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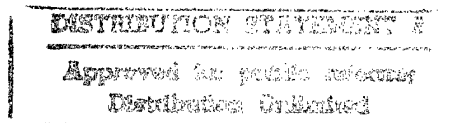
10 May 1983

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2139



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10 May 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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JASZI LETTER TO MANIU RECALLS 1919 PROMISE

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Mar 83 p 19

[Published by and introduction and note by Erzsebet Vezer]

[Text] The relationship of Jaszi with the Little Entente states has always been a subject of debate among our historians. The following letter shows that before all else this relationship served the interests of democracy and the Hungarian minorities.

Oszkar Jaszi to Iuliu Maniu¹

Oberlin, 22 January 1929

Deeply Respected Mr Prime Minister!

I have long felt a need to write this letter, but in the past months I have been buried in work and the state of my health was not satisfactory either. Do not take it amiss if I express late my wish for fortune in that great historical mission, the performance of which you are now called through the trust of the Rumanian nation. God give you strength, endurance and much success for this great work on which depends not only the fate of the Rumanian people but the fate of my people as well, indeed the future of all Central and Eastern Europe.

I would not want to take advantage of your so valuable time in the midst of such occupation. But permit me to recall to you an important episode of our lives which was for you the final liberation of the Rumanian people and for me the tragic collapse of my country. I allude to our talks at Arad when you, in the name of the Rumanian National Committee, courteously but determinedly rejected the peace proposal of the Karolyi government in the direction of a federalized Hungary. At that time you already spoke in the name of a new Great Rumania, but in conclusion you added that that ideal, which lives in my soul concerning a peaceful federation of Danubian nations, animated you also. But until this distant ideal can be realized, you assured me that the Rumanian nation would always and under all circumstances regard the Hungarian minority as a free people with equal rights in all areas of state and cultural life.

Mr Prime Minister! I trust in the seriousness and sincerity of your promise, since you yourself have suffered to the end the cursed policy of nationality oppression, and your clear vision as a statesman tells you that Rumania cannot follow the unfortunate practice of the erstwhile Austro-Hungarian Monarchy if it does not want to come to the fate of this broken entity.

I know that the realization of your promises does not depend entirely on you. I know that your situation has serious foreign and domestic political difficulties. I know that without the complete democratization of the surrounding countries--and primarily of Hungary--which would be a precondition for the stabilization of Rumanian peasant democracy, one cannot produce a final solution in the Danube Basin. But in spite of this, the key to the situation is in your hands to a greater extent than it is in the hands of any other Danubian statesman living today. I hope from my heart that you will use this rare opportunity of history wisely and successfully.

May you be guided above all by the spirit of my immortal friend Endre Ady, who more clearly than any other recognized that the Rumanian and Hungarian peoples are two fraternal peoples whose basic interests are common, perhaps more common than those of the other Danubian peoples.

Mr Prime Minister, with true respect, your old believer,

Oszkar Jaszi

(The original of the letter can be found in the Butler Library of the Columbia University in New York.)

FOOTNOTE

1. Iuliu Maniu (ca. 1873-1951), scion of a Transylvania family, was Rumanian nationality representative in the Hungarian Parliament at the beginning of the century (1906-1910). He was founder of the Rumanian National Party and later actual leader of the Rumanian National Council. In 1918 he was chairman of the Rumanian governing council in Nagyszeben. He was one of the initiators and executors of the unification of Transylvania and Rumania. He was Rumanian prime minister in 1928-1930 and 1932-1933 and chairman of the Peasant Party. In the 1930s he cooperated with the Iron Guard, but in World War II, as a believer in withdrawal and in a Western orientation, he turned against Antonescu. The anti-Hungarian atrocities of the Rumanian troops entering Northern Transylvania after August 1944 attach to the name of the so-called Maniu Guardists. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1947, at which time Jaszi spoke in defense of his life. He died in prison.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

LENART ADDRESSES DISTRICT PARTY MEETINGS

LD170401 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1900 GMT 16 Apr 83

[Text] Today's debates at district and municipal district conferences of the CPCZ and the CPSL have been marked by party exactness, principle-mindedness and responsibility.

At the conference of communists in the district of Trencin, Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee and head of the CPCZ Central Committee delegation to Trencin, made a speech. He stressed the essential need for a more consistent implementation of the CPCZ line toward achieving a high degree of effectiveness and quality. The first steps have convinced us, Comrade Jozef Lenart said, that the party's line is a correct and realistic one and that it can bring about qualitative changes. This is, however, a trend that has only just begun. So far the savings of raw and other types of materials are being achieved mostly through a better mobilization of reserves while the factors of enduring influence, such as new sources in the growth of the national income, have not yet been set into a desirable motion. A more resolute intensification is the prime and quintessential interest of the working people for this corresponds to their desire to live better and their demands for better quality and a wider range of products and services.

The results of the economy in Slovakia for the past 2 years prompt us not to be satisfied with the state of profitability. We must carry out steps with a view of ensuring that in comparable branches, particularly in the economic sectors under the Slovak government's control, profitability comes up to the level attained in leading and good enterprises in the Czech Socialist Republic and in Slovakia, said Comrade Jozef Lenart. This also applies to quality where the growth in the share of first class quality products still does not correspond to the requirements. Party bodies and organizations must devote themselves systematically and specifically to the question of quality. It is essential to get to grips with this cardinal question along the communist line and to endeavor to ensure that we multiply the share of first class quality products in the current five-year plan.

With examples from the districts of Trencin Comrade Jozef Lenart showed that we are capable of achieving an enduring growth in terms of the quality of products. In the Pneumatic Technology Enterprise in Nove Mesto Nad Vahom the share of technologically progressive products trebled during the past 2 years.

The share of first quality products increased remarkably in the Chirana Enterprise in Stara Tura and in the garments works in Trencin. These experiences teach us, Comrade Jozef Lenart stressed, that in the effort to achieve higher quality it is necessary to be more systematic in acquiring knowledge of matters, in having a good knowledge of top products worldwide and a knowledge of developing trends and in possessing a flexible reaction to the given situation. Furthermore, it is necessary for us to proceed more resolutely than in the past along a path of scientific and technological progress. We must not only talk about sciences and technology but we must act with greater initiative in that respect. Our aims in research, development and production must at the same time be linked closer with research institutes and enterprises in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Progress achieved in the Pneumatic Technology Enterprise and other enterprises demonstrates that this is an important prerequisite of success.

In connection with the fulfillment of demanding tasks, Comrade Jozef Lenart stressed the need to more effectively exercise the right of control over economic management and to single out the vanguard role of communists. Communists must fight consistently for the observation of socialist legality, against pilfering, parasitism and other anti-social phenomena, said Jozef Lenart in his speech.

In a discussion at the district conference of the CPSL in Cadca, Peter Colotka, head of a delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, made a speech. On behalf of the party's Central Committee, he thanked the working people of the Cadca district for their initiative and activity displayed in the fulfillment of the demanding tasks set by the 16th party congress. He stressed that their fulfillment envisaged, among other things, a continuation of the existing positive development for reducing the consumption of materials, the annual pace of which has been up to three times faster than in the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Furthermore, it is necessary to intensify and strengthen the process of reproducing fixed assets, external economic relations and an even development on the domestic market.

An important role in this struggle is also being played by ideological work, an activity which must be continually increased, said Peter Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak Premier, at the district conference in Cadca today.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

KEMPNY ADDRESSES MELNIK DISTRICT CONFERENCE

LD162243 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 16 Apr 83

[Text] Delegates at district and municipal conferences of the CPCZ and CPSL have been voicing their reaction in today's debates to the issues brought up in the reports delivered during the morning's proceedings.

CPCZ Central Committee delegation head Josef Kempny spoke during the debate at the party conference for the Melnik district, which took place in Neratovice. He pointed out that the results achieved under the leadership of the party clearly show that the socialist social order ensures the constant and planned development of the national economy, full employment, the growth of democratic rights and the social guarantees of working people. It creates constantly improving conditions for the development of fraternal relations between nations and nationalities, makes cultural values and scientific findings accessible to the broadest masses of the working people and creates all-round favorable conditions for the development and application of the skills of each person.

The results of the social work carried out during the past decades represent fundamental revolutionary changes which have positively influenced the development of the whole of society. Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, went on to note that problems in the national economy which must be tackled, are the result not only of complex external conditions, but of the fact that our society is constantly developing. This development is accompanied by ever-increasing needs and rising quantitative demands which cannot be satisfied through the methods and forms of work used hitherto.

The intensification of the national economy is certainly a very complex and challenging process, Josef Kempny stated. In essence, however, it amounts to nothing more than using our material and financial assets in the most rational way, for example by thinking about the immediate as well as the far-reaching implications of what we are working on, what we are producing, how we build things, what we transport and how we transport it. Let us act as good managers for our enterprises and for our state. What appears to us today as a difficult task represents the way forward to the further and ever more dynamic development of our society.

In this struggle, in which we constantly progress from one small objective to a much larger one, from one straightforward project to a much more difficult one, we will be followed by the generations of the future. We must bear in mind, Comrade Josef Kempny emphasized, that our young people will spend the major part of their creative lives in new and more advanced conditions. Therefore, we must devote exceptional care to their political and specialist training, to overseeing their healthy development and the broadening of their attitudes to the socialist values of society, and we must develop their strengths and skills for the struggle confronting them today.

Not for nothing is it said that the maturity of every society can be assessed by its attitudes to the rising generation. Our young people will have an ever-increasing say in tackling the tasks which now confront our society. The acceleration of scientific and technical development (?represents) the revolutionary aim of the lives of young skilled workers, young agricultural workers and young specialists. [words indistinct] of social life it is necessary to constantly widen the access path of young people to the ever more lofty values of work and life. The objective of all our strivings is a socialist person with a creative, fulfilled, rich and contented life, a person whose fundamental attitudes to life [words indistinct], a person who is proud of his successful socialist society, and who develops harmoniously both physically and spiritually, Comrade Josef Kempny stressed during the debate at the party conference for the Melnik district, which took place in Neratovice.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

KABRHELOVA ADDRESSES PEACE ISSUES AT PARTY CONFERENCE

LD170420 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 16 Apr 83

[Text] At the party district conference in Jablonec nad Nisou, Marie Kabrhelova, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Czechoslovak Union of Women Central Committee, stressed that socialism is today the main guarantor of peace and progress in the world. The stronger and more powerful that socialist society is, the more stable the peace and security of nations will be. She pointed out that our first and foremost duty is to strengthen socialism and the unity and cohesiveness of all the countries of the socialist community, in unity with all progressive and peace-loving forces of the world.

Comrade Marie Kabrhelova spoke about the current complicated international situation, noting that the most reactionary forces of imperialism, primarily the United States, are trying unashamedly and with all the means at their disposal to slow down progressive reforms throughout the world and to halt the advance of socialism. The United States and the North Atlantic pact have whipped up another round in the arms race. Particularly alarming is the fact that a major part of these destructive weapons are in the hands of these imperialist forces which are blatantly propagating such anti-humane policies as the doctrine of so-called limited nuclear war. It is crystal clear, however, that no nuclear war could be confined to a limited one and that there would be no winners or losers but only death and total annihilation.

Without a doubt, continued Comrade Marie Kabrhelova, the year 1983 will be a year which will influence in many respects the development of international relations for years to come. If the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles goes ahead in Western Europe, the fight for peace will take place in much more complicated circumstances. At the beginning of 1983 the socialist countries came out with an active peace initiative. The political declaration adopted at the Prague session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states expresses the peaceful wishes of the nations and bears witness to the active and realistic approach of the socialist countries in tackling the current situation.

The peace proposals and initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have elicited an exceptional response throughout the world. This response will certainly influence positively the worldwide surge of the peace movement. The peace movement today represents the voice of entire nations calling on the ruling circles of those countries which have so far ignored it to finally grant it recognition. The more decisive are their actions for the defense of peace and the more they understand the peace initiatives of the socialist countries, the stronger will become the unity and ability of all peace and antiwar forces to act for the benefit of preserving peace throughout the world, stressed Comrade Marie Kabrhelova at the district conference of the CPCZ in Jablonec nad Nisou.

CSO: 2400/243

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

KAPEK ADDRESSES PRAGUE PARTY MEETING

LD162231 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1800 GMT 16 Apr 83

[Text] Today's discussions at district and municipal district conferences of the CPCZ and the CPSL have been characterized by a critical look at the results of work, sober assessment of the successes achieved and specific indications of problems and the possibilities of resolving them.

The speakers at the municipal district party conference in Prague's Fifth Municipal District included CPCZ Central Committee delegation head Antonin Kapek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chief secretary of the Prague City CPCZ Committee. He recalled that our task in the current stage of the development of socialist society is to discover the still existing reserves, especially in the more flexible adaptation of the production structure to the requirements of both foreign and domestic markets, the implementation of the tasks in the capital investment sector, in raising the intensity of agricultural production and in more effective optimal utilization of all kinds of fuels, energy, metals, raw and other types of materials. It is necessary to proceed everywhere from the premise that the satisfaction of the needs of our people and the entire society depends on the results attained.

