much more so than popular hero Lech Walesa--a traumatic enemy image to the reigning communists, and not only in Poland.

In the fall of 1981, the Soviet party paper PRAVDA denounced him and his comrade in arms Jacek Kuron as "antisocialist enemies of the state number 1," East Berlin's party paper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND suspected him of being "the head of an international Zionist conspiracy with the objective of overthrowing socialist state power in Poland."

Even Polish Vice Premier Rakowski, a sober realist, stated categorically last fall in a SPIEGEL interview that "the Michniks and Kurons want to use the 'Solidarity' union to take over power in Poland."

In any case, they had not planned it that way--the regime, with its primitive defensive actions against dissidents drove them into the dynamics of a real revolution.

After his arrest during the night of 13 December Adam Michnik was not, like his colleagues and other intellectuals, interned in the Drawsko Pomorskie isolation camp 450 km northwest of Warsaw. Rather, he was taken to the Bialoleka central prison, located only 10 km north of Warsaw, whose inmates are mostly criminals.

Martial law prisoners have been kept there for almost 3 months in solitary confinement in a separate wing ("intensified punishment"); no contact with other prisoners is permitted and even their daily exercise period in the prison courtyard takes place with no one else present.

Despite constant scrutiny, Michnik wrote a report for SPEIGEL in his cell, which reached us through secret transfer between prisoners in several stages. For all its frankness and openness, it is more of a self-critical analysis of the Polish opposition than the manifesto of a wild-eyed revolutionist (see p 128).

This critic of the system is not making his initial appearance in SPIEGEL. After Krakow's Cardinal Wojtyla became the new pope, Michnik was not at all euphoric in describing the Polish People's expectations. In early August 1980 he predicted the fall of the Gierek regime and, entirely contrary to statements made by the party propagandists, asked, after "Solidarity" was founded, for patience and political reasonableness between the disorganized state party and the newly organized workers.

Michnik has often taken up political causes without worrying about possible consequences--he will not be permanently identified with any political movement. Churchmen consider him an "honest Marxist and atheist;" party members accuse him of "Trotskyist leanings;" and the students, who still idolize this trained historian, simply think of him as a "Polish rebel."

The closest indication of his convictions is probably a now-famous speech he made in 1969 as a defendant before the Warsaw province court:

"It was my objective to see in our country more justice, more freedom and more equality; to see people in our country live free from fear; to see--if I am permitted to express myself figuratively--the windows of our houses facing the sun. I have neither demands nor desires to ask of the high court."

If he committed a mistake, it was that he did not realize how much the terms "more justice" and "more freedom" went counter to the substance of the regime. From his early childhood on, he had lived in the contradiction between socialist claims and socialist reality.

His father, Ozjasz Szechter, was an old-time communist who spent many years in prison before the war. After the war he worked as a reader in Warsaw's party publishing house "Ksiazka i Wiedza" (Book and Knowledge) and, among other things, translated "Das Kapital" by Karl Marx. His mother, Helena Michnik, was a historian specializing in the middle ages.

As a 15-year-old student at Warsaw's Batory gymnasium, Adam Michnik founded in 1962 together with some friends the "Club of Contradiction Seekers" which held debates in the Old City of Warsaw's cultural center about philosophy and art, sometimes also about politics--this during the limited atmosphere of freedom in post-Stalinist Poland under the Gomulka regime, but under the supervision of the state youth organization. Since Michnik was the most active among the members, the club was soon dubbed "Michnik Club" by the students.

At the same time he was a member of the boy scouts which at the time were a formally independent, but party-loyalist organization. Student Jacek Kuron was his group leader. Michnik remembers: "Kuron said to us: a communist is a man who fights for social justice, for freedom and equality, for socialism. For his beliefs and because of his activities he goes to prison for years, if necessary; when he is set free he continues with his revolutionary work."

Michnik went behind bars for the first time in 1965 when the Polish secret service suspected him of having distributed an "Open Letter to the Party," authored by university assistant professors Kuron and Modzelewski. It was a heavy criticism of the monopolistic bureaucracy of the "nomenklatura."

After Kuron and Modzelewski were sentenced, Michnik organized the "Red Assistance" at the university. He was twice expelled from Warsaw University, where he studied history and also philosophy at courses given by Marxist, and later critic of Marxism, Leszek Kolakowski. His first expulsion came when he shouted, during a performance of "The Celebration of the Dead" by Michiewicz: "Independence without censorship!" After a petition was made, signed by several thousand students, the university was forced to rescind the expulsion.

Michnik was one of the leaders, during the "Polish March" of 1968, of a student uprising against lies and deception by the party. Like his teacher Kolakowski, he was forced to leave the university and was sentenced to 3 years in prison for "slandering the power of the people."

After he was set free, he worked as a welder in Warsaw's Roza **Luxemburg** Works, until a works party secretary decided that his influence on young workers was not an appropriate one. To give him an opportunity to earn a living, author Antoni Slonimski, since deceased, hired him as his secretary.

During the liberal cultural climate of the Gierek era Michnik was able to finish his university studies as an extern. He received a grant from the Dominican order and wrote the book "The Church and the Polish Left," since translated into several languages, which dealt with the dream of an alliance between a progressive church and socialism.

Since then Michnik has participated in nearly every protest action or demonstration against civil rights violations because, according to him, "every act of resistance retrieves a piece of freedom and safeguards those values without which a nation cannot survive."

After personal efforts by Jean-Paul Sartre the author received permission in the fall of 1976 to travel to the West--no doubt because of the regime's hope to get rid of its bothersome critic forever.

But Michnik returned 8 months later, having been in contact with Brandt and Boell, Berlinguer and bishops of the Vatican's curia--and landed in jail once more. Being even then a thorn in the side of the pragmatists of an East-West detente, he wrote a letter from his cell to SPIEGEL: "No detente is possible so long as human rights, on which it is based, are not being respected."

Michnik joined the Committee for the Defense of the Worker (KOR), which had been founded by 14 Polish intellectuals. The original objective of the civil rights organization was solely to give aid to those arrested in 1976 during the workers' unrest in Ursus and Radom and to their families.

But later KOR grew within a few months into a center for non-violent resistance against despotism by the authorities and the party bureaucracy. From its ranks came, for the fight for a better Poland, for the first time a united front of workers, peasants, intellectuals and priests, before whose assault the paralyzed power of the state retreated step by step--until General Jaruzelski issued marching orders.

From the KOR's ranks, principally presented by Michnik and Kuron, came the agitation for a new union which was to be independent of the party. Mostly because of this, Michnik and Kuron were once again in jail when in August 1980 labor leader Walesa became a popular hero. They were liberated as a result of the strikers' demands made by the workers of the Gdansk Lenin shipyards.

Unlike practical-minded Kuron, historian Michnik was hardly interested in "Solidarity's" organizational problems and leadership elections. "The union is important; but if Poland is to change, we must convince the entire society of its strength, but also of its responsibilities."

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. p 124. Moscow Guest Jaruzelski, Host Brezhnev (at the arrival ceremony at Moscow airport on 1 March): "All efforts will be stopped"
2. p 125. (top): Critic of the System Michnik: "Public enemy No 1"
3. p 125. (bottom): Critic of the System Kuron: "To Prison for years, if need be"

9273

CSO: 2300/305

RURAL YOUTH UNION LEADER SWIRGON INTERVIEWED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19-20 Jun 82 p 3

[Interview with Waldemar Swirgon, Chairman of the National Board of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] by Alicja Matynia-Bonik of ZYCIE WARSZAWY entitled: "It Is Always More Difficult To Change"--date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question]: Sir, you represent a generation that will bear the consequences of the crisis, a generation upon which responsibility for the country's future will evolve. One can observe the disturbing phenomenon of a lack of faith by part of that generation in the possibility of sensible social and economic solutions. There is a clear negation of that which was, and a distrust of proposed reform and moral rebirth. It is called a lost generation that is blindfoldedly seeking new values. And meanwhile...

[Answer]: I do not agree. Perhaps you are talking about the patrons of Warsaw coffee shops. This type of irresolution has not increased among young people in the countryside after 13 December. Although it is difficult to talk about improvement, the present times are not at all worse for the rural environment that I represent by virtue of my responsibilities. To be sure, there are more doubters. But there are prospects in our country so that young people do not have to leave in order to search for "real" life. It is in our interest to participate in improving the country's situation, because in time we will take over responsibility for the country and will have to govern in it.

[Question]: How then should that opportunity be grasped?

[Answer]: It is necessary in rational presentations on public matters to penetrate to the rational layer, then the defeats will turn out to be less tragic and victories not so near. I regard the concept of "young generation" as too vague. If someone does not want to talk about hard facts, for example, what the worker expects, why the young farmer deserts the land--he talks about the young generation--and the problems become blurred. Thus, I would like to talk about young farmers.

Rural youth is less disordered internally. It is more focused on work and depends primarily on itself and the results of its own work. This is a completely different situation than in other groups. I think that moral rebirth

could come from the countryside. The young people there circulated less in the "wanting" sphere, they grew up with a foundation of true social reality. Today's political conditions have changed. As before, there are too few plows, cookers and rubber boots in the countryside, and--as before, the roads are bad. The principal change is in television news (programs). The countryside's unresolved problems are a barrier which also make it difficult to alter the situation in the city. The countryside is supposed to feed the nation. Thus, the state is responsible for creating work posts in the countryside. Meanwhile, little has changed there during the past year. A new agricultural economics must be proclaimed within the framework of the combined agricultural policy data of the PZPR Central Committee's Political Bureau and the ZSL Supreme Committee's Presidium not only in the interest of the countryside but of society as a whole. Food production requires that needs are planned in accordance with realistic outlays and not just according to estimates and market needs.

A rapid qualitative change in agricultural production cannot come about as the result of routine actions. What is needed are decisions that introduce radical inter-subsector flows into the economy on behalf of industrial equipment for work in the countryside. Faith in the reconstruction of the country can be restored only by facts. The bankruptcy of word propaganda in the form of "green light," "everything for agriculture" etc., was announced in the countryside a long time ago. Attitudes will begin to change if the first positive results appear in agriculture.

[Question]: It is said with unconcealed envy in city circles that the countryside, that is, the generation of young farmers, has gained a great deal during the past year.

[Answer]: Yes, decisions have been made that are very important for the rural population: a statute that protects property; a decision by agricultural schools to accept peasant children if they pass the examination; a more favorable credit policy; the organization of various types of courses for young farmers to make their work in the countryside easier, and raising the status of rural club workers. At one time in the past, when it was said in the countryside that things were better in the city, there was a massive migration to the city. If your informants are convinced that they have been left in a worse situation--then let me say that we have a register of several score thousand farms for takeover that we would like to settle with young people. You can direct anyone who wants to improve his life to me.

[Question]: There are facts that can establish that the leadership of the state is seeking sensible solutions aimed at improving the country's social and economic situation. Whence then this disbelief by the young generation--I use that concept despite your clear objection?

[Answer]: Kadar needed several years to restore faith in socialism and in the possibility of its continuing development. There are no Solomonic solutions for a difficult situation. "Solidarity" has cast doubt on hitherto existing values. It "stole" the party's program which was reflected, among others, in the discussion before the 8th Congress. A program that was formulated but

not then achieved. A part of "Solidarity's" slogans are historical goals of the leftist worker movement, and besides them--"Solidarity" took advantage of the right of every opposition system and promised things that have not been achieved anywhere to this date, and that are also impossible in Poland.

However, that movement propelled the authorities to reforms, it speeded up the elimination of demoralized people, it evoked a change in thinking about the problems of society, the state and socialism.

Question: What kind of lessons flow from those experiences for young people, many of whom were attracted by "Solidarity?"

Answer: Reality must be accepted realistically. There is no point in organizing an expedition to the promised land, or new Japans. We must make the kind of Poland we have better.

Question: "Solidarity" was taking advantage of the feelings of justice and the tendency to rebel against every injustice. This is typical of young people. How should these immanent qualities of young people be utilized this time for building a better future for the country?

Answer: The party's plenum will be held soon. It must create practical conditions to allow participation of young people in social life and decision making. It must assure participation in activities designed to lead the country out of the crisis, in wielding power, and in bearing the responsibilities. We are awaiting confirmation of continuing a course of agricultural reforms and the preservation of socialist democracy. Also, of respect for organization independence and the program autonomy of young people's organizations. In ZMW, we are seeking an answer to the question of what socialism means in the countryside. Because not only property ownership conditions, but also work output, social security and the possibility of civic creative development on the part of rural residents--must be treated as basic to socialism. The equalization of opportunities is a most important matter. Priorities from assumption itself are immoral. On the other hand, the equalization of differences resulting from the economic situation and living standard of particular groups is, among others, a realization of the principles of socialist democracy.

Question: Proposals for the necessity to equalize opportunities for young people and assuring them a better start in life frequently conflict with views that modern youth has a consumer attitude toward life and demands a great deal but does not give very much in return. What do you think about that, Sir?

Answer: We have a way of formulating "from wall to wall" evaluations. Youth says; give because we don't have anything. And those who give say: get it yourself. The fact of the matter is, conditions should be created in which it will not be necessary to give anything to the young because they themselves would earn for their own account. For example, in a new statute on the cooperative movement we demand the elimination of the young people's cooperative movement. We are waiting for decisions that would assure relief

in exchange for the organization of work, and service or residence co-operatives. That is practically impossible under the current system. Resolution of these problems is anticipated in the program recently adopted by the Council of Ministers for improving the conditions under which young people start their lives and careers.

Question: In that case, what today is most important in the rural youth movement, because you obstinately lead our discussion to it?

Answer: We are seeking allies for our cause, we are opposed to those who either out of ignorance, or abuse of the ideological principles of socialism are opposed to us. However, we wish to unite people in the ZMW not so much against others, as against socialist reality: a matter which it is always more difficult to change.

The 3-year and the 6-year plans for the reconstruction and industrialization of the country, primarily the cities and industry, are recalled in numerous discussions in the countryside. It is time to announce a 3-year plan in Poland for the reconstruction and development of Polish agriculture, and for overcoming one of the major economic and social barriers that obstruct the road to socialism in which young Poles are willing to live.

10433

CSO: 2600/727

ARMY ZSMP FIGURE VIEWS NINTH PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 29 June 82 p 2

[Interview with Maj Tadeusz Rzepecki, chairman of the Polish Army Youth Council and vice-chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] by Marek Kwiatkowski, PAP journalist: "We Are a Part of the Young Generation"]

[Text] On the social activity of youth in military uniform and its undertakings in the period preceding the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

[Question] Marek Kwiatkowski: Events of recent months were, for the youth who are fulfilling their military obligation, something of a survival test. As we know, they passed it with honor, fulfilling the tasks that the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON] assigned to them responsibly and with dedication. They distinguished themselves with their patriotic attitude and exemplary discipline. In view of the importance of these tasks, have the organizational life of the military youth and its social activities not become marginal phenomena?

[Answer] Maj Tadeusz Rzepecki: Not in the least. The ZSMP organization in the military, which is comprised of over 60 percent of the youth in the armed forces, undertook many important ideological-training and organizational activities during the past six months. First there was the "Let us Talk About the Fatherland" campaign, initiated by the ZSMP members in uniform, and then there was the union-wide discussion "What Kind of Poland--What Kind of Union?" The result of these undertakings and the postulates submitted at that time, was the appeal made by the Polish Army Youth Council to all soldiers on assuming various social activities under the slogan "Soldierly assistance--socialist Fatherland". During this army-wide action, 660,000 manhours were worked at the initiative of ZSMP, including, for example, 350,000 for agriculture and 50,000 in helping forestry. The total value of the work amounted to 20.5 million zlotys.

It should be emphasized that civilian youth--scouts and ZSMP members in the rural areas--also took part in this action, especially in work serving agriculture. This soldierly deed was important not only from the production standpoint, but it also had an important training aspect. Assistance was given to farmer-combatants and disabled war veterans, older people, those living alone and the incompetent, families of soldiers on military duty, schools and children's homes. This action was taken with the thought that despite difficulties, one must not be passive. The soldiers'

social initiative met with friendliness and help from the commanders and the party-political apparatus of the army. This was also practical verification of the new formula for ZSMP activity in the military on the basis of

[Question] The Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum will undoubtedly be an important event in the life of the party, an event of real meaning for the youth movement. Problems relating to the forthcoming plenum probably arouse interest among the military youth also.

[Answer] For understandable reasons, matters relating to starting a career or a family and job promotions, prospects for the young generation and its role in the life of society, are of interest to the young in uniform. We are a part of the entire young generation and these are our matters also. The period preceding the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum is a period of lively organizational activity in the ZSMP of the army. At numerous meetings and talks, the military community has been familiarized with the situation in the youth movement. Widespread information also pertained to the activities, planned and ongoing, of the party and government on problems concerning the young generation. There were discussions, for example, on new entitlements for soldiers as a result of the Council of Ministers resolution on military service, the minister's order on furloughs for married soldiers, etc. As the facts and intentions in this area were presented, the discussion did not concentrate just on social-welfare problems. In accordance with the intentions of the PZPR Central Committee, we also took an active part in discussions on theses to the Ninth Plenum, entitled "Youth Co-Creates Socialist Poland and the Conditions for its Own Development". Here, also, the discussion was not limited to strictly military problems. Emphasis was given, for example, to the need to intensify efforts in the area of internationalist training and close cooperation here with the school, workplace, youth organization and army. The study of history is an important element in this training. Reference here was made to the activities of the military ZSMP already underway in this area. We are constantly improving our history teaching program and all elements of the union, from the circles to the Youth Council, will participate in its implementation; a movement for clubs interested in the most recent history of Poland is also springing up.