The subject of the constant attention of the party bodies and organizations is the work of the national committees, Comrade Antonin Kapek said. This arises from their role in the political system, from the importance of practical tasks which tackle the problems of safeguarding the development of the capital city. The work of the National Committees and its results in individual areas determine the implementation of the conclusions of the 16th Party Congress in Prague's conditions as well as the conclusions of the city conference on ensuring that the needs of the inhabitants be met and satisfied.

Comrade Antonin Kapek went on to speak about the principal functions discharged by the capital. He recalled that municipal road and rail transport services constituted one of the more complicated problems within the sphere of the competence of Prague's national committees in that period, too. With the expansion of the capital and in particular with the growth of housing estates, demands on transport service continued to grow faster than the possibilities of meeting them. The regular operation of the road and rail transport services was badly affected by extensive construction works on roads and railways in the capital city.

We cannot be satisfied with a number of other phenomena, for we have to characterize them even as serious shortcomings, Comrade Antonin Kapek said. Let us take as an example the construction of health service facilities. The fact, for instance, that the pavilion of the clinic for the treatment of burns will be completed this year after 13 years of construction does not show either the construction enterprise in question or the investment body, which is the Prague National Committee, in a good light. On top of that the construction enterprises talk about some kind of a ceremonial commissioning. The Polyclinic in the Northern City of Prague has now been in the process of construction for the past 7 years while at the same time less than half of the budgeted costs has been spent on the investment so far. A similar fate has overtaken other health service facilities in the capital.

The issues of cleanliness and order continue to be a very serious problem in Prague, a state of affairs with which the city party committee is not satisfied, Comrade Kapek went on. The fact is that all criticism, including the criticism leveled by Comrade Lubomir Strougal at the recent meeting of the Federal Assembly, is justifiable. It is, therefore, no coincidence that party bodies in Prague and above all the city CPCZ committee are endeavoring to ensure that all those who are responsible for the organization and maintenance of cleanliness discharge their duties 100 percent, so that Prague is once again clean and so that this is not merely a sporadic action but that order and cleanliness become permanent, and one of the factors which significantly influence the environment of the capital, which has in any case been undermined strongly in certain areas by high, though essential, investment activity, the growing expansion of the motor car and other influences.

We want to have Prague permanently clean, Comrade Antonin Kapek said. This year, moreover, Prague will become a place where various political events will take place. One of them is the World Assembly for Peace and Life and Against Nuclear War, which is to take place here in June. Like working people throughout the republic, the working people and citizens of Prague, too, will prepare themselves actively for this assembly, including contributions to the fund for peace and solidarity. We in Prague bear a special responsibility for ensuring that we shall create for the participants in the assembly not only a good reception and stay, a good political climate, but that Prague will present itself to all delegates by its socialist presence as well as by its historical past and both cleanliness and order are an essential part of that, Comrade Kapek stressed at today's party conference in Prague's Fifth Municipal District.

CSO: 2400/243

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

POLEDNIK ADDRESSES PARDUBICE PARTY MEETING

LD170228 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 16 Apr 83

[Text] Two-day conferences of the CPCZ and CPSL--an important event in the life of our party and the whole of our society--opened today in 62 districts and municipalities of Prague and Bratislava. The sessions are being attended by delegations of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Attending the Pardubice district conference, Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the party Central Committee, above all praised the results achieved by that district in implementing the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress. He pointed out that we are faced today with increasingly difficult tasks. Consequently the party rightly expects us, communists, to work more effectively everywhere, to put into practice more systematically the adopted resolutions, to fight more courageously for party policy and to give full support within party organs and organizations to those who are enterprising and capable of taking on responsibility, to those who are courageous and not afraid of taking risks where the interests of socialism demand it.

Frankness, sincerity and a critical approach are essential parts of the attitude of a communist, noted Comrade Jindrich Polednik. Therefore, he continued, we do not tolerate the practice whereby for one reason or another party members are silent at meetings or else they do not openly express their view. We support the creation of the kind of atmosphere which provides ample opportunity for specific criticism of shortcomings during discussion of all fundamental problems. We support creative discussion which gives rise to concrete results. The deepening of socialist democracy is an inalienable part of the construction of an advanced socialist society. The National Front and its affiliated organizations as well as representative bodies at all levels make up the broad base of this democracy. Today these organizations need to further improve their activity and to rid themselves of formalism. All the elements of our political system need to work conscientiously and very efficiently.

Above all, continued Comrade Jindrich Polednik, we expect communists in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement to participate more actively with the trade unions in the administration and management of social affairs and to approach the fulfillment of the tasks of economic and social development of

the country in a more responsible way for the all-round welfare of our people. It will be to the benefit of young people and society if the socialist Union of Youth continues to grow as the representative of the young generation, and through its broad activity to better meet the interests of its members.

Comrade Jindrich Polednik said that we expect the national committees, in accordance with the conclusions of the Sixth CPCZ Central Committee session, to consolidate the power of the people through their work and to create better conditions for the life of our citizens. Party organs must devote great care primarily to the activities of municipal and local national committees which are closest to the people themselves and which are entrusted with great authority and responsibility for the successful development of villages and towns. Paid services for the population are just as important as supplies to the internal market, continued Comrade Jindrich Polednik.

The first and foremost task of the national committees continues to be a further broadening in the types of services and the network of service outlets and the improving of services available to the public in towns and villages, he said during the debate at the CPCZ district conference in Pardubice.

CSO: 2400/243

KORCAK ADDRESSES KOLIN DISTRICT PARTY CONFERENCE

LD170322 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 16 Apr 83

[Text] Two-day party conferences began today in 62 districts and in the municipal districts of Prague and Bratislava under the slogan "All Strength of the Party and People for Fulfilling the 16th CPCZ Congress Program." The conferences are being attended by delegations of the CPCZ Central Committee. Reports on the activity and speeches in the debates by the delegates involved an objective and demanding assessment of the fulfillment of tasks in the sphere of the internal life of the party as well as of the application of its leading role in ideological education work and in the sphere of the economic policy of the party.

The first day of the district party conferences confirmed that the communists attending the meetings are well aware of the problems of economic and social development, of the needs, room for improvement and shortcomings in the district or municipal district in which they live and work. Therefore, it was with a high degree of responsibility for the social and economic program of building a developed socialist society that the conferences discussed matters of planning and work discipline and of complying with the fulfilling party resolutions. These questions were dealt with in the debate contributions made by the delegations of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Josef Korcak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Premier of the Czech Socialist Republic, led a delegation attending the district conference in Kolin. In his speech he pointed out the importance of the findings of the first half of the Seventh Five-Year Plan for successfully fulfilling the tasks of the following period. Comrade Korcak paid great attention to matters of the work of the national committees. He pointed to measures that had been taken to improve their work. Now it is a question, he said, of learning how to fully and systematically make use of their increased authority and widened scope for the good of individual citizens in the towns and in the whole of our socialist society. This requires that the elected bodies be more demanding in their relations with the national committees and with the enterprises and institutions under their jurisdiction.

Comrade Josef Korcak stated that in the work of national committees it is a fact of life that without more efficient administration, without more accurate and stricter records, without verified or sufficient information, it is impossible to put things in order or to raise discipline. In any case, he said, we cannot put up with abuse and shortcomings, especially when dealing with citizens' affairs. Many things are unnecessarily complicated and could be simplified. One example is the paperwork involved in applications for the construction of a family house. It has already been pointed out that there are a large number of unnecessary regulations in this respect which take up a lot of people's precious time. The public sees in the national committee structure not only administrative employees, but also political workers who ought to be more concerned with the citizens and not deluged with paperwork. Effective management does not mean thinking up, dictating and sending out vast quantities of instructions, but primarily on knowing how to win over and guide people. This, too, is the yardstick of the true implementation of the principles of our socialist democracy, emphasized Comrade Josef Korcak in his speech at the party conference of the Kolin District.

CSO: 2400/243

CPCZ FIGURES ADDRESS MEETINGS ON MALADMINISTRATION

LD162217 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 16 Apr 83

[Text] The debate on reports delivered today at district and municipal district conferences of the CPCZ and the CPSL has demonstrated how party organizations are succeeding in resolving new problems and in struggling against routine, outdated attitudes and a low level of exactingness.

Frantisek Pitra, head of the CPCZ Central Committee delegation, made a speech at the district party conference in Pisek. He stressed that the party demands of its members an ability to take a critical look at the results achieved, an ability not only to see shortcomings and problems but mainly to overcome them actively. It is in the economy that the standard of meeting our requirements as well as the overall sociopolitical climate is determined, Comrade Pitra went on to say. For this reason the development of agriculture and other branches ensuring food for our people have been in the forefront of the activity of the party and state bodies for the past 2 years. He appreciated the fact that the agricultural sector, with the support of the whole of society, successfully overcame the consequences of the bad harvest during the first year of the current 5-year plan and ensured overall, equable supplies of food for our domestic market. We succeeded in creating prerequisites to renew the dynamism of the growth of agricultural production and to achieve relatively good economic results.

As Frantisek Pitra, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, recalled, the overall favorable results still contain quite a lot of as yet untapped reserves. These must be mobilized more rapidly through the high quality of managerial work and people's initiative. An important task is to seek ways of countering the unfavorable impacts of a bad harvest. The first precondition is the creation of essential reserves in fodder stocks. Discipline in the management of fodder is a categorical demand of the current period. We have to draw timely conclusions every time such discipline has been violated. The greater the integration of the agricultural sector within the social division of labor, Comrade Pitra went on to say, the greater the application of scientific and technological progress and the greater its dependence on the necessary inputs from supply branches.

The improved system of management has been in operation in the agricultural sector for over a year. Its contribution to increase the incentive of agricultural enterprises to make a faster use of the existing reserves is indisputable. At the same time however, especially in the sphere of planning and management, all segments of management are ridding themselves only slowly of ingrained administrative methods. There are still considerable reserves in the creation of scope for the reinforcement of the independence and initiative of enterprises as well as their responsibility to the general public. It is highly desirable to step up pressure on the quality of management within individual enterprises, the application of khozraschet [financial accountability method] and the improvement in the quality of material incentives.

In tackling economic tasks we must pay increasing attention to environmental issues. This is an essential part of our efforts to maintain and further improve the quality of living standards. In this area we have, like other industrially advanced countries, no few problems. Their need, however, will grow constantly and thus place increasing demands on a higher formation of resources. Here, too, the demand for a greater technological discipline applies, Comrade Frantisek Pitra stressed in the debate at the district party conference in Pisek.

In a debate at the district party conference in Gottwald CPCZ Central Committee delegation head Mikulas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, made a speech. He devoted a great deal of attention to the tasks of further deepening the leading role of the party. He analyzed the principal aspects of party leadership in labor collectives, which must correspond to the needs for a more distinctive application of the line adopted at the 16th Party Congress. He went on to underline the need for a faster rate of improving the efficiency and quality of all work, all-round expertise and a faster and more effective application of the results of scientific and technological development and the mobilization of all accessible reserves.

Mikulas Beno said that a more flexible adaptation of the structure of production to the requirements of foreign trade as well as those of the domestic market, a faster overcoming of shortcomings in capital investment sector, in raising the intensity of agricultural production and more effective optimal utilization of all kinds of raw material, fuels, energy, metals and other materials, forms the basis of the fulfillment of the party's economic policy. No less attention must be centered on a workers' comprehensive welfare system. In order to secure all these tasks it is essential to see to it that ideological, organizational and action unity of the party is strengthened and deepened at all levels of party work, to see to it that the activity of communists grows further, that the work of party bodies, primary organizations and the entire body of party activists improves, Comrade Mikulas Beno stressed at the party district conference in Gottwald.

CSO: 2400/243

PETTY BOURGEOISIE 'ALIVE, DOING WELL'

AU210828 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 15 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Frantisek Melis: "Combating Anarchonisms"]

[Excerpts] No matter what is said, we all live well, better than our fathers and grandfathers, the unemployed workers and farmers in debt in the times of the bourgeois republic. There are quite a few things that deserve to be criticized, but our standard of living presently is high and our social achievements have no equal in the world. We know that in our country there are still quite a number of persons who kowtow to and admire in a servile manner the glitter of the West and praise, let us say, the American way of life or its quality, although they usually do not know anything about its substance. But even they cannot deny the high degree of the humaneness and the all-round wealth of the socialist way of life.

No, this is not a mandatory lip service to propaganda, these are not odes sung in honor of those whose bread we eat. This is only a realistic glance at the substance and phenomena, at everyday facts in dialectical unity and context. We are not at all trying to talk ourselves into thinking that in our country everything is perfect and ideal. We do not at all deny that precisely our struggle toward this end is full of complexities, problems and shortcomings. Quite a few boulders are on this path of ours. Therefore, it also happens that there is not always the abundance of everything we would need. However, one thing we assert and will not stop asserting: shortcomings and errors do not stem from the socialist system, but are begotten by individuals, by their incorrect conduct at variance with the principles of socialism.

The petty bourgeois lives among us and lives well, because he thinks above all of himself, because all-social interests for him are something to laugh about, to disregard. In the majority of cases he chooses to surround himself with things which, so to speak, show "from far away" that their owner "can afford things."

As we said before: the petty bourgeoisie exist also in the socialist society. They surround themselves with expensive recreational goods, they buy luxury cars and villas for sums that for a normally working person are astronomical.