Problems relating to adequate dissemination of Marxist-Leninist knowledge and genuine implementation of socialist principles formed an important part of the talks. The need to restore the value of work, for example, was stressed. Work, its results, and attitude towards it, should be, according to the members of our organization, a deciding factor in the professional advancement of the young--not age, but precisely this criterion.

Many other problems important to the young generation were discussed. These included the future of the trade unions, their place in the country's sociopolitical system, and participation in the building of socialism. The ZSMP soldier-members spoke with concern about the "atomization" of the youth movement in Poland. We see an important element of the strength of socialism in our country in a strong youth movement. We are not concerned here, of course, with a mechanical combining of existing youth organizations, but with opposition to activities which divide youth, which do not serve to unite it.

Naturally, as the discussion revealed, the subjects of interest to ZSMP in the army are the invariable problems of our own surroundings. There is a proposal that after the Ninth Plenum there be prepared a catalog of military-youth problems which should be taken into account in the operations of the national defense ministry. These problems are various: ideological training, connected with military education, social-welfare matters of soldiers in the regular service, the young professional cadre and civilian workers in the army. We would like to submit an outline of such a catalog for discussion during the reporting-electoral campaign in our organization which will begin in August of this year. We are also planning a plenary meeting of the Polish Army Youth Council to be held after the Ninth Central Committee Plenum, to be totally given over to preparing the tasks which will fall to our organization as a result of Central Committee resolutions on youth affairs.

[Question] An important need of the young generation and its organization is the need for independence. What meaning does the word "independence", used earlier in reference to the specific conditions of ZSMP activity in the army, take on?

[Answer] In the new "Principles of ZSMP Army Activity" accepted in November of last year, the concept of independence also has a place. I would also like to remind you of the important changes made recently in the structure of our organization. The youth councils: Polish Army, military district, etc., are statutory bodies. The role of the ZSMP conference in the Armed Forces, which establishes the program and principles of activity, has grown. Those are statutory guarantees of our independence. Its framework, however, is delimited by two facts: as soldiers, we are bound to the principle of one-person command; in the army, we serve the army. Our independence, therefore, is an intra-organizational independence, without which a military youth organization could not be a strong partner of the command and party organizations. For all intents and purposes, there is no important problem in the life of military groups on which we have not expressed ourselves.

[Question] What do the ZSMP army members expect from the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum?

[Answer] Military youth understand the country's situation very well. Hence we are not expecting quick and radical changes or immediate solutions to the problems of the young generation. We expect, however, that the Plenum will be an important stimulus--that it will begin an extended-in-time process of comprehensive activities on matters relating to youth.

9295

CSO: 2600/743

LETTER TO EDITOR SCORES HIGH SCHOOL EXAM POLICY

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Apr 82 p 3

[Letter by Magdalena Jarkowska, student at the General High School in Chelm:
"Mail 'SM'--Problems With Secondary-School Examination"]

[Text] I would like to voice my own, and the opinions of my colleagues, in presenting the matter of next year's final examinations in the general high schools. The proposal publicized in this matter is very inconvenient for us and adds to our woes. Subjects, which we must pass depending on the class major selected were forced upon us.

In frequent cases, these subjects clash with the courses of study. Why can we not, as in the past, submit to final examinations in those fields of study which simultaneously coincide with subjects contained in college entrance exams? There are many individuals and I refer only to them, who while attending classes with a humanities major, intend to study specific subjects. And conversely. This is the result of specifying their interests.

I think that we should not have a course of future studies imposed upon us, and this is dedicated actually by the proposed variant of an examination of maturity. I present this as my personal example.

I am attending the third class and majoring in biology-chemistry. While attending secondary school I had no precise interests to influence my decision regarding a future course of studies. I was somewhat interested in biology. During the course of further studies I was introduced to ethnography and I would like to continue my studies in this direction.

In addition to the Polish language, a foreign language, and an additional subject, which in my case would be geography (the entrance examination for ethnography includes history and geography), I would be compelled to choose either biology or mathematics for my final examination--history--if I had been in the humanities-major class.

By passing this one subject could I not have been added to the circle of humanities specialists? I am certain that the educational authorities are concerned about the creation of a system which could contribute to our training as highly qualified specialists in a given field. I shall not become

"the fruit" of this very important foundation, if I am to be compelled to master two such broad fields as biology and history.

Most likely I shall simply have to pursue natural sciences in order to pass the final examination. I shall forsake the ethnography of my dreams and undertake studies in that field which represent a continuation of my secondary school major. However, I do not know whether I will practice the profession selected contrary to my own wishes with willingness, and most important, conscientiously and engagingly.

I request the editorial board to assume an active role in this matter.

There is yet some time and certainly it would be possible for you to help us in some manner. We are young and wish to study, but only that which truly is of interest to us.

Please print my letter. Perhaps the youth in other schools will also express themselves on this subject for our mutual benefit.

P.S. I emphasize that I am distinctly concerned with the secondary school group whose coursework differs from the "major" subjects.

9951

CSO: 2600/577

POLAND

BRIEFS

RECTOR RESIGNS--An extraordinary Senate meeting took place at the Higher School of Engineering [WSI] in Radom on 9 July. It was announced during the meeting that the minister of science, higher schools and technology has accepted the resignation of Prof (Dr Habilitatus) Michal Hebda from the position of rector of the Kazimierz Pulaski WSI in Radom. Prof Hebda will remain as rector up to 31 July and will continue thereafter as an independent research employee at the Radom WSI. [By bd] [Excerpt] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10-11 Jul 82 p 8]

CSO: 2600/791

ROMANIA

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES OF PARTY MEMBERS DEPLORED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jun 82 pp 92-94

[Unsigned article]

[Text] Several letters to the editor received recently report violations by some party members who, disregarding the lofty duties devolving upon them in their capacity as militants of a party that is based on the scientific, revolutionary outlook on the world and life, agree, with quite deplorable levity, to be godparents at money-tree church weddings, get married according to religious rituals, baptize their children according to the same rituals or participate in other mystical activities, and so forth -- attitudes that totally contradict the Party Program and Statute, the Ethical Code, to whose provisions and rules they willingly consented on their joining the party.

Extremely serious is the fact that these mystical practices also are endorsed by some officials who hold leading positions in the party or state in the hierarchy of our society. For instance, recently, Mircea Secrieru, member of the party committee at the Livezeni Mining Enterprise and candidate member in the Petrosani Municipal Party Committee, Hunedoara County, and Adrian Cruceanu, member of the Communal Party Committee, secretary of the Draguseni Communal People's Council, Galati County, sponsored church weddings for young people in the above-mentioned localities. Their moral duplicity is evident, since they deliberately relinquished their duties in their capacity as communists, as people invested with great political and ideological responsibility, they stooped to the status of participants in anachronistic mystical rituals which clearly are incompatible with the progressive beliefs and attitudes that must characterize communists, all the more so those who hold leading positions.

Unfortunately, indulging in the same situation are educators, who, under the very by-laws of their profession, ought to combat mysticism, whatever its aspects of manifestation. Teacher Ion Dinca, of the Hales General School, Tisau Commune, Buzau County, himself, got married at the church, according to all rituals. What impact can the knowledge, the concepts, the ideas which he passes on to students have, when his words differ from his deeds, undoubtedly proving that he is the prisoner of obsolete, mystical concepts and practices?

Further, what political and moral authority can enjoy in the communities of Rosia de Amaradia Commune, Gorj County, Florea Pitoaca, deputy secretary for propaganda affairs of the communal party committee, who, together with other officials of the

commune: Benone Sandu, vice chairman of the Communal People's Council, Nicolae Predoiu, teacher, member in the communal committee of the Union of Communist Youth, Vasile Ciocan, chief accountant of the cooperative for production, procurement and marketing of goods, and others -- all party members -- did not hesitate in promptly answering the invitation from the commune priest to party on "Easter Thursday," inside the church of the above commune? This is how these officials conceive to fulfill their great duties to our society, to the people in the commune, while the economic, social and cultural-educational activity there involves great deficiencies -- the contracting and procurement plan is not completed, the communal library "languishes" in a quite improper building, communal roads are in a run-down state, and so on.

Moreover, quite unnatural also is the lack of firmness in judging such conducts -- which clearly are incompatible with the communist community standards -- when they, finally, are submitted for discussion by the party organs involved. Indeed, after having been notified, the party organs involved also applied disciplinary measures: "reprimand" for Adrian Cruceanu, "censure" for teacher Ion Dinca, and admonition from the secretariat of the Petrosani Municipal Party Committee for Mircea Secrieru.

Do the above party organs consider that the measures which they took in relation to the serious violations that we pointed out can ensure the absolutely necessary climate of ideological firmness, in which such violations of the communist ethical code should no longer be possible? It is more than certain that such sanctions applied with obvious indulgence, from a clearly conciliatory position, only permit the repetition, the proliferation of violations like those deplored above.

As for the occurrences in the Rosia de Amaradia commune, considering the gravity of the violations committed, the secretariat of the Gorj County Party Committee decided on the removal of Florea Pitoaca from the office of deputy secretary of the communal party committee and on discussing his case in the general assembly of the local party organization to which he belongs, for a say on his status as a party member. Moreover, the local party organizations whose membership include the other officials in the commune who were in the same deplorable situation were advised to decide on the disciplinary measures that should be taken.

11710
CSO: 2700

WEST GERMAN COMMENT ON LIBERALIZED PRESS

Bonn DIE WELT in German 15 Jun 82 p 7

[Article by Carl Stroehm: "Why Not Also Speak About the Weaknesses in Our System?"]

[Text] Two years after Tito's death there is a ghost circulating in communist Yugoslavia, the ghost of liberalism. At first the country reacted with shock to the departure of the old marshal. There was a feeling of inner emptiness--as Stane Dolanc, Tito's party secretary for many long years, put it. Many political functionaries tried to cling to the Tito myth. But the growing economic crisis and the unrest of the Albanians in the Kosovo territory destroyed the illusion that things could go on as before without the "old man."

The ghost of liberalism took root in those very nooks and crannies which had earlier been hidden under Tito's charismatic authority, in journalistic articles, in the press, among the students and among the intellectuals. Yugoslavia is not uniform in this respect. A liberal current can be most strongly felt in Belgrade and Serbia and also in the Slovenian provincial capital, Ljubljana. The climate is probably most conservative and illiberal in Sarajevo, the capital of the Bosnian Republic. There is also little liberalism to be noted in the Croatian metropolis of Zagreb. Here the speaker of the Croatian Parliament, Jure Bilic, even complained that Yugoslavia had formerly been divided into the "liberal" western republics and the "dogmatic" east (Serbia)--and that today it was just the opposite: the east was considered liberal and the west--Croatia--dogmatic.

Traditional Roots from the Time of the Monarchy

The Serbian liberalism of Belgrade has traditional roots which reach far back into the 19th century and to the time of the monarchy. Today Belgrade is liberal in a certain sense--not only because the supreme authority of Tito no longer exists but also because the Serbs as a nation were forced to suffer the loss of their former hegemony within Yugoslavia. Nothing promotes internal liberalism so much as a failure or a defeat--and the high point of this Serbian defeat was the trauma of Kosovo with the realization that the "sacred Serbian soil" at [Amselfeld], the cradle of the Serbian nation, can only be protected from Albania ethnic pressure by maintaining a state of emergency.

Then came the discovery that even Tito, in whom the people had believed so fervently, was only human--as described in the biography by Vladimir Dedijer which stirred up so much dust. Then there was also the discussion about the Yugoslav communist concentration camps--such as the notorious "naked island." So it has come about that a well-known Yugoslav pop group with the descriptive name "Fish Soup" (Riblja corba) is enjoying great success with a song which reflects the world as seen by a considerable portion of the post-Tito generation. The text is more or less as follows: "The great always eat the small. Fools die for ideals. Factories pollute the environment. Idiots rebel and die. It's getting better, some shout. Dead letters on paper. In the East the old fairytales are told. In the West there is nothing new."

Meanwhile the league of old partisans and war veterans demanded that this song of the "Fish Soup" band be forbidden because the old fighters were being described as fools and idiots.

Continuous Criticism of the Communist Party

Even though the "official" Belgrade press has displayed an astonishingly candid and antiauthority style in recent months--journals such as the daily POLITIKA and the weekly NIN are prime examples--it is exceeded by the Belgrade student newspapers. The student papers STUDENT and VIDICI are continuously coming under the criticism of the Communist Party leadership. STUDENT is continually changing its editor-in-chief without changing course on that account. In one of its latest editions, with a massive press run, STUDENT published a criticism of the police never before heard in Yugoslavia, under the headline "Don't Hit Me over the Head, Blue Comrade!" (In Yugoslavia the police wear blue uniforms.)

In connection with the events in Kosovo, STUDENT criticizes the Communist Party and its leadership--officially the League of Communists--for lacking the "competence to react to questions which life has posed." Looking at the Albanian unrest in Kosovo and the action of the regime, the student publication considers that "lies of various kinds have accompanied the Kosovo events from the beginning--delayed, incomplete, watered-down, embellished, hidden and forbidden information."

The question was also posed in STUDENT as to why only "children and youths" have been called to account for the unrest in Kosovo up to now--this is a reference to the Albanian students sentenced to prison--but not one single functionary.

The Belgrade students also express themselves quite candidly in STUDENT on the state of the party. A student of the agriculture faculty, Svjetlana Grubisa, stated with respect to the work in her party cell that they limited themselves to reading material that comes "from on high." During the meeting many party members voted silently for the resolution which came down to them from "above" and then--in the elevator or in the lobby--vigorously attacked this very resolution.

"Few take the floor during the party meetings," the Belgrade student newspaper reports. "Everything is reduced to a vote, a show of hands, without any real desire to achieve anything." The speeches which are given there have the effect of a "narcotic" because they are "much too long" and "stereotyped." Also the students were afraid, "Courage disappears when it is burdened with the pressure of possible consequences."

Alongside the irony and impishness in the Belgrade STUDENT a certain anxiety about life comes repeatedly to light. "For a better future it is best to shut your eyes as early as possible," it says in the paper. And then in an obvious reference to Yugoslav political reality, it is stated that "we must fight the competent people--the incompetent are already with us!"

"Somebody is muddying the waters of ideological purity. But is not perhaps a case of the lamb attacking the wolves?" STUDENT asked in its edition of March 31, thereby unleashing outbreaks of rage among the party functionaries who felt they were then ones affected. Then the student newspaper fearlessly stated, "We are not abandoned to our fate alone--the politicians are keeping us company!" That was a clear reference to interference in student life by political organs.

Another very popular and probably still "fresher" student periodical is called GLAS EKONOMISTA (Voice of the Economists) and is published by students of economic science. Here political criticism is combined with a candid analysis of economic shortcomings in the Yugoslav system. "The people's head is spinning because of the endless rotation in the leadership echelon," was the commentary on the continuous personnel changes at the top of the party and the state.

Another comment on the current situation--there are continuing shortages of soap powder in Yugoslavia--is dealt with in GLAS EKONOMISTA with the words, "With so many dirty things coming to light, the shortage of cleaning materials is justifiable."

The economist's publication--under a title printed significantly in German, "On Criticism of the Masses"--draws attention to the internal status of the contemporary Yugoslav student generation. "Look at yourselves in the mirror," the paper challenges the students. "What do you see? A leached out, spiritually sterile, self-satisfied generation; unmoveable, lazy, faceless, apolitical--an infantile mass which is waiting for everything to be served on a tray."

Does this Serbian student youth have ideals? At Belgrade University, to the extent they think politically, they tend apparently toward the left while at the same time they obviously do not regard the official party as left. But apart from this uproar, there are overtones which cause one to listen. One woman student asks in the economist's newspaper, "Why shouldn't we also hear something about the weaknesses of our system, if there are any, before an open tribunal?"--"I would also invite a clergyman to party meetings. We should listen to him too...Why should we reject him a priori?"

Then the Belgrade woman student confesses her pluralism, "Nothing can be completely uniform (homogeneous) but I believe that a pluralism of interests and the settlement of conflicts lead to a synthesis and thereby to optimal solutions. We must not allow ourselves to degenerate into careerists and petty bourgeois." Then, the woman student concludes, we will reach our ultimate objective--and this means for her not eventually communism or socialism but "a humanistic society."

Solidarity with the Polish People

Yugoslav "liberalism" also developed in no small measure as a result of the Polish events which made a great impression on the student generation in Belgrade and Ljubljana. The Belgrade STUDENT as recently as March 1982 published an interview with the Polish writer on esthetics, Stefan Morawski, who in response to a question on the need for revolutions in history--contrary to standard communist thinking--declared that revolutions were not the only vehicle of progress. Revolutions were by all means to be rejected if they might cause bloodshed.

The most "compact" solidarity with the Polish people was expressed in Slovenia. Four editorial boards of the most important student publications here published a special documentary volume under the symbol of Solidarity with the red and white Polish colors in which the seizure of power by the "Soldateska" of Jaruzelski is very severely criticized. The special Slovenian volume POLJSKA (Poland) contains numerous documents, from the speeches of Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuron to the demands of the Social Self-Defense Committee (KOR). Under the heading, "The Latest Stage of Stalinism," the Slovenian author Tomaz Mastnak writes, "A necessary precondition for a successful struggle of the workers for socialism and self-rule as well as against Stalinist dictatorship is the establishment of an autonomous workers organization. The formation of such an autonomous workers organization will take the form of free, independent, self-governing trade unions in all countries of Eastern Europe including the Soviet Union."