As long as socialism makes such distortion of criteria possible, they are not against it; they are even willing to support it with words. But they demand that socialism and society cannot afford them a carefree and affluent life, regardless of their contribution and the interests of others.

The private sphere of life in socialism cannot be its sole credo. And despite this it is possible that also around you there are people who have created out of common property private socialism, which they are preventing others from sharing. They behave like chameleons: differently at the place of their work, differently in the family, differently towards superiors and differently towards subordinates. They always manage to turn the coat in time and they kowtow in the right places till their spine is bent to survive comfortably, to safeguard their way of thinking and accumulated material values. They are willing to follow anyone who does not shatter their problem-free life and who does not interfere with their way of thinking and doing things.

Essentially the petty bourgeois acts as a paradise on problems and shortcomings which, understandably, even socialism cannot evade in the process of its construction. While thousands of honest people--under the party leadership--have been expending all their strength and abilities to solve and eliminate them, the petty bourgeois wallows in speculations and unscrupulously acts as a parasite on common accomplishments. Where conditions permit it, he introduces a bad atmosphere and in addition gets indignant about the imperfection of socialism.

Thus, when we admit that the petty bourgeoisie live among us, noting it is not enough. Therefore, the question of what to do about them poses a challenge to them in all their forms. The ideological and mass-political work of the party plays an important and irreplaceable role. It is not enough just to talk about petty bourgeois tendencies. One has to wage a frontal struggle against those ills which constitute fertile soil for spreading the petty bourgeois infection.

CSO: 2400/243

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INDRA, HRUSKOVIC ADDRESS DISTRICT PARTY MEETINGS

LD170302 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2000 GMT 16 Apr 83

[Excerpts] Two-day party conferences started today in 62 districts of our republic and in the municipal districts of Prague and Bratislava.

Speaking at a district party conference in Vsetin, Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly, praised the report submitted by the district party organization and the course of the debate, which correspond fully to existing and growing demands on the work in party bodies. He also said that the economic results of the first 2 years of the current five-year plan and the first quarter of the current year indicate a more favorable development. This confirms both the correctness of our path, as set by the 16th CPCZ Congress, and the fact that we have realistic aims.

However, the desirable turn toward effectiveness and the quality of all work has not yet been brought about in all aspects. For instance, certain negative approaches to the new system of planning persist. In the set measures to improve the planned management of the economy, the issue is not for us to recalculate our work in terms of new indicators while nothing much has otherwise changed. In many cases demands are being made for greater inputs without being clear about the question of how the resulting output will be used. There is no point in expending material, energy and manpower on products for which there is no demand. To raise their technological standard is the principal task of the bodies engaged in preproduction processes. To put an end to the policy of wage uniformity and to reward people who come up with new ideas is the basis of discipline and manpower management.

Comrade Alois Indra went on to reiterate the demand for quality and simultaneously stressed the need for improving the work of controlling bodies in individual enterprises. He also recalled the need for greater shift work and connected with it a greater utilization of production assets. On the successes and reserves in Vsetin district, he showed the delegates the necessity for a thorough analysis which must provide a source of experience and knowledge for future work. Communists must exercise more their right to control. They must strive to ensure order in all sections of work and endeavor to harmonize the set intentions with practical results, said Comrade Alois Indra.

Later in his speech he addressed the need for responsible work among young people, the next generation, which is a basic investment in the future. He pointed to shortcomings in this field. He said that the courage with which young people are given demanding tasks, for instance managerial posts both in party and economic bodies, are an important factor in caring for the future of our society. He singled out the role of the youth organization and indicated the possibilities for further improving its work, especially in primary organizations.

At the conclusion of his speech, he devoted his attention to the current international situation, emphasizing the manifestations of the economic crisis in the capitalist countries which breed unemployment and social conflicts among the broad masses of working people. At the same time it is the source of the growing danger of a military conflict. Comrade Indra also highly praised the peace policy of the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union, which is conducted in the interest of all peace-loving people throughout the world.

At the district party conference in Humenne, Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, stressed that the only path toward an equable development of our economy is the consistent ensuring of comprehensive effectiveness at all levels of management. This orientation is documented by the extensive structural changes within the national economy, changes which are conditioned by lower raw material and energy inputs as well as by the need to more broadly integrate Czechoslovakia into the international socialist system and intensify cooperation with other CEMA countries in specialization and coordination of production. In this connection Comrade Hruskovic praised the successes of the employees of engineering, chemical and agricultural enterprises in the Humenne district, particularly the results achieved by the (?Horlat) enterprise in Snina, in innovating their products and raising their quality.

CSO: 2400/243

'TRIBUNA' LASHES OUT AT PUNK ROCK, SPONSORS IN CSSR

AU301630 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 12, 23 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by Jan Kryzl: "A 'New' Wave With Old Contents"]

[Excerpts] In the last few weeks we have received from our readers a number of letters in which they voice critical opinions about the performances of some professional and amateur musical groups that are exponents of the so-called new wave of rock. Their common denominator is the astonishment, to put it mildly, over the fact that it is possible in our society to offer young people such cultural trash. The words addressed in these letters to the organizers of such concerts, to the agencies granting permits for them and to the sponsors [zrizovatele] of these 'artistic' groups are not exactly flattering.

Because these opinions are not isolated, we will try to take a somewhat more profound look at this problem.

In the sphere of popular music or, as it is also called, pop music, rock is not a new phenomenon. Music buffs know that several rock waves have swept the world in the postwar period. What is not as well-known, especially among the fans of this music genre, is that what is being presented as rock music in our country frequently has nothing in common with its original contents, save for the name. In the process of its formation, rock music had a strong social thrust. It was directed, above all, against mass oppression and the war in Vietnam.

Militant rock--music and lyrics that inspired thousands of boys and girls to join the struggle, albeit only a spontaneous, uncontrolled struggle, against the policy of capitalist states--went against the grain of the ruling class.

The bourgeois manipulators of thought, ideologues and subversive centers quickly realized that rock music--provided that it is given the "right" content (that is, a content that diverts young people away from politics, class struggle and the everyday problems of life)--could become a drug, equivalent in its effect to real drugs. A drug guiding young people toward passivity and a retreat from reality into a dream world and helping to shape a climate of hopelessness.

Rock music has become a big business as well as a means of ideological and cultural subversion aimed not only at young people in the countries of its origin but also in the socialist states. Those who masterminded and organized this process knew very well that the economic crisis of the seventies and the young generations growing discontent with the deepening social oppression under capitalism would revive the old and give rise to new militant songs.

And this was precisely the time when the "new" wave of rock music saw the light of day. Its musical contents and its lyrics were to furnish the "lost" generation of the capitalist world with a philosophy that is epitomized in the slogan "no future." Young people were to conform to the life which capitalism prepared for them. Be indifferent to the life around you, do not go with anyone and be against anything! Nothing has any meaning! This should become the creed of the young generation. The enforcement of this creed was, and is, to be aided by the so-called punk rock, crazy rock or repugnant [previt] rock.

Primitive lyrics combined with primitive music, repulsive clothes, provocative behavior, obscene gestures, rejection of everything normal, dying one's hair green, blue or pink, tatooing swastikas on one's body, painting stripes in various colors on one's face--these are the products of this wave. Products that are not overly aesthetic and often shocking even for the citizens in the capitalist countries but still preferable to the young people's struggle against the society that casts them into misery and hopelessness.

It is no coincidence that the so-called punk rock and the "new" wave of rock were and are being spread also to our republic--through Western radio stations but through other channels as well (for example, by smuggling records and cassettes across the border).

The objective pursued by the subversive centers is twofold--first, to influence our youth directly by means of this musical trash, and second, to provoke under the slogan about a "new" trend in world music the emergence of groups in our country that would produce such music, a music that runs counter to all aesthetic and moral norms. The aim is more than obvious--to administer by means of a deafening noise, monotonous tunes and primitive, often vulgar texts also to our youth the well-tried musical drug, which should also in our country instill in young people's minds the philosophy of "no future" and attitudes, conduct and views that are alien to socialism. Our young people, too, are to be guided by means of this music toward indifference, passivity and resistance to society.

Although only a few dozen mostly young and inexperienced amateur "artists" and groups have succumbed to the "siren song" and to the calls for "world appeal," we cannot be indifferent to the fact that some bands are spreading the so-called punk rock or the "new wave" of rock. The very names (for example, bastards, plaided wrapping, frog's snot, yellow dog, foreign currency allocation and so forth) suggest what sort of "culture" and "art" are involved. It is astonishing that the sponsors of these bands (organizations and cultural establishments of national committees, the revolutionary

trade union movement and the socialist youth union; did not mind these names, which are full of "genius," right when these bands came into being. It is astonishing that they are not objected to by those who invite them to give public concerts and enable them to present their stupid and vulgar (other terms can hardly be used) musical and text masterpieces that offend human feelings before thousands of young people.

How is it possible, under the mast head of cultural events or even concerts, to spread bad taste, to propagate alcohol and drugs, to vulgarize the relationship between boys and girls and to spread views that are absolutely alien to the socialist society? Is it perhaps normal that musicians and singers appear on the stage dressed in ladies' tights (which are their main garment), bare themselves to the waist, have their faces painted with stripes in various colors, tie around themselves chains with locks and so forth?

The quality of the music and the lyrics in no way lags behind the standard of the costumes. Monotonous, repetitious tunes (if that word can be used at all for their multi-decibel sound) are accompanied by lyrics, which--one would suspect--were authored by the inmates of a psychiatric asylum and not by people who consider themselves "artists." Unfortunately, the matter is more complex and serious. The lyrics that look like the product of a sick mind are in reality an expression of nihilism and cynicism, profound lack of cultural standards and ideological attitudes that are absolutely alien to the socialist society. For example, one keeps repeating the "ingenious" words "katya, patya, hatya" [meaningless in Czech or Slovak] (Prague Selection), screams for some 5 minutes "baby, baby, give me a Cadillac" or "hippie hippie, sheik" (Airplane) or the vulgar text "She has a dirty back, does not drink, does not smoke, does not use salt but she likes it" or gives to the songs titles like "Piss Off, You Bum" (Clean Lever), or "Our Lord Is King, His Name Is Heroin" (Bronze).

Unfortunately, the employees of some cultural establishments or agencies and other sponsors of these bands do not realize these facts, or do not want to realize them. Otherwise it would be impossible for the Prague cultural center to sponsor the professional group Prague Selection (and other similar bands) whose concerts (for example, that in Hradec Kralove, about which we have reported) are of an equally dubious quality as those of the aforementioned amateur bands. The enterprise club of the revolutionary trade union movement in the Prague Construction Projects Enterprise, too, could otherwise hardly write about the band Airplane that "...all members of the group, especially the group's head and his deputy, conscientiously fulfill all conditions to which they are committed by the organizational statutes of our establishment..." After all, it was precisely this band which, during a performance in the house of culture in Horice, kept screaming "du bist schwein [German for "you are a pig"], aside from other "niceties." When the organizers called the band's member to order and responsibility, they thundered back at them: "Now we are in charge here and you go and... yourselves." The question of how it is possible that similar forms of "culture" are being produced under their masthead could be put also to other

establishments. For example, to the house of culture in Prague's 8th Borough, the cultural center in the Prague-East District, some clubs run by the socialist youth union and so forth.

Of course, more such questions come to mind. How do the sponsors work with their bands, how do they guide and educate them, how do they influence their repertoire and how do they check on their activities? A similar question can be put to the organizers--do they know whom they invite to give concerts? And when the performance is not in tune with the principles of our cultural policy, do they immediately apply the appropriate sanctions? (For example, by refusing to pay the fee, informing the sponsor about the "quality" of the band, and so forth). The national committees' cultural departments, too, approach the granting of permits for such "cultural" events with considerable leniency--they are content with incomplete application forms, do not check whether that which has been permitted is complied with and so forth. And the organizers even circumvent that which has been permitted. For example, during the concert of the Prague Selection band in Hradec Kralove, the organizer--the local park of culture and repose--did not even list in the application form the group Trifid, which also appeared on stage. Besides, the organizer had a permit for three concerts but arranged four of them. This irresponsible conduct of some "responsible" officials results in the taste of young people being spoiled and in the dissemination of not only ideologically but also morally highly dubious views.

Those who want to appear in public as well as those who make it possible for them (organizers and sponsors) must realize that everyone who may address hundreds and thousands of young people (be it only with music and singing) enjoys great trust. Everyone who appears in public must prove in every respect that he deserves this trust--politically, morally, ethically, through his intelligence and conduct. He who lacks much or everything of that which is necessary to be worthy of this trust has no business being on stage. And those who make possible the public appearances of such "pseudo-artists"--be it out of complacency, indifference or because it is easy to fill the kitty from such "concerts"--must realize that with their activity they grossly violate the principles of socialist cultural policy and consciously or unconsciously serve the goals that are pursued by our class enemy.

To be understood correctly, we are not at all against entertainment, not even against pop music or rock. Music and singing, and that includes popular music, form an integral part of the life of the young generation and an integral part of our culture. However, also popular music and its lyrics must be, above all, good. It should be marked by melodiousness and appealing musical ideas and the lyrics should proceed from the melody of the Czech and Slovak languages. And the contents of such music must not be vulgar, repulsive and must not propagate that which is alien to our society and the life of the overwhelming majority of our young generation.