Society Is Starting To Move

After making this prophetic declaration, the Yugoslav author recalls the list of sins of the Soviet system--and, in fact, in a form in which they could hardly be found in a "capitalistic," Western publication. "Practically the only argument," writes the Yugoslav, "and the final answer of the Stalinist social system to the outbreak of worker dissatisfaction with the socialist demands on the East European working class was and is military force. Soviet tanks crushed the Berlin workers' uprising in 1953. The last chapter of the Hungarian drama in 1956 was written with Soviet military intervention ...The strike of Soviet workers in Novocherkassk in 1962 was drowned in blood by the Soviet Army. The Prague Spring ended in 1968 with the invasion of armed forces of the Warsaw Pact. The workers' unrest on the Polish Baltic Sea coast was, once again, liquidated by tanks. The dissolution of the Stalinist social system in Poland is now to be prevented by a military putsch."

The Yugoslav author then describes the demand that the Polish union, Solidarity, should not make political statements or engage in political activity as a "narrow-minded interpretation of 'economism'" to which even Lenin was opposed. The prohibition of free trade unions would bring about the "militarization" of the factories and loss of rights for the working class.

Such arguments also, of course, necessarily color internal Yugoslav discussion. Yugoslav society itself--which in many ways is quite differently structured from the East Bloc--is starting to move. Whether the blossoms of the communist liberalism of the post-Tito era will ripen into full bloom, however, remains to be seen.

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MORE DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES WITHIN LCY RANKS URGED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1638, 23 May 82
pp 16-17

[Article by Vladimir Goati: "Opposing the Difficulties Through Democracy"]

[Text] The discussion that we are conducting today about democratic centralism and internal relations within the LCY is at the same time a discussion of the vital issues of the LC and of Yugoslav society as a whole. We are in agreement that our relations within the LC today are not what we would like.

First of all, a large percentage of the LCY's membership, perhaps more than a third of it, is passive; their ideological and political level and their social involvement are unsatisfactory. This is indicated not only by direct experience but also by the results of empirical research recently conducted by the LC in Serbia and Slovenia. Furthermore, the findings of some other research indicate the existence of very strong activist nuclei, which accumulate many social functions and great social power in their own hands.

Another indicator is the content of the work performed by the basic organizations of the LC, which is also unsatisfactory. Many formalisms are present in the work of the OOSK [LC basic organization]; a large part of their activities consists of going over the "materials" composed at higher levels of the party pyramid. For this reason the agendas of the commune OOSK meetings are as much alike as one egg to another, even though these are different organizations. Even when there are independently formulated topics, they mostly have to do with [the OOSK's] own organization or with the immediate area, while discussions of the vital issues of Yugoslav society are completely lacking.

In the third place, Yugoslav society is faced with slow coordination and agreement; this frequently has negative consequences. Although the LC is not an organization that makes operational decisions, such a situation in society, and in the institutions in which decisions are made, indirectly reflects the LC's ability to fulfill its social role and also reflects [the state of] internal relations in the LC. We are witnesses that important party meetings very often conclude with unanimously adopted decisions but that major differences remain even afterward and hamper work in other social institutions.

In the fourth place, our impression is that the information process in the LCY is for the most part one-way, going exclusively from the top to the bottom.

It appears that real, "unvarnished" reports do not go up the ladder of the organization. The lack of such reports weakens the power of the LC organization; appropriate "signals and alarms" are given slowly and thus surprises occur. This is tied to the serious events in Kosovo, about which nothing was known, judging from the statements by public officials. A year after the outbreak of the demonstrations, it can be said with certainty that this was not an instantaneous and skillfully directed action by a few people but rather a process of many years' standing, carefully prepared and aimed at breaking up our country; this process also embraced the fabric of the LC. We should not lightly overlook the fact that this happened behind the back of the LC; we should instead learn a lesson from this, because a party and a society that are unable to learn from events, from the past, If I may paraphrase a well-known thought, are thus condemned to live through the past once more.

These indicators of the state of affairs in the LC have a common denominator: insufficiently developed internal democracy. It is only possible to overcome the existing state of affairs by strengthening democracy. It is possible to achieve this within the framework of the principle of democratic centralism. We have heard opinions in Yugoslavia that instead of democratic centralism we should adopt some other principle for the internal organization of the LC in the question of how a decision is made if no agreement is reached remains unanswered. Democratic centralism did not appear because someone thought that agreement per se was not good and that overruling was a priori desirable. This principle appeared on the basis of a realistic assumption that there could be major differences on issues about which the party would have to make a decision. If such an assumption were realistic with respect to a small, highly homogeneous party of professional revolutionaries, like the Bolshevik Party at the beginning of this century, it is even more realistic for a large organization like today's LCY, which has more than 2 million members.

I would like to point out some measures that would result in strengthening internal democracy in the LC.

First, democratic centralism means full freedom of discussion and also an obligation on the part of the minority to abide by the decisions of the majority. This does not exactly sound original, but in the LC's discussions to date on important social issues, it has often not been known which viewpoint had the support of the majority. Instead of deciding between contradictory standpoints on the issue under discussion, party meetings have concluded by repeating general and indisputable views. Avoiding the determination of the balance of forces between the majority and minority in connection with the issues on the agenda probably has some slight advantages but it also entails serious risks, because everyone goes his own way, the differences accumulate and tensions grow.

Second, a further democratization of the electoral procedure in the LC is both necessary and possible. A considerable amount can be done on this, as the draft LCY statute is still open to public discussion. In order for the LCY to be a factor for democratization in society, it must achieve maximum democracy within its own ranks. I am therefore supporting introduction of the principle of mandatory broad ballots and secret voting in the LCY, from

top to bottom. Some places in the draft LCY statute provide for public voting (art 25 and 70). I looked over about 30 statutes of workers' parties (communist and social democratic parties), both in power and in the opposition, as well as the statutes of about 10 bourgeois parties. Public voting is very rarely found in them; it is virtually nonexistent.

Third, how the LCY Central Committee is elected is of exceptional importance for relations in the LCY. The draft LCY statute provides for having the LCY congress publicly ratify the composition of the LCY Central Committee, which is in fact elected in the republics and provinces. The possibility of disputing the ratification is provided. According to the draft, the proposal is not considered to have been ratified if two-thirds of the members of the LCY congress dispute it. This means that a member of the LCY Central Committee is ratified even if two-thirds, minus one member of the LCY congress, vote against him. Among others, the following questions arise in connection with the proposed solution. First, where is the authority of the LCY congress if a majority in it is not able to prevent the election of a given member of the LCY? Second, how can this be reconciled with the statutory provision that the congress is the highest organ of the LCY? Finally, what kind of authority will be exercised by a member of the LCY Central Committee who is elected to that organ in opposition to the position of a majority of the congress?

I also have a substantive criticism of the method for electing members of the LCY Central Committee as stipulated by the draft LCY statute. The democratic centralism that we all support assumes, not by chance, the election of all party organs, not their ratification. This means that the LCY congress should elect, not ratify, the members of the LCY Central Committee, ensuring appropriate representation of the republic and provincial organizations.

In the fourth place, democracy in the LCY should be strengthened and expanded with elements of direct democracy, which we have so far introduced more readily in other segments of the political system than in the LCY. In some parties in the workers' movement, elements of direct democracy already exist in the form of referendums, the results of which are binding on the party leadership, and in the form of direct elections of the leaders, etc. The strengthening of democracy in the LCY would also be served by making it possible for the entire membership to participate in the debates now in progress in party forums on the major issues of this society and the LCY: stabilization, the concept of national economies, relations within the Serbian LC, etc. Furthermore, it is necessary to encourage theoretical and critical thought, to stimulate debates and a democratic dialogue. So far we have given verbal support for such a dialogue to a greater extent than we have [actually] conducted one.

It is not by chance that I am speaking of the need to strengthen democracy in the LCY and in society. This is a strategy through which the LC has overcome difficulties and met challenges.

FURTHER DETAILS ON COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY EVENTS IN KOSOVO

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 82 pp 84-88

[Article, installment 8 of "Dossier of the Counterrevolution in Kosovo," by Zivko Milic: "All the Irredenta's People"]

[Text] Readers of "Dossier of the Counterrevolution in Kosovo" have already had a chance to conclude that the irredentists are not--as individuals from the former provincial political leadership have attempted to show--exclusively or mostly people from the edge of society, squeezed and isolated by their primitive nationalistic ideology into the labyrinths of the irredentist underground, an almost lawful, but not essential offshoot and by-product of a society which is developing at a heady pace, a factor which is prospering on the social and economic troubles of the day.

Things in Kosovo are far more complicated. The counterrevolution seized upon a portion of the young generation of educated people, a slice of the Kosovo intelligentsia. The egalitarianism of neighboring socialist Albania and Stalinist dogmas, as well as the simplifications of Enver Hoxha, linked up with Great Albanian nationalism and visions, seized the imagination of a large portion of young people, who had not fitted sufficiently into the self-managing society. It would be an illusion, however, to believe that this linkup of dogma and nationalism did not also penetrate a small portion of the working class, as indicated by details of the explosion of events in April.