The "music" to which we have paid attention is neither the dominant nor the determining trend of our popular music. It is a marginal phenomenon but, nevertheless, a phenomenon that must not be overlooked or kept silent about. Our young generation lives under conditions of life and social guarantees and, for the most part, takes an active part in shaping these conditions, in building our society. It has the right to be protected against the poisoning of its minds with that which is only presented as culture or art but which, in reality, is a long, long way from genuine cultural values.

CSO: 2400/243

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

IDEOLOGICAL EXPECTATIONS FROM MUSICAL DRAMAS TO BE LOWERED

Weimar WEIMARER BEITRAEGE in German Vol 29 No 2, Feb 83 (signed to press 18 Nov 82) pp 197-207

[Text of paper by Prof Joachim Herz, Leipzig, delivered to the chief drama consultants of all GDR theaters, Schwerin, 22 September 1982: "Reception of Cultural Heritage in the Musical Theater"]

[Text] Having recklessly accepted the honor of an invitation to address the chief drama consultants of the GDR on the subject of the reception of our cultural heritage in the musical theater, I asked a clever drama consultant to provide me with background material on publications on this subject. Let me assure you that I was overwhelmed by how much we came up with--not heritage, but methods of acquisition. For all this, I consider the ongoing continuity with which we discuss cultural heritage reception to be an advantage. We are searching for practical methods and do not wish to surrender to mere spontaneity. We are well aware of the fact that a goal which we reach today may be insufficient tomorrow and that the theater will come up with unforeseeable discoveries and progress which make our discussion possible.

A discussion of musical drama appears to me to be more practice-oriented than the sometimes more esoteric treatments by some literary theoreticians who include theater production in their discussions. Nevertheless, it is unfortunately a long way from the well-differentiated role analyses of our performing arts colleagues, which consist of mere generalized praise or shoulder shrugging. Not infrequently, the discussion deals merely with the set decoration; the questions of whether it works and what kind of theater is produced within it remain untouched.

The fact that "heritage" is not qualitative but rather that it is primarily selective appears obvious. It is another matter how sadly restricted this selection is and how much more so it threatens to become, especially in the operatic field. How rarely new compositions are looked at, read, discussed, and how wasteful we are with our most recent heritage, with new musical dramatic works we have produced ourselves, by putting them on the shelf immediately after the premiere. The fact that our "heritage" is not merely of national character, but that it includes the creative potential of all countries, must be considered self-evident in view of the universal

language of music. Still, this excludes one species which we would be glad to inherit also, because we are preoccupied with other important things internally: the musical comedy. But we should send our authors to the places where it is produced--it isn't all that far away--because you cannot study it by merely reading about it. A prerequisite for a living heritage is the knowledge of how to perform the inherited music, which means, initially, what it sounded like when it was first conceived. With a few praiseworthy exceptions, our universities unfortunately deal with this area, the so-called performance practice, by transmitting ignorance.

As far as opera is concerned, its share of the heritage in our performance schedules is overwhelming, almost depressing. Why? Who makes us do this? What are we trying to accomplish in this way? We can easily see why opera professionals do not engage in heated controversy which would clean up the heritage, because they might endanger their own livelihood. It is interesting that those peoples--the musicians--talk the least about heritage acquisition who make a living from it, not from day to day, but from one hour to the next.

For the past 100 years, heritage predominates as never before in our history. How did this come about?

The listening habits of the masses have not kept pace with so-called artistic music; technical progress and the pressure for accomplishment have increasingly restricted the opportunity for becoming familiar with unfamiliar works. Even if our authors produce works which could take their rightful place alongside those of the past, this is an obstacle to be overcome. We can be all the more proud of those works which managed to do so and which reached not only the cognoscenti but the general public as well. It is obvious that we do not consider this condition to be an act of God, and it is obviously a fact to be reckoned with. But there is something else behind this. Grand opera isn't dead; it merely suffers from a dearth of opulent, marketable voices. Walter Felsenstein's malicious private remark that his musical stage was a substitute for singers that we do not have was countermanded when the Venetians made a guest appearance on his stage years ago (with an ensemble whose members met in Behrensstrasse for the first time). More recently one could read this in the DRESDNER BEZIRKSBLATT, on the occasion of yet another guest appearance of the Venice troupe: "All the involuntary comedy and theatricality which seems so strange to our own stage tradition were eclipsed by the singers' creative seriousness; they seemed oblivious of their partners, unworried over whether their action was theatrically appropriate or not. They would step up to the footlights and hurl their arias 'con tutta forza' straight at the audience, as in a concern performance. That was grand opera!" That sort of heritage mishmash would appear questionable. Enthusiasm for pure bel canto removed from all stage action is the opposite of badmouthing splendid vocal musicianship which is acoustically correct, not only as to quality of sound but also as to content, expression, dramatic sense, exactly as the composer had envisaged it--except that the play was not performed; the even did not take place. To call this vocal idiocy would not be factual and can be disproven by playing a good record.

But we are asking for the impossible. We want to make music incorporate the truth of the stage, and nothing should prevent us from making the impossible possible. The heritage predominates because it is so good. And we are being told that that heritage makes it incumbent upon our theaters to make new adaptations of the old plays in order to catch the spirit of today. Why do we produce the old operas? Because they give us useful insights into past class struggles? Nobody would seriously state that this is the reason why "The Barber of Seville" and "Il Trovatore" are the cornerstones of our programs. Is it then only because of the pretty music that goes along with it? Yes and no--it is true in a deeper sense, only because the old masters became so fascinated with those stories and with their human connotations that they were able to write that music so engagingly that they still import their electricity to us today. Prior to the music being composed, the moving part of the story lay in the context of human interaction. This makes it even more incumbent upon us not to ignore that fact.

Many moons ago a committee met with the objective of helping the opera "Nabucco" survive on our stages, since the chorus is so popular and Verdi was, after all, "one of ours." A publisher's reader of stage plays joined us and mentioned that in her field she wouldn't dare recommend such a play; but this, she felt, was a matter of the music, which presumably contained the "message." Version number two was approved. What was so effective about this piece that made it into a cult? Was it the way the action was developed? Or wasn't it more likely the atmosphere of liberation, the breaking of chains, a court of world justice, a representation of the risorgimento which the audience knew how to interpret in those days? What do today's audiences do? Another work of that period actually turned into the spark that lit the powder barrel, that actually drove the masses into the streets and triggered not a stage revolution, but a real one "La Muetta de Portici"--it, too, was altered, the end shortened. Did we need an ending which merited our approval? When I applied for a job in Nordhausen, I was charged with adapting the old plays (obviously). What did we want with the old man's curse? It was obviously the voice of conscience (there was some merit in that observation), and the "Merry Wives [of Windsor]" were given an extra one-eighth note to inform the insulting squire that "we are--otherwise--favored by grace"!

All this belongs to the distant past. Why should this be so? (And I am not at all sure that all this involved historical evolution or objective necessity and was appropriate to the developmental status of society, as we are always quick to assert.) Why are we treating the old stories so lightly these days? Have we always found the keys which referred them back to their historic roots and to bring them to the audience's attention not only in the program notes but in the performance as well, by introducing noticeable irony into the play? Or doesn't it bother us any more since its after all only theater? Just as one day we were no longer bothered by tube socks or T-shirts advertising Coca Cola or the Royal Air Force (the latter of questionable taste in a place like Dresden), so long as the youthful wearer is otherwise well behaved?

The insight we have gained is a substantial one. If two people argue on the stage, neither one is necessarily right, neither Danton nor Robespierre, but a third party, the spectator is. Rather than be presented with a mandatory ideal, he should have the pleasure of critical evaluation. One of the key works of our national musical stage, "The Magic Flute," clearly demonstrates the change in approach. Produced by Walter Felsenstein as a theatrical event of history-making proportions (at a time when our critics were still young pioneers), he considered the whole thing to be "in excellent order": the cult, its authority, to which (in his words) everyone had to defer, the blackhearted enemy and the dramaturgy. Where the latter was inadequate, it was changed. Despite my skepticism described above, I tend to agree that at that time this was necessary. We needed something solid to cling to. Gradually, people started to read various things into the play--an upgrading of the adversary forces, an insight into the dialectic interaction of the antagonists, the relative value of the status attained by the enlightened ones. From there on, the road led to ever more doubtful questioning of the justification of the one side and the unjustness of the other, until finally (beyond our borders) the enlightened ones turned into a group of eggheads--eggheads who nevertheless sing the Isis chorus, which defies any kind of rational analysis. And therein lies our problem. The spectator silently sings along with it--even if he has never heard it before.

A curious schism has developed. On the one hand, the words and music are considered untouchable, and even cuts are widely considered to be bad form. But the stage direction is strictly free for all; there must be originality at any cost. I don't consider this to be justifiable in all cases. The author's intentions cannot be unequivocally and totally detected from what he has written. Things that do not appear plausible are not untouchable, and things that are boring today have no justification from the historical standpoint. However, the stage direction sometimes gives the impression that the story performed on the stage tries to separate itself from the story with which the author tried to get his message across. I do not see anything blasphemous in the question of why not come up with a new story in the first place, it is a problem which is no more restricted to our own country as are the clothing fads which we observe here. At times it seems as though "The Emperor's New Clothes" is the most frequently performed piece on our musical stages--a striving to be noticed being the actual objective. And who would admit that he, as a connoisseur, did not gain a deep insight into the nonexistent, creating an experience from the confluence of sound and image?

We are on our way--intermediate positions can be detected--and we are coming across other searchers.

I think we have made a gain when I think of the fun some of our directors have had with many a play which used to be known as deadly serious. This is a manifestation of a lifestyle which easily hurdles many an obstacle, an optimism which doesn't lose sight of the final goal as being attainable. You may not have to go as far as did those colleagues who recently put on the "Ring of the Nibelungs" in 1½ hours, played by three actors, one of

whom spent part of the time at the piano. It certainly wasn't one big joke and was more entertaining than some new interpretations of the original. I don't consider it sacrilegious to make a comedy out of something which at one time was deeply steeped in tragedy--it is certainly more useful that those endlessly gray on gray pieces we see too, showing broken figures staggering into hopelessness. Sometimes of course we oversimplify. The reason Tannhaeuser finds fulfillment, but no satisfaction, is not because the Venusberg is seedy but because his demands are too high. Tension is frequently sacrificed in favor of an aspect which appears to have applicability to the present. The question arises what costume designers would do if there had been no black uniforms in the past thousand years. A few negatively presented bishops' hats, and we have once again struck a blow at the class enemy. We could have saved ourselves more than one catastrophe in our national history if black had always been so utterly black and white as radiantly white.

The argument about what we are doing starts at the basis for our work, the opus itself. In my opinion, we should look for the author's intention; should we find that it could be of use to our audiences, the objective of our efforts should be to bring that intention to life.

In addition, the authors' thoughts during the process of creation and thereafter might be of interest, but not necessarily so. A work of art, if it has any life of its own, is more than the sum of its author's intentions. Even though it appears to be codified in words and musical notes, it leads a life of its own. These works of art come up against different times and personalities which see them in a different light and bring them to life in a different form. Thus the work of art gets loaded down with additional human endeavors, with additional human problems until another era attempts to remove all this in the reckless belief that it is now facing it in its purest form. But inasmuch as it represents a piece of intellectual experience, derived from actual living experience, it will, when revived by people of a different time, reappear in a manner undreamed of by its author. We like to postulate that, beyond these changes in appearance, there must be something like an innermost nucleus which, by way of the work of art, brings us face to face with the author, his creative motivation and his message. And, in fact, if we no longer receive the message or if we consider a different message more appropriate for being formulated, we should let the work of art rest and create a new one. The "work" is not always the fixed entity which we are wont to consider it. Especially in those cases where the authors never tired of producing a mass of variations. Despite what Ernst Krause says, we shouldn't hesitate to enter ourselves into that continuing process of creation *ex post facto*. The very first work of genius in operatic history, Monteverdi's "Orfeo," was emasculated; the man who commissioned it participated in the performance. According to the legend, the maenads were to tear the poet apart, and on the occasion of an aristocrat's wedding at that. A change was demanded and the composer (though shabbily treated by his benefactor) complied: he managed to save the tragic ending, though he had to move it up to the stars. And what are we doing?

The discussion is wide ranging, especially when we talk with our partners, the audience. There is no sign of a demand for us to produce the classics for them, to interpret them for them, to give them what they are entitled. Members of the audience, at least in our talks with them in the theater lobby, tend to want to protect the classics from us. They feel that by reinterpreting them we talk down to them and assure us that the new versions we show them, which relate to the present, they had long since figured out for themselves. And the originators of such audience-directed endeavors are faced with the threatening question of the last king of Saxony: "Are they allowed to do such a thing?"

The subject of discussion is still the assertion that a staging solution appropriate to the play could be produced if only the director would draw straight lines between the fixed points indicated by the author, assuming that somewhere there is, as an end product, a performance which is entirely in consonance with the intentions of the author. A case can be made for the fact that compliance with the author's intentions, i.e., his effect upon a live audience of another time, cannot be identical with literal compliance. But what are we to do if our opinion is no longer that of the author in every respect? We are trying to get across what the real issue is; we want to emphasize the things that concern us--the fact that in so doing we cannot deny our own experience nor disregard intervening history is more difficult to explain. A man like Caspar Neher was blessed with visionary powers when at the premier of "Mahagonny" he projected that bomber squadron which brought a terrible end to the march of the would-be anarchists, which was never even hinted at in either the words or the music.