We are not writing a tract in political science, but a practical account of the counterrevolution, so here is a graphic example of how this occurred in a basic cell--an organization of associated labor. The scene is the Tefik Canga Wood Combine in Urosevac. Lunch in the workers' dining hall on 3 April 1981. Because of the unrest and disorders which had already taken place and were under way in Pristina and other towns in the province members of territorial defense and the security service had appeared.

Milaim Jashari (age 34), president of the trade union, went out of his office and ran into Rashit Mehmeti (45) of the chair plant in which Milaim is a foreman, who just previously had asked him if he knew that Pristina was in flames.

Milaim--it seems--felt and was himself experiencing the tension that prevailed among the workers.

"This sausage is wormy, comrade president, you can see for yourself. No one should eat it," said one of the workers present.

Rashit Mehmeti also had a question:

"What kind of mistrust of us is this, they are guarding us even while we eat!"

Rashit appeared at first to be also disturbed because armed guards had been posted on the grounds of the plant. As a member of the League of Communists, according to some scheme (of bureaucratic devising) he and Milaim, also a member of the LCY--with the dozens of party members in the collective--should have taken command of the situation at that moment of crisis, which had not broken out suddenly. That was the theory.

"So we Albanians are to eat sausage, and they are to guard us with rifles, is that the way it is? Why were we not told?" Rashit put another question.

Unusual things had been happening on the grounds of the combine even since 0930 hours. Groups had formed which were boycotting work, but at the same time individuals were protesting about the machines standing idle. Osman, director of the chair plant, was being harrassed:

"So this is what you have done and where you have brought us--to these miserable wages!"

The general director explained that the personal incomes could not be increased overnight.

Only a blind man could still fail to see that the spontaneity of these nervy protests was only an appearance, that the talks about disorder and idleness, about low earnings, as well as about improper assignment, were only an excuse for raising the temperature.

The balance of power was also a mere appearance. In a few moments it would become clear that all the members of the League of Communists were not on the right side. The gate was closed, the machines were shut down, it all suggested trouble. Some of the armed men guarding the factory were not members of the work force. They had come from outside.

The opstina committee of the LC [League of Communists] had been informed that there was trouble in the Tefik Canga Combine, that the workers were demanding to speak with representatives of the opstina and the province. At that time Sadik Sadiku (42), a bookkeeper, was in his office typing a speech dictated by Hilmi Hyseni (33), a worker who was to deliver it when the workers went off into town.

"We the workers of the Tefik Canga Combine protest the police power which is massacring our brothers and sisters...."

It was not a matter, then, of sausage. Someone was doing all this in order to involve the Urosevac workers in planned demonstrations. Somewhere around 1200

hours Idriz Asllani, president of the opstina assembly, arrived. Sinan Sahiti, member of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, also arrived in haste.

They were met by shouts and a yelling of well-known slogans.

"We want a republic!"

"Let our comrades out of prison!"

"Down with the bourgeoisie!"

Sadik Bakaj (32) of the equipment department, Zylfi Ratkoceri (29) of the furniture factory, Rashit Mehmeti and Hilmi Hyseni distinguished themselves by the racket they caused, by the questions they put, and by their rejection of even the most reasonable answers.

"In Pristina they are running over children with tanks and engaging in violence! Why allow them to beat the children whom we have raised with wages earned in this combine? Where is our equality?" Rashit Mehmeti addressed his words almost obsessively to Sinan Sahiti, who attempted to make reasonable answers.

"They have tricked you with rumors and lies," Sahiti said.

They answered him with resentment and shouting.

"Why are our machines standing idle?" went the new question.

"We came here to work, but in the dining hall, where we wanted to eat our bread in peace, they guarded us with rifles and said: 'Just you Albanians eat your sausage, and we will guard you!' Why is there no trust in us?"

"We demand that the special forces be taken away!"

Dialogue--not a bit of it. Nor could there have been. The plans that day called for the students and workers to go into the streets of Urosevac not only from Tefik Canga, but also from the welded pipe factory, the Milan Zecar Combine and from Kosovotrans. The students at the secondary technical school had been organized 4 days before by Nexhat Terstena (21), a soccer player on the local Urosevac team and a member of the Kastrioti Society for Culture and Popular Education.

He had held a number of meetings with the students between 30 March and 3 April.

On 3 April, while things were boiling in Tefik Canga, Nexhat had led the pupils into the streets of Urosevac. When they were joined by several individuals, he and Naim Ramadani (22), who worked in the Lozar store, went into the Hivsi Sylejmani Cultural Center and brought out the Albanian flag. Among the new arrivals was Jusuf Lipovica (22), a law student who 2 days before had

participated in the demonstrations in Pristina, and then the medical student Ilaz Husaj, a participant in the Pristina demonstrations on 26 March, Hajrullah Hasani (31), a worker at the Kosovo Thermal Electric Power Plant, also a participant in demonstrations on 2 April in Obilic--all, then, "veterans," who had come with their experience to contribute to the unrest which was to be brought about in Urosevac.

The procession reached the entrance to the welded pipe factory, Kosovotrans, and the Milan Zecar Combine, but except for a few exceptions the workers did not respond. The most significant response was from the Tefik Canga Combine.

Somewhere around 1320 hours, as Rashit Mehmeti told the court, "when a scream of some kind was heard from the direction of the mosque, in the center of town, a group of workers from Tefik Canga opened the gates and joined the procession led by Nexhat Terstena, with his most aggressive and loudest followers. The procession also included trade union president Milaim Jashari, though on the opposite side...."

Because of the violence and opposition to the forces of law and order the demonstrations ended in bloodshed, one death and wounded.

The protest because of the allegedly wormy sausage achieved absolutely nothing as the net result of that tragic day, as though it had not taken place.

The secret trojkas and illegal groups, of that there is no doubt, played an important role in the counterrevolutionary actions. Many who up until that time had been "underground" exposed themselves on that occasion, but some of them have remained hidden even to this day. For example, in Glogovac the "Local Committee" of Bajram Gashi organized the demonstrations on 2 April through Ismet Sopi and Alush Thaci. The next day, 3 April, Ismet Sopi and Naim Bujupi led a group of students onto the Orlovac-Lapusnik Road. Halil Kuliqi made copies of a leaflet calling for demonstrations:

"Brothers and sisters, do not let Red Drenica down," and he distributed them in Glogovac through schoolchildren whom he then led in the demonstrations. The underground groups in Decani also made attempts, mild ones to be sure, which were suppressed by the authorities.

In Istok the demonstrations were instigated on 30 March, obviously under direct instructions from Pristina, since they were prepared by precisely those students who had come to Glogovac from there after the disorders on 11 and 26 March.

Several university students were moving about near the schools, and Fadil Blakaj (21), a university student from the village Kovrage, who had brought with him Nazif Blakaj (44) and Hysni Blakaj (21), his relatives and friends, was observed in the demonstrations. Their aim was also to involve the secondary students (the Ribar Brothers CSUO [secondary targeted education school]), in which they were helped by two teachers of that center: Idriz Blakaj (25), apsolvent [university student who has completed classwork, but not final examinations, for a degree] of the School of Electrical Engineering in Pristina,

and Ismail Rugova, apsolvent of the School of Natural Sciences in Pristina, department of physics.

Pristina University turned out to be the nursery where the irredentist cadres, indoctrinated in a number of secret organizations, were raised.

Back in 1980 in Podujevo, as we have shown in our previous installments, Salih Salihu established a six-member underground group called "Back on Our Feet" (Perseri ne kembe). Later, on 25 March 1981, another underground group of some 20 members was created and known as "Shaban Shala," and again the founder was Salih Salihu. On 29 March yet another secret meeting was held in the home of Sabil Latifi--Salih Salihu again being present--in which the main speaker was Fehmi Berisha, a person already well known for his unlawful activities among university students in Pristina, who had left a trail in several towns where he had maintained contacts, attended meetings and organized underground work. At that meeting Fehmi Berisha, employed in a store in Podujevo, but also a part-time student in the third year at the School of Philosophy, who is 27 years old today, prepared a plan and issued assignments for boycotting classes on 30 March at the Eighth of November Center for Secondary Targeted Education. The next day Fehmi Berisha went to the village Dyz and spent the day writing leaflets, and on 31 March he again gathered a group of four members and set forth the plan for demonstrations on 1 and 2 April in Podujevo.