At times it is appropriate to state that the theater should not have the exclusive task of demonstrating the author's limited view of the world and to depict the unresolved misery of past periods in great detail. What becomes apparent to expert study does not necessarily have an effect on the general public. Nor are the stories transmitted to us in plays to be considered raw material, especially not in the musician's composition of affects, tempo, synchronisms or change of sequence. I am somewhat doubtful as to whether we are at all justified in arguing about the appropriateness of a restaging--appropriate not only to our insight, appropriate not only to the benefit to our audience, but appropriate to the work. Even the non-musical theater has criteria for agreement--the director's inventions must be measured against the action, against the demeanor imposed upon the actors by the dramatic development of the play. It is all the more incumbent upon the musical theater to check the more or less poetic inventions of the producers to see whether they constitute an appropriate counterpoint to those of the composer or whether they damage them. A critic recently used the apt term "tone-deaf musical theater."

Georg Knepler's purposely provocative question "Why don't you make changes in the music too?" also contains, apart from a historic perspective, the question of visual appropriateness. Today's instruments are mostly different from those used originally (and there is regrettably little interest in original instruments, even in deserving cases). Absolute tonal pitch is not the same; as to whether the interpretation is or not, I don't

want to get into an argument with any musical director, but we most certainly hear music differently from the way our forefathers heard it. The Paris avant-garde was crazy about Tannhaeuser. The object of their affection was not the Venusberg--no, it was the arrival of the guests at the Wartburg--marching music which to the ears of today's colleagues sounds not merely Teutonic but downright fascistic and is therefore presented in the colors of black, white and red, with extended-arm greeting and Prussian close-order drill. How historically changeable this point of view is. Still, the question of suitable visual appropriateness should be permitted even though he who asks it would be suspected of being disgracefully redundant. A fairy tale, shown taking place among the rubble of a bombing attack. Rationale: in a fairy tale, there is something wicked, and wickedness leads to rubble.

Music by Mozart

Our task consists of building a bridge between the work and the message contained therein to today's audience. The prerequisite therefore is a continuity of the problems which motivated the author and which we are still experiencing, as well as an attitude on the part of both the creators, the author and the producer, which we commonly refer to as humanistic. Still other prerequisites are an audience and critics who not only go to the theater to find confirmation of their historical and sociological insights and who check on the author as well as the producer to see whether they have reached the same level of enlightenment. This would impair the enjoyment of a performance just as much as would a stubborn insistence on once again finding the exact classic interpretation which one saw long ago and had cherished ever since.

What seems to me to be neglected in many of our stage presentation is historic relevance. This brings me to what today is probably the most widely discussed subject: "Story period--Author's period--Us." It is a subject which is at times arbitrarily emphasized, as if the decision to use one of these three possibilities, or a mixture thereof, would seal the fate of the production and would enable one to pass final judgment on it, depending on one's point of view. "Hamlet in white tie and tails" was at one time a synonym for something contemptible, in our country too! No less mindlessly, today we approve of and defend things as strongly as we condemned them then: Gunther wearing a tuxedo, Faust in a frock coat, and whatever else.

The motto is "bring it closer." Where earlier on there was a sort of air raid warden ideology--Walter Felsenstein was praised to the end of his days for having cleared the junk out of the opera stage--today's buzzword is: drag it off its pedestal! During an audience discussion which continued in the press for many weeks, a Dresden woman asked just how much closer she was supposed to feel to Iphigenia now that the part was being played not in antique costume but in clothes worn during Goethe's time. One is tempted to answer nastily, "Exactly 2,500 years closer, almost the proper distance!" Goethe's legendary period was not Myconos nor were the costumes in accord

with Winckelmann's wishful thinking--it was an allegory, a parable--as it is in every sound play which pretends to take place in foreign countries and in the distant past.

That is why the pros and cons of such a procedure must be carefully considered. I am in a sort of funny position myself, since we are not innocent of what has been conjured up, especially in the interpretation of Wagner. It isn't written anywhere that "The Flying Dutchman" should be placed in any other period than the one in which it was written and composed--still, we were the first who did so in 1961. As for the "Ring of the Nibelungs," a thundering herd is still following in our footsteps, which has partly led to some severe misunderstandings. We did not produce the "Ring" as a story from the 19th Century, but rather as a complete fantasy with protagonists who gave theatrical life to overwhelming forces of the 19th Century, with constellations of conflict which were appropriate for the upheavals and crises of that century, its movements and incipient catastrophes. An equation, its movements and incipient catastrophes. An equation such as "the fable of the Ring of the Nibelungs equals the story of Wagner's times" cannot be resolved for two reasons: 1. because this would have displaced the work of art as an independent, fantastically conceived entity; 2. because Richard Wagner's decisive power of change was not recognized. Wagner has spared us a plump allegory; rather he very subtly used old Norse sagas as a theatrical skeleton for a fantasy which was firmly anchored in his own times.

To produce a play in a present-day setting--that constantly self-renewing adventure--or to violate it by making it into a play taking place in the present? That is the issue with the more radical approach which is used also: anything taking place on our stage is today--to hell with history! The danger of this is that nothing fits together any more. Setting Fidelio in a concentration camp misinforms about concentrations camps and misinforms about Beethoven.

But let us go back to the author's lifetime. The fact that plays, even those that are sung, deal with life, that death and love are meant literally and not only as a pretext for beautiful singing--to make this clear to us is meritorious, in my opinion. Chereau did this in Bayreuth, provoking protests by old-time connoisseurs who yelled, as Hunding killed Siegmund: "Stop it! Enough already!" But I don't think this is a question of costumes. And I am quietly horrified at the thought that I might find the opera garb of 1780-1912 exclusively on our operatic stages, because after all that is the period from which the lion's share of our "heritage" dates.... In my opinion, we should make very sure to what extent the author specifies the characteristics of his own time and to what extent those of the story period, both in his text and staging instructions. Also, what we would gain by transplanting the play's period into the author's own lifetime.

The methodology of a counterparable, i.e., to decode what the author had in mind, has in my opinion proved itself where it was necessary to inform the

public of what it was really all about, things that people like Shaw or Thomas Mann had long since discovered. Or there is a temptation to point out the character of the quotation of the actual story period used by the composer who was born much later and who was otherwise a creature of a much later time. Or we might actually succeed in salvaging things which concern us from being drowned in overly elaborate costuming. To clarify stylistic pertinence can be a goal designed to point the finger at the popular messing up of a worthy subject.

On the other hand, there are stories which so accurately reflect a turning point in history, which show such obvious parallels between the author's choice of a period of great hope and his own that his very choice of image makes it clear what he has in mind. It is up to us to examine and choose carefully the devices which are to establish relevance. We seem to have adopted a procedure by which the original setting is rotated by 45 degrees, bringing a few floodlights into the view of the audience--and immediately we produce a strange, critical aspect.

The parameters of societal interactions, historic pressures and social condition could be of particular importance. How can they play a role if the history is transplanted? I'm not saying that it shouldn't be done at all; I'm talking about the misuse of this device which has assumed epidemic proportions. The uprising in the Netherlands was a big event which the author conjured up before his fellow citizens, who were not in the habit of engaging in uprisings. But for staging purposes, he substituted the Spain of Philip II; and there is something to the remark which is sometimes heard in view of a drama being "brought up to date" that Gretchen's tragedy and the Pill are not easily compatible. Why then modern dress? How, by using it, can societal upheavals be presented in an effective and moving manner? We can tell from the example of Verdi's "Rigoletto" how specific an author can be in regard to the time and location problem: since the censor prohibited the action from taking place at the French royal court and he refused to use vague approximations of time and place, he specifically demanded an absolutist principality of renaissance times, because the story could take place only there and no place else. He was less fortunate with *Un Ballo in Maschera*, where once again the enlightened court of Gustaf III was declared unusable; and while he once again waged a successful struggle against bowdlerization, he ended up with an American colony which seemed somewhat strange, given the patriotism of its population. All this because it was not permitted to show a sovereign bleeding to death. Thus, these two cases present us with two different outcomes.

Appreciation of the producer's cleverness can serve to make an evening in the theater entertaining. But for whose benefit are they producing their play? I am asking this question in the narrowest sense: is it still true that we are addressing an audience which sees the play for the first time, or has our audience become so sophisticated that we can assume that it is already familiar with it, which would permit us to paraphrase the play in the belief that the audience, apart from enjoying the music, would also enjoy the unconventional interpretation, even though it is appropriate neither to the music nor to the story outline?

I have stated in the foregoing what we do not expect our audience to be like. What then are we expecting of it?

We would ask the spectators please not to regard our productions as specific guidelines for the class struggle, which for our fellow citizens in any case has assumed different forms than it did for the Russian proletariat at the time of Semyon Kotko. Nor should they be looking for historically correct representations of past struggles, no matter whether they took place during the author's lifetime or earlier. What we would like to present to them are entertaining examples of human attitudes, human actions, praiseworthy or contemptible, which took place in historic struggles, in a socially conditioned situation which is being analyzed and which should be changed. In the context of the societal situation, no matter whether the characters are individuals or types, whether the author shows subjectivity or objectivity, whether he forces the audience to take sides or whether he shows how difficult it was then and there to take sides--the "then" and "there" on the stage I consider a necessary opposite pole to our "here" and "now." It should serve to avoid confusion--and bring the "here" and "now" into even sharper focus.

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CSO: 2300/194

DISSOLUTION OF MULTINATIONAL HUNGARY DISCUSSED

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Mar 83 pp 15-19

[Article by Andras Siklos: "Oszkar Jaszi and the Dissolution of Multinational Hungary"]

[Text] Repeated opinion in historiography and historical journalism about Oszkar Jaszi, the nationalities minister of the Karolyi government--or about Jaszi's activity in 1918-1919--can be summarized by saying that he was doctrinaire, that his federation plans were naive and anachronistic and that his ideas can be relegated to the realm of utopias. These characteristics are used by nationalist, counterrevolutionary publicists and contemporary historians alike, with the difference that while the former attach negative value judgments to this finding--"monomania," a "dangerous aspiration," "laughable," "serving the enemies of the Hungarians"--the latter, understanding his utopian ideas, discuss them as a "noble and honorable attempt."

Jaszi tried to refute this presentation in his book about the revolutions, although he admitted that his policy "had shown only very little result for the present." "I was not the naive professor and cloistered scholar about whom the Rumanian and other nationality lords laughed up their sleeve," he wrote, and pointed to the realistic nature of his thinking, to its realpolitik essence.¹

How did realpolitik relate to the federation ideas of Jaszi? Obviously in what he unmistakably referred to in the spring of 1918 in his work "The Future of the Monarchy." According to what he said then, "only the internal contacts of the peoples living under the monarchy and in the Balkans" could ensure "free cultural development between the German and Russian grindstones." "The united Danubian states" had to be a federation of peoples "unable to withstand alone against the double pressure of German and the eastern Slavs."²

This conception, fear of the German danger (German imperialism, which for the moment was not on the agenda) and fear of the Russian danger, of revolution, of the socialist revolution (which in the given situation was very much on the agenda), despite the contrasts, represented a common base, a realistic possibility for agreement with the national bourgeoisie, as Jaszi later emphasized as a crucial argument more than once. "Do not overstretch

the threads, because if the Entente continues to conduct its cruel imperialist and selfish nationalist policy then the peace of the world will be made, in the final analysis, not by the generals and diplomats but rather by the soldiers and workers councils of Europe." This was his warning at Arad, in talks with the Rumanian national council.³ Jaszi felt that the danger of revolution, the "terrible social and economic situation" of Central Europe, would not only encourage the national bourgeoisie to agree rather than to sharpen the contradictions but also would force the Entente powers to accept a reorganization of the monarchy against the danger of revolution or, if this were not possible, to ally itself with and defend a federation which would take the place of the monarchy. Some historians correctly point out that there really were federation plans in the concluding phase of the war, and these could be felt later too in Entente circles, following the victory of contrary ideas.⁴

In his study dealing with problems of the monarchy ("Ungarische politische bestrebungen und die Probleme der Monarchie im Zeitalter des Dualismus," ACTA HISTORICA, 1971, 1-2, pp 46-47) Domokos Kosary correctly points out that Entente ideas in this direction constituted the background for Jaszi's plans. "This is why Jaszi refers in his book to, among other things, the study of the Frenchman Joseph Reinach ("Le Probleme des Etats-Unis d'Orient," LA REVUE POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, Jan-Feb 1918), who represented the counterrevolutionary aspirations of French policy."

In the official American explanation attached to the 14 points (October 1918) the commentary attached to Point X dealing with "Austria-Hungary" concludes with the following observation: "The United States unambiguously supports the program of national unity and independence. At the same time it must take a stand for the defense of the national minorities, for the possibility of access to the Adriatic and the Black Sea, and supports the program recommending a southeastern European confederation." ("The Intimate Papers of Colonel House," London, 1928, Vol IV, p 207.)

The popular character of the revolution [October 1918], the mass movement spreading throughout the country and the stormy agitation of passions created a favorable opportunity for agreement with the national bourgeoisie, for the realization of Jaszi's conception.