In that four-member cell were Avdi Latifi (52), cabinetmaker, convicted of murder in 1950 and sentenced to 15 years in prison, of which he served 12; Hamdi Mustafa (28), instructor at the Eighth of November CSUO, a student at the School of Philosophy in Pristina; Salih Salihu (22), a student of the VPS [junior postsecondary school of pedagogy], and Fehmi Berisha. In indoctrinating and instigating the pupils in secondary targeted education they had a great deal of help from Ejup Shala, a teacher at the center for secondary targeted education. This ensured one of the most important prerequisites for the action's success--the presence of the secondary students. And that is precisely what the organizers of the disorders and unrest in Kosovo aimed at as a rule. Secondary students, it was assumed, are a good bait and magnet for their parents, the general public and the workers, while for the forces of law and order and security service they are an unwelcome, delicate and impossible target.

Of course, this still was to bring many pupils and their teachers, as well as others who joined them, before the court. They included Avdyl Rama (22), university student; Nexhat Balaj (33), teacher; Muse Musa (20), secondary student; Fatmir Jusufi (26), electric welder; Halim Avdullahu (43), a worker at Hidroelektra in Rijeka, and certain others.

When the disorders were over, and the destruction and rage had died down, Ejup Shala, the teacher, called upon his students to shave their heads bare as a sign of solidarity with the demonstrators.

"There is nothing better or finer than to join in demonstrations in which the people of Kosovo demands its rights," Ejup said to a student of his, attempting to persuade him to boycott classes.

After the demonstrations in Urosevac Ejup still had something to say to his students. And he said it, rather ambiguously and enigmatically, but cynically and coarsely.

"This shows that the Albanian has never lacked heroism, but only intelligence...."

In all the towns the demonstrations were usually held after the same pattern between 1000 and 1800 hours, reaching their culmination at about 1300 and 1400 hours (when the first shift of secondary students is leaving school, and those on the second shift just going), and the same slogans were shouted and displayed in a disciplined way. The groups and processions broke everything they came upon. Here is a passage from the judgment against those who organized and participated in the disorders in Glogovac:

"... slogans were shouted ... 'Kosovo a republic,' 'We want our comrades out of jail,' 'Down with the Yugoslav bourgeoisie,' 'We want our school to be named after Skender-beg, not Marshal Tito'.... On the critical day, after it had gone on for 2 hours, Enver Dugolli climbed up on an automobile and read a letter containing the following among other things: 'Brothers and sisters, do not let heroic Drenica down,' 'Down with the Yugoslav criminals,' 'Long live the people's party,' 'Long live Albania' ... and then the secondary students went into the city and started for the railroad station. Their aim was to involve the workers of Feronikl and others working in Glogovac.... When the demonstrators returned to the Marshal Tito CSUO, they set up a photograph of Skender-beg at that place. The demonstrators broke the windows of automobiles, stores and houses in the city. The crowd started for Feronikl and along the way were joined by Sejdi Leku, who encouraged the citizenry, saying: 'Forward, comrades, to defend our children from the Nis police, since they will strangle them.' As they approached Feronikl, the security forces intervened with tear gas...."

The actions of individuals also fit into this general picture:

"The demonstrators halted a truck and disarmed the driver; his pistol was taken by Nezir Krasniqi, who fired it into the air...."

"Haki Istoku ... turned over a Volkswagen, and Shefki Piraku also took part, threw stands at policemen, broke store windows...."

"Ramadan Nika ... called upon the bystanders to oppose the authorities of the secretariat for Internal Affairs...."

And so on. Eleven of them, among them 4 secondary students, 1 university student, 1 machine technician, 1 typist, 1 craftsman (cabinetmaker), 2 farmers and 1 worker, the oldest of whom was 38, were punished by prison sentences from 7 to 11 years.

Once the counterrevolution was halted, it seems to have been extremely important to the leadership of the irredenta in Yugoslavia and in Tirana, which was constantly encouraging continued resistance and open action over the radio, to

show itself as being still capable of making itself heard and proving its presence. Those who were the ringleaders and inspiration were especially interested in having demonstrations take place where all expectations had not been fulfilled with respect to intensity and where they had not occurred at all. Thus in Lipjani, after the demonstrations of schoolchildren organized on 2 April by Ismail Bahtiri (22), a university student, and Agim Bilaca (22), a fourth-year student of secondary targeted education, and Naim Keqiku, a secondary student, 1.5 months after 15 May--when our public did not suppose that such outbreaks were still possible--prepared a new action by the irredenta.

The organizers were altogether new people.

On 15 May 1981 in the evening hours, in the village Muhaxhersi Babusi, in the home of Sabri Lushi (22), a fourth-year student at the CSUO, there was a meeting of Remzi Lushi (21) from the same village, a university student, Halil Ismajli (20), university students, Bislim Ahmeti (20), secondary student, Milaim Dervisholli (19), secondary student, and the minor N. M. to prepare demonstrations for 21 May. The day before they arranged in the meadows near Sitnica who would do what the next day and which streets they would go down. The "organizers" were all secondary students, led by only one university student from the University of Pristina, Remzi Lushi, who was not even the oldest in the group, but a man who came from the nursery.

The case of Kacanik, where the demonstrations and disorders took place only on 5 May, is interesting, though the songs about that town are still sung and heard among the irredentists in the context of Great Albanian visions and with nostalgia.

"Before these demonstrations," Hysen Shurdhani (26), bookkeeper in the Sar enterprise, declared in the court, "the word went around the town: 'Why doesn't Kacanik rise up?'... This was a form of pressure for the young people of Kacanik to make themselves heard."

Hysen Shurdhani admits that when the demonstrations finally occurred, it was he who shouted the slogan: "Whoever doesn't join is a traitor." Incidentally, he is the coach of a basketball team.

He was joined in the docket as an organizer and participant in the demonstrations by Ekrem Kucuku (24), a second-year student at the School of Economics, a basketball player coached by Shurdhani, and a third person in the group, Naser Tusha (23), a university student, also played basketball.

All three say that that day they were thinking only of basketball.

Of a multitude of about 200-250 people, who demonstrated in Kacanik about half an hour, the law enforcement agencies and public prosecutor singled out these three as the most active. They were joined in the docket by the teacher Xhemail Fici (29), Avdullah Callaku, a student at the School of Philosophy (Albanian language and literature), Fatime Sopaj (19), a secondary schoolgirl, and Ramiz Shehu (30), a chauffeur at the Lepenac Lime Plant. The slogans which they carried and shouted were a copy of the slogans launched previously

all over the province. The court did not ascertain who was the key figure and organizer of this delayed event in Kacanik, for which the citizenry and competent authorities were ready and waiting, and they soon put an end to it.

The tentacles of conspiracy and counterrevolutionary action extended even outside the province. Usually the inspiration came from Pristina. To confirm that we will dwell on the case of Fehmi Berisha, whom we have mentioned, that is, on his trail in Debar (SR [Socialist Republic] Macedonia).

The district court in Skopje pronounced verdicts on 4, 5 and 6 January 1982 against Kastriot Haxhirexhi (21), a medical student, Petrit Bomova (22), a student at the School of Philosophy, Bashkim Mashkulli (25), a philosophy student, and Kazim Kormehmeti (22), a student of economics. They were all born in Debar and lived there, but, as is the case with many university students of Albanian nationality, they were studying in Pristina. The group also included Muharrem Dovolani, a student of the School of Natural Sciences and Mathematics, also of Debar.

They were arrested in July 1981 and taken to Skopje.

In Pristina, where they were attending the university, they lived in one room on the third floor, No 50 Aktas Street, where indeed many Pristina students lived. Here they were regularly visited beginning in 1980 by Fehmi Berisha, who worked in a store and was a part-time student from Podujevo, organizer of the trojkas of the "People's Red Front." In December 1980 the group went to a meeting with Berisha in Podujevo, which was also attended by Ramadan Dibrani, an engineer and teacher in the school center. They discussed the creation of trojkas, the bylaws and program of the underground organization which Fehmi had brought them into. These meetings recurred now in Pristina, now in Podujevo, and then Fehmi Berisha would go to visit and instruct them in Debar itself. Berisha would carry illegal literature, and on one occasion he made contact with Naim Hajredinaj, who turned over to Nuharrem Dovolani no less than 100 copies of the newspaper VESNIK SLOBODE [HERALD OF FREEDOM] (of the People's Red Front), and Nuharrem took a part of them to the student Agron Sela and the rest to members of his own group.

All participated in the March and April student demonstrations in Pristina. Though Fehmi Berisha soon went to jail, Agron Sela fled abroad, and Naim Hajredinaj (the Decani contact) began to hide. Kastriot Haxhirexhi, Petrit Bomova, Bashkim Mashkulli seem to have been wavering. In Debar they recruited a group of young men and during May they were thinking about how to organize demonstrations in their native place. On 16 April 1981 they met in the house of Bashkim Mashkulli. In addition to the organizers, this meeting was attended by Nazim Tozlluku, Hysen Spahiu, Bardhyl Kllobocica, Bajram Mehmeti and Rexhep Kormehmeti (all appeared in the court as witnesses). They pretended that they had come to play soccer on a nearby meadow, but then Kastriot Haxhirexhi, Petrit Bomova and Bashkim Mashkulli--as participants in the events in Pristina--submitted some kind of report, analyzed the course and results of demonstrations in Pristina. After that there was a discussion about organizing demonstrations in Debar. This would have caused reverberations and had political significance in SR Macedonia. After the analysis, which showed that

the plan would have a hard time, they concluded that they would give it up after all, since there was no serious prospect of success whatsoever.

The case of Fehmi Berisha--and of his like--vividly shows how people can be gathered together and brought into the irredenta and counterrevolution by just one man. Fehmi Berisha (sentenced to 15 years in prison) left a trail in three towns--Pristina, Podujevo and Debar. His "cadres," his "pupils" (but also victims) revealed in the court how Berisha awakened an unprecedented nationalistic euphoria in them in an astounding way.... In the notes of one of them, Petrit Bomova, found during a search, there is the following passage:

"We will fertilize Kosovo with the bones of the Serbian king."

A man wonders in vain who is this Serbian king, and who is it who wants to murder the young people of Kosovo?

Wherever nationalism speaks, there is neither logic nor the proper relation to reality. A piece of writing by Kazim Kormehmeti, another student of Fehmi Berisha, which he sent to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, contains this passage:

"I hope that this little piece of paper finds you healthy, with open eyes, vigilant, tireless in your revolutionary work. We here who are related to you in ideology (like a family) are fine, as we have never been.... They did not learn history. But the real 99.99 percent truth about Vesterka (Yugoslavia) is that a strange disease prevails in our country, a disease that is modern in 1981, which is developing and which is more dangerous (for it) than cancer. No cure can be found for that disease regardless of what is undertaken.

"Which means that it is today becoming stronger, but tomorrow it could even destroy the stepmother ... strike her in the heart, so that she could not be saved even by specialists from America and Russia, so that she does not die in bed, nor on her two feet.... We will cut off even those two feet which enslave the Albanians, you are well informed there about the illness of our stepmother.... Though she is still alive, we have begun to dig her grave ... but she is large and takes a great deal of time for work (involving the masses), work which is dangerous and in which there are even victims. There is no wedding without meat."

He sent this letter on 9 May 1981 to the address of his aunt Munire Bakalli, 118 Quemal Staf Street in Tirana. Questioned by the judge as to what his motives were in writing this, Kazim Kormehmeti said precisely this:

"I was present, and what I saw in Pristina and heard (the stepmother's--author's note) action toward the demonstrators in the demonstrations I compared to the murdering of high school and university students in Kragujevac during the occupation...."

However suitable and realistic it may seem to us to say that underground organizations and their leadership within the country and abroad were pulling the strings of the counterrevolutionary action in Kosovo, it is certain that even

they were not always able to completely control their followers. Many underground groups came to nothing, as did individuals they were counting on. Many secret contacts and channels were cut off, many passwords became pointless, and key people were discovered. Quite a few things happened which were not foreseen.

This is also revealed by the bizarre episode which follows, one which was referred to in a trial on 15 February of this year, 1982, in the district court in Skopje. The accused Emrush Sailevski (43), a street vendor of magnetic tapes who usually sets up his place of business in front of the "Napredak" bookstore near the taxi stand in Kumanovo, does not resemble a counterrevolutionary. The father of nine children, a man with a severe physical handicap (which was in fact ascertained in the court), he would play his tapes on the street, gather customers, lovers of folk music, without the municipal inspectorates or policemen asking any questions, though he had no permit. It was felt that he was a poor man, short in stature and hunchbacked to boot, with so many children, and so they looked the other way. What is more, the Kumanovo Opstina Assembly had granted him regular monthly welfare of about 3,000 dinars.

Albanians were, of course, in the majority among his customers. Emrush would sell them tapes at 100 dinars, which was not too expensive, but Sailevski made plenty. That is, he managed to buy empty tapes for 30 to 40 dinars, and he himself would tape what he thought would sell well from the radio and television.

However, back somewhere in the latter half of 1979 Latif Fejzullahu, driver of a taxi van, who had bought a tape from him, noted that on the tape, somewhere in the middle, there was music which also mentioned and glorified Enver Hoxha. Gradually, during 1980 and 1981, these selections of songs of Emrush Sailevski contained more and more titles and content broadcast over Radio Tirana. To be sure, the first two or three songs were as a rule local ones, but as the tape went on, one would find on it more and more frequently those other political songs, and at the end irredentist music. It seems that sales were good after the events in Kosovo in March and April 1981; Emrush Sailevski became bolder and began to tape from the broadcasts of Radio Tirana even articles from ZERI I POPULLIT, and he even sold that there on the street in the middle of Kumanovo. At that time, of course, no one yet knew that Emrush Sailevski was in up to his ears, that on one occasion he had even torn up and thrown down Tito's picture, cursing him for not having given Kosovo a republic during his lifetime, and saying that he was to blame for everything that had happened in Kosovo. Sailevski was also dissatisfied with the "passivity" of Albanians in Macedonia.

"You are not like those there in Kosovo. Here you seem to be like women," he said to his subtenant Demir S.

In Emrush Sailevski's apartment law enforcement agencies confiscated seven tapes whose spoken content, translated from Albanian to Macedonian, was presented in court; it revealed--if it can be so put--the presence of an important topic of nationalistic, irredentist folklore, one which is spreading tentatively among the people. The motifs in it are not merely the far-off and

grievous past of the Albanian people and the Finns of the overthrown feudal lords and bourgeoisie, but also the injustices and irresponsible acts of the Rankovic group, which still weighs on the minds of certain people of Albanian nationality.... Here are some fragments from Emrush's tapes which refer to this.

"Rexhep says two or three words to them: Are you listening, brother Albanians, are you listening, my brothers? Let us fight for freedom, let us all fight, to defend our homes, old and young, men and women, on their feet, to fight for our freedom...."

"Now I will sing to you about what happened in 1956 about the persecution carried out by Rankovic and his henchmen. In an attack on all of Kosovo, he carried out a campaign of sinister torture and wracked the people, demanding guns and automatic weapons from those who had them and those who didn't. Our sons were left covered with blood in back alleys...."

"Oh, Rankovic, why have you shamed the Yugoslav people, still more Kosovo and Metohija, why have you left mothers brokenhearted, fathers without sons, sisters without brothers. Tito cries out from his office: Why don't you obey, and why are you torturing the Albanian people in Kosmet, for God's sake! Then one day something else happened: UDBA [State Security Administration] struck a blow with the local police and killed two young heroes, Shaban Sadiku, that young lad.... Oh, Rankovic, let the darkness swallow you up, I would drill holes in you with two drill bits, is that what the party taught you? You were not taught by our party, which was in the fight and gave us the right to build our own home...."

In spite of this awkward and inaccurate translation the passages given--(introductions and lyrics)--the topics and motifs of the music--which Emrush Sailevski was passing on without any particular problem until his arrest, indicate above all what we confront and what we have to face up to.

Emrush Sailevski, the little street vendor, is not important. Those who were his customers are important, and still more important is the fact that they existed and are probably still taking goods of this kind, at least through the underground market.

We should not have illusions and we should not forget that in the thinking of some citizens in Kosovo--not just Albanians, but members of all nationalities and ethnic minorities--a poison of hatred, distrust, suspicion, rage, disappointment, anger and desire for revenge has been poured. The law and order that has been restored does not always mean order in people's thinking. Stories about the gold which was carried from Trepca to Belgrade persist, are woven, and remain alive in various versions and contexts, the assertions about exploitation, about inequality, still persist. This can be read even in the court record.

Adem Misimi (28) of Vitina in SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo says:

"We in Kosovo cannot get married, since we do not have a job.... Albanians from Kosovo are better people than Albanians in Macedonia. They are demanding a republic...."

Mete Selmani (55) from the village Simnica in Gostivar Opstina, a driller in a mine, tells his fellow miners, Macedonians, at his work station in the mine Cajla of the "Silika" Work Organization, on 14 April 1981 "that the Vardar River still stinks with Christians, that their daddy is sitting on the throne, and that the Albanians have no daddy, but even these troubles will pass, and everything that this government has done: 'Our time will also come....'"

However, not for a moment should we overlook that the counterrevolution in Kosovo awakened nationalisms of other stripes and flags which are not wasting a single moment to take advantage of every case of negligence and every occasion that offers.

What happened with the irredenta in Kosovo was involuntarily or, it seems, accurately defined (in a statement that was otherwise of hostile content) by Mehdi Ibrahim (50) from the village Lojane, Kumanovo Opstina, who lives in Skopje and is temporarily unemployed: "Up to now they were followers of Skender-beg, but now they follow Enver Hoxha," he said.

The old Great Albanian obsession, which fed on historical injustices and myths, has assumed a new "Marxist-Leninist" adornment in the "doctrine" and policy of Enver Hoxha, which, of course, has not altered its retrograde essence, its megalomaniac nature, or its baneful effect on the vital interests of the Albanian people.

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