The Hungarian-Rumanian-Saxon joint declaration signed on 1 November in regard to Transylvania, which took a stand against "destruction of property" and for defense of "internal order" and "security of person and property," clearly shows these tendencies.⁵

It was not without foundation that Jaszi reported on this appeal as a success at the 2 November session of the Council of Ministers, asking authority to call on "the legal authorities to support this spontaneous social action."⁶ A number of concessions were tied in with this appeal (amnesty, release of those interned, an end to the embargo on property, prevention of police abuses, removal of the ban on banned papers), and a significant element was the authorization of national guards and support for the Rumanian National Guard with money and arms.

According to a letter of Laszlo Fenyes, government commissioner for the National Guard, dated 14 January 1919, the Ministry of War had issued 450,000 crowns in December 1917 to pay the Rumanian National Guard of Arad and Arad Megye. (OL K 40, 1919-II, t--202, Hungarian National Guard Government Commission, Ministry of War--government commissioner for Arad City and Arad Varmegye, Budapest, 14 January 1919.)

Lajos Varjassy, government commissioner for Arad, writes in his memoirs, the following about the functioning of the Rumanian National Guard: "Hungarian society looked with great disfavor on the establishment of the Rumanian guards because it was convinced that they served not only the interests of maintaining order but also were preparing in secret to take over the imperium. It must be recognized objectively that the Rumanian guards won outstanding merit in maintaining order. The fact that there were hardly any robberies, or looting in Arad Megye in the period following the revolution can be attributed in no small measure to the leaders of the guard." (Lajos Varjassy, "Count Mihaly Karolyi, Bela Kun, Miklos Horthy," TIMISOARA, 1932, p 23, and in Varjassy, "1918-1919.")

According to the memoirs of Istvan Apathy, president of the Hungarian National Council of Kilozsvar [Clug], the actions of the Hungarian, Rumanian and Saxon National Councils at the beginning of November were "characterized by fraternal cooperation." The members of the Rumanian national councils and their colleagues, insofar as they were state employees earlier, continued to receive their salaries. According to Apathy's data the Kolozsvar army commission paid out in the course of November "into the hand of Captain Kotucz 1.5 million crowns and later another 800,000 crowns for the Olah [Rumanian] National Guard." (Istvan Apathy, "Transylvania After the Fall," UJ MAGYAR SZEMLE, 1920, No 2-3, pp 157, 158.)

Although there was no similar written agreement with the South Slavs and the Slovaks, there was at first cooperation in the Vajdasag [Vojvodina] and the area inhabited by Slovaks also. Here also the oppressors of various nationalities--the Hungarian, South Slav or Slovak leading strata--united in a common front and tried to act with united strength against the popular, worker-peasant agitation (the agitation did not have a national character, or did so apparently to the extent that they were directed against Hungarian public administration, Hungarian landlords or Jewish merchants).

Examining the background of the "anti-Hungarian" mood at a debate session of the People's Study Association (23 February 1919), university professor Rezso Szegedy said the following: "The public administrators committed atrocities, they are hated everywhere. The Hungarian people also will always hate that power which required the people to carry out the law. But in the nationality regions the case was not exactly the same as in the Hungarian regions because the Hungarians hated the administrator as such while in the nationality regions they hated the Hungarian in him, because most could not even speak the language of the people." (Debate session at the National People's Study Association, 23 February 1919, Budapest, 1919, p 29.)

The same analysis can be found, in greater detail and pertaining concretely to the events of 1 November 1919, [as published; 1918 probably intended], in the notes of Marton Wladimir Fajnor, a Slovak politician living in Kassa [Kosice]. Fajnor, who later participated in the talks with Hodza as representative of the Slovak National Council, wrote about the 1 November actions in a report sent to the Kassa Regional Headquarters. (Fajnor had been asked to take action against the threats against the "life and property security" of the Hungarians): "According to my experience, the looting, commotion and general disorder which has taken place in this region thus far was not so much of a national as of a social character. The people have turned against the village clerks, manorial officers, innkeepers and merchants--seeing in them the immediate causes of their troubles. It cannot be denied that there have been a number of abuses, especially in regard to the distribution and handling of food and the payment of war aid. Since those holding these offices in our region claim, without exception, to be Hungarians it appears to outsiders, to the uninitiated, that the movement has an anti Hungarian basis." (OL K, 40, 1918-II, t 370, Dr Marton Wladimir Fajnor, attorney, People's Food Officer--Kassa Region Headquarters, Kassa, 16 November 1918.)

According to a report in TRENCSENI LAPOK, a conference in Trencsen [Trencin] on 6 November by the high sheriff established that in the absence of an armed force it was impossible to put a stop to the "robbery and looting" taking place in the Megye. The high sheriff reported that "he had asked the government for armed aid on several occasions but had not received it" and they recommended that a civil guard be organized. "The administrators, clerks and military people present stated that it would be impossible to carry this through in the region." In this situation Karoly Stur, a Trencsen attorney, submitted that he was inclined to form a Tot [Slovak] National Council "to maintain the security of life and property" and "to ask for the necessary armed force in the name thereof from the Czech Sokolists..." "Those present adopted the proposal of Karoly Stur with enthusiasm and asked him to make the necessary arrangements." The Tot National Council was formed the same day and the delegation assigned to ask armed aid, under the leadership of appeals court judge Antal Bulla, immediately departed for Brunn, to which a telegram had been sent in advance. Czech soldiers (600 men, according to the paper) appeared shortly and marched into Trencsen at 3 in the afternoon on the 10th. ("Tot National, Council," TRENCSENI LAPOK, 10 November 1918).. One can find among the documents of the Ministry of Nationalities the telegram of High Sheriff Laszlo Mednyanszky which he sent to the minister of internal affairs on 5 November. According to this, "a desire is appearing in public circles ever more strongly that a Czech Tot National Council be set up to defend public order and the security of person and property..... We request guidance." (OL K, 40, 1918OVII, t 163.)

A manuscript prepared from original sources about the initial situation in Pecs following the occupation writes that "on 23 November the Pecs National Council had already complained to the Serbian military headquarters about the illegal requisitions. Still, the mayor stressed cooperation, and again in December. Sympathy with the Serbs was evoked in some local leaders because the occupying troops offered protection and gave aid in putting down

political-economic movements. At a meeting of the Megye administrative committee held on 10 December they acknowledged with satisfaction the restoration of order in the wake of the occupation...." (Bela Keri Nagy, "Party and Class Struggles in Pecs (1918-1922)," doctoral dissertation, Budapest, 1980, pp 22-23, manuscript.)

In his memoirs, Jaszi characterizes, not without justice, as hopeful the talks held with Hodza at the end of November, talks which were joined by Slovak leaders, including Mate Dula, chairman of the Slovak National Council: "I could have agreed with the Tot leaders too--at least until the peace talks--if Milan Hodza had not received from Prague, at the last minute, such a definite desavaut."⁷

Nor did agreement with the Rumanians seem entirely hopeless--not even following the unsuccessful Arad talks. At the end of November--according to a report submitted to the Council of Ministers--Maniu looked up Jaszi and "took a substantially more conciliatory stand than at Arad."⁸

The people's law (1918. X) codifying Ruthenian autonomy could be counted as a success and it was greeted enthusiastically by the Ruthenian National Council in Ungvar [Uzhgorod]. ("The National Council of Ruthenians in Hungary, in the name of the Ruthenian people, expresses its thankful greetings and appreciation to the Hungarian nation--express our thanks and adherence to the lord prime minister and his government....")⁹ And a similar people's law (1919. VI) concerned the exercise of self-determination by the German people, which was received with pleasure by the majority of the Germans in Hungary.

Although Jaszi made ever-increasing concessions in the course of talks with the nationality leaders (public administration, cultural autonomy, the canton system, regional autonomy and finally--although with strong reservations--even recognition of the right of secession),¹⁰ it became obvious with the passage of time that an agreement with the national bourgeoisie, with the leading stratum of the nationalities, was hardly possible. In seeking the causes of the rejecting behavior we must point out the following:

1. It was obvious to the national bourgeoisie that mastering the inflamed passions, disarming the people and maintaining order were not possible with bayonets, with force alone. One had to appeal to souls as well, for the national ideal was that which "would carry off the anarchist forces."¹¹ An agreement with the Hungarian leading stratum, with the former oppressors, would have meant a conciliatory gesture in regard to the national idea, a disavowal and rejection of nationalism. Upholding nationalism, the national ideology, first represented not only an antidote to the social demands but also a possibility for broadening the mass base, winning the workers and peasants, stirring up hostility and breaking the unity among workers of different nationalities.

2. It was also obvious that the Budapest government was weak and powerless, its administrative organs were breaking up and it did not have a disciplined

army, a reliable armed force. In regard to force, the problem was not only that by itself it would have been insufficient to solve the problems posed by the revolutionary situation, "to defend the security of person and property," but also that in reality it hardly existed, and if it did it carried out its task badly for the most part."

3. In contrast to the central power, which appeared weak and powerless, the Serbian and Rumanian royal armies--and later, after the arrival of the legionists, the army of the Czech republic also--seemed strong and disciplined and capable of "restoring order." This is why the national bourgeoisie accepted with pleasure, despite their misgivings, the appearance of these troops, and this is why even the Hungarian leading stratum opposed to the revolution regarded them with expectation--as the lesser evil although later they were to be disappointed in their expectations in more than one respect.

After the legionists occupied Pozsony [Bratislava]--on 1 January 1919--Count Jozsef Zichy, retired high sheriff, appearing before the zsupan, declared the divine origin of the new power. "Every power comes from God," he said in his speech of greetings "He will support the new power with all His strength." (Gyula Panajoth-Feher, "The Fateful Hours of Pozsony," VACI KONYV, Vac, 1938, p 222.) Jozsef Pogany also refers to the incident in a speech he gave to the 7 February session of the Budapest Military Council: "The magnates have now become the Czech, Serbian and French leaders. Count Zichy has said that all power comes from God, so he recognizes the supreme authority of Czechoslovak rule." (Jozsef Pogany, "Revolution and Counterrevolution," speech given at the 7 February session of the Budapest Military Council, Budapest, 1919, p 19.)

In the book by Imre Mikes entitled "Transylvania's Path from Hungary to Greater Rumania" (Brasso, 1931) one can find the following journal note by Samu Barabas, the Reformed Church dean of Kolozsvar: "16 December 1919. We had a church meeting participated in by chief steward Karoly Zeyk, the brother-in-law of Istvan Tisza. Shaken in spirit and with an aching heart, I said that the fate of Transylvania was sealed, in a few days we would see Killozsva occupied by the Rumanians. The darkest future and unspeakable suffering await us. Zeyk cut in: 'I say let the Rumanians come!' What terrible blindness! And most, just like this, do not see the threatening fate. I feel that they hate the Kolozsvar National Council, but to await the Rumanians as opposed to this--this is a monstrous sin."

For the national bourgeoisie the presence of the armies of the neighboring countries made possible a double struggle, simultaneous action against the former oppressed and the former oppressors. Class struggle against the demands of the workers and peasants to maintain exploitation. A competitive struggle against the Hungarian leading stratum to supplant and degrade it. It should be noted that although the national bourgeoisie invited and welcomed the incoming soldiers these armies would certainly have entered the areas in question even without this invitation. For Bohemia it was vital that the new state be not Czech but Czechoslovak. In Rumania the serious internal situation, worker agitation and the spectre of a new

peasant revolt urgently demanded the realization of Great Rumania--as a refuge. Without the presence of the Serbian army there could hardly have been Yugoslav unity under Serbian hegemony.

4. The Entente stand influenced to a great extent the development of events in the fall of 1918 and thereafter. Lansing's telegram of 5 November, the Belgrade Agreement, then especially Franchet d'Esperey's note of 3 December and Berthelot's decision of 23 December made it obvious on whose side the Entente stood in regard to the fulfillment of national aspirations and nationalist dreams.¹² It became obvious that the national bourgeoisie, the leading stratum of the new states then developing, could expect the most far-reaching support from this side. Joining Serbia, Bohemia and Rumania meant that in regard to the future those joining would belong not to a defeated country, condemned for the war and burdened with reparations, but to a victorious power recognized as an ally.

5. Finally, the position taken by the national bourgeoisie was also influenced by Hungarian reaction, at first in retreat but later appearing all the more strongly by the flaring up of Hungarian nationalism and by emergence of counterrevolutionary forces in Hungary. Jaszi and the Karolyi government tried to come to an agreement in the name of democracy; the old administration still in place--the army officers, the refugees, the erstwhile leading stratum, set aside but not liquidated--did not want to hear about this. "With their blind and conscienceless agitation the nationalists made the situation of the Karoly government impossible," Jaszi stated later in recalling these months.¹³ While Jaszi was talking in Arad, Urmanczy was massacring the Rumanian peasants in Jozsikafalu. While Varjassy was coming to an agreement with Maniu in Nagyszeben, the Hungarian military was arranging a bloodbath in Arad. The flames of Hungarian nationalism seemed to confirm the opinion the nationality leaders had formed of the new Hungary: "The names have changed, but the system will remain the same."¹⁴

During December it became obvious that the policy followed thus far in regard to the nationalities, the policy of agreement, had failed. At the 28 December session of the Council of Ministers Jaszi openly said, "It is impossible to come to an agreement with the Tots and Rumanians." The new situation demanded a new policy.¹⁵ Several times at the sessions of the Council of Ministers Jaszi had referred unmistakably to resistance, to the possibility of new methods recommended and felt to be possible. On 1 January he submitted his resignation, the Ministry of Nationalities ceased to function and after the formation of the Berinkey government (15 January) Jaszi no longer had a place among the members of the government.

At the 18 December session of the Council of Ministers Kunfi opined that a stand should be taken on ethnographic foundations: "The government should govern a Hungary which will form within the boundaries of an ethnographic unity,... This is a consequence of having lost the war."¹⁶ But Kunfi was alone in taking a realpolitik stand abandoning territorial integrity.

What were the new methods approved by the majority and put on the agenda by the change in the situation? The ideas moved over a broad scale. The possibility of "active resistance" came up, armed resistance against attempts judged to be unjust.

At the December session of the Council of Ministers, arguing against the opinion that "armed resistance was superfluous, that only passive resistance was possible," Jaszi said, "Active resistance is inseparable from passive resistance. However few the occupying troops, they will appear with weapons and then active resistance will be unavoidable." Joining the opinion of Barna Buza ("force must be met with force"), Jaszi recommended that "since the government has not been able to achieve its purpose with the Entente with this policy, it is possible that there will be a government which will gather up an army and defeat the Rumanians and the Tots. Then this government must bear the peril and burden of a new war." (OL K, 27, Records of the Council of Ministers, 18 December 1918))

A "new war," but for the time being there was no army, primarily because the character of the army to be formed from the ruins of the common army had not been clarified. Would the new armed force being organized serve revolution or counterrevolution? With the removal of Festetich, who supported counterrevolutionary plans, and the appointment of the Social Democrat Bohm (19 January), this question seemed to have been decided, but the recruitment of the new "trade union army" proceeded slowly.

At the 18 February session of the Council of Ministers Bohm presented his thinking pertaining to the reorganization of the army--dissolving the present army and organizing a mercenary army by recruiting primarily from among urban workers in the 24-42 year age group, on the basis of documentation and recommendation by the trade unions. Karolyi, accepting this proposal, spoke of the possibility of a "campaign of liberation": "If we cannot do it on the basis of right and truth then we are ready to win back what is vital for us with arms in our hands." On 2 March, during a visit to the Szekely Division at Szatmar, he repeated the same thing: "In case of extreme necessity we will liberate this country with arms." According to the memoirs of Bohm ("In the Fire of Two Revolutions," Vienna, 1923, pp 210-211) in regard to the organizing of the army, "every effort proved in vain.... After 5 weeks of recruiting hardly 5,000 men had applied throughout the country, and we would have needed 70,000."

Exploiting the opposition among the nationalities, support for "partial nationality movements", offered itself as a possibility. The government--on the recommendation of Jaszi--supported, if not officially then by using the special funds, the movement of the eastern Tots, the Council of Eastern Tots, the Vichodnoslvenska Rada, and the "Tot People's Republic" (Slovenska Ludova Republika) created by it on 1 December--although it was questionable how far the strength and influence of this organization extended. The organization of the Szekelys could also count on far-reaching support.¹⁷ In addition to exploiting Czech and Slovak opposition and supporting the independence aspirations of the Slovaks it was possible to exploit the opposition between the Transylvanian and the Old Kingdom Rumanians by

propagating the idea of an independent Transylvania. One could also count on a conflict of interests between the Croats and Serbs and between Serbia and the Vajdasag Serbs.

The external political situation also offered possibilities. The fact that nearly 3 million German-speaking people came under the authority of the new Czechoslovak state offered a pretext for joint action against the Czechoslovaks. It seemed that the Poles also could be drawn into this, because in the question of the Eastern Silesian mining country there was opposition between Czechoslovakia and Poland. An armed struggle broke out for possession of Teschen at the end of January (the 7-day Teschen War, 24-31 January 1919).

The leader of the political department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Count Imre Csaky, spoke openly of an attack on Czechoslovakia before the Austrian ambassador on 24 February. He thought that a concentrated attack against Moravia, in which Hungary and German Suetria would jointly participate on the basis of common interests, might force the Czechs to leave Slovakia. (In a cipher telegram dated 6 March and sent to the ambassador, the answer was that "at present we are not thinking of forceful military action." The Austrian Foreign Ministry was reluctant to accept the adventurous proposal, but Vienna did not rule out debate on the question and agreed to the proposal that there be a secret meeting between Renner and Bauer on the one hand and Karolyi and Garami on the other.)¹⁸

The opposition between Rumania and the Western Ukrainian state seemed exploitable. When the Ukrainian ambassador informed Karolyi at the end of December that the Rumanian army was preparing to occupy the provinces inhabited by the northeastern Ruthenians and that they wanted to oppose this, Jaszi said at the 29 December session of the Council of Ministers that he "would not take it amiss if the Ukrainians occupied this area instead of the Rumanians. If the northern regions are in the hands not only of the Czechs and Rumanians but also of the Poles and Ukrainians this would be a tactical advantage for us."¹⁹ At the 28 February session of the Council of Ministers Garami, reporting on a meeting with Ukrainian delegates, said that the Ukrainians would like to get munitions and would be inclined "to take joint action with us against the Rumanians."²⁰

There was opposition between Rumania and the new Yugoslav state over the question of the Banat. There was an armed struggle with Austria concerning the fate of Karinthia and a struggle, with or without arms, against Italy regarding a whole series of questions. The Karolyi government did not neglect to exploit the latter oppositions either and conducted talks in the interest of building up contacts with the Italians.²¹ Parallel with these efforts, contact with the Holy See was restored. After some vacillation, the Council of Ministers approved on 17 March the transfer of the Vienna nunciature to Budapest.

The successes of Soviet power, the progress of the Red Army in the direction of Galicia in the first months of 1919, put on the agenda the question of a possible rapprochement with Soviet Russia. After the return of Kunfi and

Keri from Switzerland (Kunfi's stay in Bern was due to the socialist congress and Keri's stay was a diplomatic-journalistic mission), Karolyi considered this possibility at the beginning of March. On the basis of information obtained by Kunfi at the Bern congress and in talks following it he drafted a memorandum in which he said, among other things, that "greater attention should be turned, on the one hand, to our relations with the German Austrian state and through it to the German Empire and, on the other hand, to Russia. It is probable that if the internal policy of the states of the Entente does not change radically and the rise of the imperialist, capitalist forces there drive Germany, like German Austria and Hungary, into final destruction, then a Russian-Hungarian-German bloc will form automatically...."²² Buchinger, as a member of the study committee elected in Bern, was preparing to travel to Soviet Russia and asked for a letter of introduction from Bela Kun, still under arrest.²³ The idea of sending Keri to Moscow came up also. The improvement in the situation of the arrested Communist leaders at the end of February, in which some were freed, connected with these ideas.

With the failure to come to an agreement the possibility of influencing the populace in the areas detached or being detached came on the agenda. "We tried to reach the nationality masses, even if their leaders rejected our fraternal hand," Jaszi wrote later in his memoirs. This "reaching" meant an attempt to turn against the occupiers. The special fund of the prime minister's office could be used for this purpose and the "enlightenment work" was not without success. The working people, especially the workers and peasants, reacted positively to propaganda emphasizing social demands and to the agitation undertaken more than once in the name of socialist goals. The conditions were favorable. Hungary--thanks to the revolution--was further ahead than the neighboring states in regard to democracy and social development. Breaking away along with the presence of the Serbian, Rumanian or Czech military, meant a retreat, an undoing of the revolutionary achievements.

Laszlo Racz (Lipot Katz), one of the leaders of the Nagyvarad workers movement, describes in his memoirs how his older brother Bela Katz, who was government commissioner for Nagyvarad and Bihar Megye at the beginning of 1919, urged the landlords to hand over their fields "temporarily" and arranged for landless peasants, the Hungarian and Rumanian poor peasants alike, to use the Church estates (several hundred thousand yokes of field and forest). "When the victorious Rumanian royal army came in, their first act was to drive the peasants from the bishop's forest and fields with arms. As a result of this Rumanian poor village peasantry hated their 'Rumanian brothers, who had come in as liberators' as much as the Hungarian ones did. The Rumanian chauvinist propaganda over the years was in vain.... Even years later peasant delegations arrived in Nagyvarad from the Rumanian villages asking domnu workers' councils, asking us to give them justice and return the bishops' forests and fields taken from them." (Laszlo Racz, "Dust in the Storm," New York, 1965, p 24.) According to the memoirs of Josef Sluka they had elected a revolutionary council in Ruttko on 26 October already. "The council armed the workers and occupied the public buildings, offices and shops.... The rich hid, terrified of the just anger

of the poor people. But the armed workers gave evidence of their maturity and showed that all bloodthirstiness was foreign to them." Sluka describes the initial activity of the council and then writes about what happened following the separation: "One day those empowered by the central committee of the Social Democrat Party set themselves up and presented their letters from the Kramarz government." They wanted us to "give up the authority which we had 'thoughtlessly usurped' in the impetuous days of the turning.... The most important task was to preserve order and tranquility.... We did not resign.... Armed legionnaires came for us and carried some to the clink. The members of the revolutionary workers council were immediately dismissed and many were imprisoned and persecuted." ("We Fought Together," Memoirs, Bratislava, 1960, pp 91-93.)

Dissolving the councils, restricting liberties, lowering wages and salaries, breaking up strikes by force and withdrawing aid were on the agenda in the separated territories. Deprivation of civil rights was coupled with economic troubles (poor supply, lack of food, unemployment) and forced enlistment in the new army. The poor supply and unsatisfactory food situation led to requisitions and "ransoming" and the unemployment was not accompanied by aid to the unemployed.

It was an advantage that for a time the ties to and contacts with the separated areas and those being separated still existed in more than one respect. The Social Democrat Party, the trade unions, the local organizations and groups of the sick fund still operated; the railways still existed more or less; a good part of the administration was in place and for a good time the remaining officials still got pay or aid from Budapest.

On 18 February the Council of Ministers agreed to "continue pay to public employees and state factory workers in Transylvania," noting that most of the representatives had received 3 months of pay in January. At the same session it was decided that the "Northern Hungary police officials and employees" should get "that extra pay representing the difference between what they now receive and that contributed by the Hungarian government." On 14 February, at the suggestion of Garami, the Council of Ministers decided that inasmuch as "employees of the Kassa-Oderberg Railway had been fired for refusing to take an oath to the Czech-Tot state or for actions following from this, the Hungarian state would undertake to guarantee that they be taken care of." (OL K, 27, Council of Ministers records, 14 and 18 February 1918. [As published.])

Exploiting these contacts and the erstwhile organizational frameworks made it possible for the state-supported National Propaganda Committee to continue to conduct its activity in the territories occupied by the Czech and Rumanian military.²⁵

There were significant outbreaks in the separated territories in the first months of the new year (1919)--in Transylvania at the end of January, in Slovakia at the beginning of February and at the end of February and beginning of March in the southern region.

The charge of the Rumanian prime minister Ionel Bratianu in Paris before the Council of Tens that the enemy--i.e., the Hungarian government--was conducting Bolshevik propaganda ("promising to divide up property and eliminate privileges, calling Wilson's policy a capitalist policy and inciting the people to kill officers and eliminate the ruling classes"), adding that as a result of this propaganda there were "100,000 workers on strike" in Transylvania and "the news from there is disturbing,"²⁶ did not cover the facts in regard to the Budapest government. The Karolyi and Berinkey government's stand for social demands was done in the interest of Hungarian nationalist and not "Bolshevist" goals.

At the already cited 18 February session of the Council of Ministers, Karolyi, approving the report pertaining to organizing the army, spoke of the possibility of a "campaign of liberation" and added, "A campaign of liberation will need not only an army but also inspiring ideological motives. Such inspiring motives are full equality of rights, estate reform and a just distribution of property. If the industrial workers are to liberate the oppressed peoples they must be shown that they have behind them a country and a government which has carried out this liberating work at home." (OL K 27, Council of Ministers records, 18 February 1918. [As published].)

At the same time it was in harmony with the facts that the mass movement flaming up in the territories being separated--as in Hungary--was proceeding in the direction of fundamentally socialist goals. In the course of the strikes and other agitation and as a result of them, solidarity developed among workers of various nationalities and it is to this that one can ascribe the fact that these movements were supported by Rumanian, Czech and Serbian socialists--despite the nationalist tendencies and provocations.

If we consider that at the same time the Hungarian propertied classes and their representatives were on the side of the occupiers and sought refuge with them, it can hardly be doubted that these developments served to reduce the mass base of the national bourgeoisie and to clarify the fronts.

On 15 March, in a speech before the soldiers at Csucs, Bohm characterized the situation as follows: "It should be all the same to you whether they are Rumanian boyars or Hungarian counterrevolutionaries, the same force must be used against each.... You should not be angry at the Rumanian people, should not hate the Rumanian people. You should love them, and love the English, French and Czechs too, because the peoples are not each other's enemies. Rather the ruling tyrants are the enemies. The Rumanian boyars want to suffocate the Hungarian revolution, the Czech capitalists want to get the Hungarian mines. The peoples are brothers, and if they drive out their own tyrants the true Rumanian people will come forward and offer a hand to the Hungarians."

It was in this situation that the Republic of Councils was proclaimed in Hungary on 21 March. The nationalities question, with which the bourgeoisie had not prospered by proceeding on the line of nationalism, was a question

the proletarians wanted to solve in the name and spirit of equal rights and internationalism. Following 21 March the nationalities sections of the Communist Party and the Social Democrat Party were combined. A federation of international groups was created under the banner of the goals outlined. The outlines of new socialist states and state formations allied with one another were drawn up. The nuclei of the governments-to-be hid in the sections of the international federation, as became obvious with the creation of the Slovak Republic of Councils.

The overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the non-realization of the hopes for a German and thus a Central European revolution and the failure of Soviet aid to arrive in the summer of 1919 opened the way for the supremacy of counterrevolution. The hope for a proletarian solution to the nationalities problem remained an illusion. With the restoration of capitalism and the victory of reaction the furies of nationalism were loosed anew--surpassing all that had gone before. The united front of Hungarian counterrevolutionaries and non-Hungarian interventionists²⁷--which did exist at the time of the Republic of Councils--broke up. Instead of the peaceful coexistence and an alliance of peoples depending on one another, the competitive struggle flamed up--not without succeeding in bringing in broad masses. Reversing the earlier situation--the new oppressors--wanted to lord it over the erstwhile oppressors--who strove to reverse again the reversed situation. The logic of events, conceived in hatred, led inescapably in the direction of a new war.

FOOTNOTES

1. Oszkar Jaszi, "Hungarian Calvary, Hungarian Resurrection," Vienna, 1920, p 64. (Hereinafter, Jaszi, "Hungarian Calvary.")
2. Oszkar Jaszi, "The Future of the Monarchy; The Fall of Dualism and the United States of the Danube," Budapest 1918, pp 43, 76-77. The book written by Jaszi in the spring of 1918 appeared at the beginning of October.
3. Jaszi, "Hungarian Calvary," p 64. In his memoirs describing the Arad talks ("Recalling My Arad Talks With the Rumanian National Committee," Cluj-Kolozsvar, 1921, p 8) Jaszi writes, "I warned the Rumanian leaders not to overstretch the threads.... I called attention to the grim social and economic situation of Central Europe and warned those present that a spirit of inhumanity and injustice would only strengthen those currents which, destroying the present state frameworks, would subject Europe to a dictatorship of soldiers and workers councils." Arguing with Masaryk, Jaszi also emphasized that "a proper defense against a possible pan-German danger is not to make permanent in this region a spirit of national unrest, irridentism and revanche. The only thing we would achieve in this way is to create here a confused situation in which every possible imperialism could fish with comfort." (VILAG, 5 January 1919.)

4. Zsuzsa L. Nagy, "Collapse and the Search for a Way Out in 1918-1919; Oszkar Jaszi and the Revolutions," KRITIKA, 1978, 5. Zsuzsa Nagy cites the views appearing within the inquiry dealing with the problems of preparing the peace, an inquiry called into being by Wilson, the positions taken by English diplomats and the thinking of French conservative and royalist circles.
5. Andras Siklos, "Hungary 1918-1919; Events, Pictures, Documents," Budapest, 1978, p 175, publishes in facsimile an original copy of the statement. The signatories of the appeal were Janos Hock (chairman of the Hungarian National Council), Tivadar Mihali (representing the Rumanian National Council) and Vilmos Melczer (chairman of the Saxon parliamentary representatives).
6. OL K, 27, Council of Ministers Records, 2 November 1918.
7. Jaszi, "Hungarian Calvary," p 65.
8. OL K, 27, Council of Ministers records, 28 November 1918.
9. OL K, 40, 1918-K. t.--1084. Telegram of Dr Simon Szabo, President, to Mr Karolyi, Prime Minister. Ungvar, 26 December 1918.
10. Looking at the secession--and going beyond his earlier position--Jaszi wrote in December 1918 in the journal POLITIKA, "If one, some or all of the non-Hungarian peoples reject the proposal pertaining to broad home rule, the government does not intend to oppose their secession, presuming that this rejection takes place in a form which is recognized by some international forum as an expression of the popular will...." ("The Basis of Our Nationalities Policy," POLITIKA, December 1918, p 12.)
11. OL K, 40, 1918-IK. t. 677. Anonymous report on conditions in Transylvania, 6 December 1918.
12. According to a telegram sent to Jaszi on 5 November by Lansing, the secretary of state of the United States, the text of which was published by the Hungarian press, "the government of the United States assents to the desires of the Rumanian people within and without the boundaries of the kingdom." The Belgrade agreement signed on 13 November drew a demarcation line through Beszterce, Maros, Szabadka, Baja, Pecs and Drava. This meant the evacuation of the southern part of Transylvania, the Banat, Bacska and part of Baranya Megye and of Croatian Slavonia, to which the Karolyi government made no claim. The 3 December note of Franchet--going beyond the Belgrade convention--ordered the immediate evacuation of Slovakia. According to the 23 December note General Berthelot, chief of the French mission in Bucharest, authorized the supreme headquarters of the Rumanian army to cross the demarcation line and occupy a number of strategic points (nine cities).

13. Oszkar Jaszi, "The Foreign Policy of the Karolyi Government," BECSI MAGYAR UJSAG, 14 May 1922.
14. Varjassy, "1918-1919," p 19. According to Varjassy the Rumanian leaders at Arad spoke this way to him on the occasion of the November talks there. Varjassy describes the events in Arad at the end of December also in connection with the visit to Arad by Berthelot (p 37). The Budapest dailies also reported on Berthelot's visit to Arad and the clashes which followed--"Rumanian-Hungarian Clash in Arad, Four Dead, 15 Wounded," PESTI HIRLAP, 31 December 1918).
15. OL K, 27, Council of Ministers records, 28 December 1918 (4).
16. Ibid, 18 December 1918 (1).
17. At the 28 December session of the Council of Ministers, Jaszi recommended that the government support "the various partial national movements, the movement of the eastern Tots, the action of the Szekelys, if not openly and in an official form, but with sufficient force." In response to his initiative the Council of Ministers stated that the special fund of the office of the Prime Minister should release the money needed for propaganda purposes. (OL K, 27, Council of Ministers records, 28 December 1918.) The Council of Ministers had already issued 100,000 crowns on 17 December on behalf of the Szekelys.
18. BHSt. NPA. K. 880. Liasse Ungarn. Cnobloch, the Austrian ambassador in Budapest, to the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, 24 February 1919, also contains a draft of the answering cypher telegram, 6 March 1919. In his reports of 4 and 7 March Choblock refers to the planned bringing in of the Poles. NPA. Fasc. 900.
19. OL Council of Ministers records, 29 December 1918.
20. Ibid, 28 February 1919.
21. Oszkar Charmant, "After the October Revolution," UJ MAGYAR SZEMLE, 1920, 1, pp 1-8. Charmant, the Viennese ambassador of the Karolyi government, proposed a Hungarian-Rumanian-Italian alliance and under this banner urged a rapprochement to Italy.
22. LEVELTARI KOZLEMENYEK, 1969, p 355, Vera Szekely, "The February 1919 Memorandum of Zsigmond Kunfi Concerning the Foreign Policy Situation of Hungary."
23. Buchinger, "Struggle for Socialism," II, p 67.
24. Oszkar Jaszi, "Why Was a Danube Valley Federation Not Formed?", LATOHATAR, 1953, 2, p 92.
25. On 18 February the Council of Ministers voted 350,000 crowns for the National Propaganda Committee with the provision that 100,000 crowns

of this fund serve the purposes of the Pozsony action. Answering the misgivings of Janos Vass, Bohm states, "It is recognized that they have made many mistakes, but they are doing much good too. The Transylvanian and Northern Hungary movements are the result of their propaganda." OL K, 27, Council of Ministers records, 18 February 1919, pp 7, 44.

26. Hunter David Miller, "My Diary at the Peace Conference of Paris," New York, 1928, Vol XIV, p 175. Records of the meeting of the Council of Tens, 1 February 1918.
27. "Better Olah than Red", was the opinion of the counterrevolutionaries in the days of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Gyorgy Kozma, high sheriff of Zemplen and later of Csongrad and younger brother of Miklos Kozma, president of the MTI and minister of internal affairs in the Gombos government, writes in his memoirs, "On Easter Monday (21 April 1919) I heard the news of the advance of the Rumanian army and the occupation of Vasarosnameny. My plan was ready--I would travel to Beregszasz or Nuiiregyhaza and try to get to the area occupied by the Rumanians. What I most wanted was to get to Beregszasz before the Rumanians marched in and wait for the occupation to take place there. Me feeling was shared by many, 'Better the Olahs, better the Devil himself, than the Reds'." In the course of his memoirs Kozma writes that he finally tried to get to Beregszasz in a horse coach by way of Munkacs with several others—including "the political commissioner for socialization of Bereg Megye." On the way a big black car came up to them and stopped. Out jumped Dr Mozes Simon, chairman of the directory and a Serban memeber of the directory. They told the political commissioner dismounting from the horse coach that "the Rumanians would be in Beregszasz in a few hours, so the organs of the Republic of Councils had abandoned Beregszasz. Mozes Simon had handed over leadership of the varmegye to chief clerk Istvan Kovacs II, and a white flag hung over the megye house." Mozes Simon ordered that the political commissioner not continue his trip toward Beregszasz but rather get in their car and flee with them. Before departing they turned to Kozma and said, "Mr Chief Clerk can go to Beregszasz without fear." (Gyorgy Kozma, "The Struggle and Death of a Varmegye," Szentes, no date, pp 133, 139-140.)

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MADRID PAPER INTERVIEWS ACZEL, SZARKA

PM141539 Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 6 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by J.L. Perez Regueira: "Hungary's Enviably Social Stability Counterbalanced by Total Alignment With USSR"]

[Excerpts] Budapest [no date given]--"It is proven that if elections were to be held under UN supervision Janos Kadar would gain the majority." This is how [Hungarian deputy premier] Gyorgy Aczel described the situation in Hungary during his conversation with me. According to the ideologist of the reform and the head of Hungary's cultural world, the recent incidents with Hungarian dissidents--such as the closure of Laszlo Rajk's "samizdat" store--cannot be classed as an increase in repression. "They are 1 percent, and they admit this themselves. Moreover, in Hungary," Aczel said, "there are only about 100 people who believe that the worse, the better."

More Democracy

"There are laws in our country that can be criticized, but as long as they remain in force it is necessary to live in accordance with them." Aczel was doubtless going too far when he spoke of a kind of terrorist mentality within the opposition.

At a time when economic formulas bordering on capitalist orthodoxy are being introduced everywhere--perhaps the latest instance is the issue of bonds for enterprises and cooperatives, which will be made available to individuals--political freedom is one of the issues yet to be defined. "I believe that our system will provide more democracy, despite the fact that there is only one party. Democracy will be seen every day, not every 4 years," Aczel said. He believes that a form of East-West competitiveness will be established over which system can produce the most and the best and within the greatest freedom, without forgetting each country's specificity, however.

Despite the population's acquiescence to the regime, a result of the privileged economic situation compared to other Eastern bloc countries, the authorities maintain certain repressive mechanisms, such as discrimination in the granting of passports, restrictions on emigration and reprisals against families of illegal emigrants. Similarly, the regime has taken only timid steps to change the party, though a plan to prevent successive reelections is being

examined. While Hungary's domestic policy maintains its own independent criteria, Moscow's voice on foreign policy is loudly amplified in Budapest.

Loyal Commitment

"We would honor our duty as a Warsaw Pact member if there were a need to increase our defense spending." This was the clear-cut comment from Hungary's Karoly Szarka, deputy minister of foreign affairs. "Neither the USSR nor its allies can permit the present arms balance to be disrupted," he added.

According to Aczel, it is "good for us to be a loyal ally because the policy of 'leaps' is harmful." There was a hint of anger on the part of the ideologist of the system--unusual in an extremely cordial person used to dealing with Westerners--when I asked him whether the unconditional alliance with the USSR is the price of economic independence. "We do not purchase our economic independence," he replied: "We say the same in Paris as we do in Moscow."

Yuriy Ndropov's election as the USSR's top leader has strengthened Hungary's international "submission" to Moscow even more, if possible. "It is normal," Szarka said, "for similarity of viewpoints between leaders to promote their friendship," explaining the reason for the new Soviet leader's friendship toward Hungary.

Budapest's entirely unquestionable loyalty to Moscow has emerged clearly over the Polish question and its unconditional backing for Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski. Not to mention its resounding "no" to the Western desire to include observance of trade union plurality in East-West relations via the Madrid CSCE conference. "It is," Szarka said, "simply unacceptable, because it implies a lack of respect for each country's social system."

It is precisely the social system that is beginning to be discussed in Hungary under the impetus of the economic model. Gyorgy Aczel was categorical: "An end must be put to the generalizations about socialism, because there are many solutions: The same applies in the West."

CSO: 3548/368

POZNAN PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Reports Conference Development

Poznan GLOS WIELKOPOLSKI in Polish 27 Dec 82 p 1

[Article by o-sz: "Matters of Nation and People"]

[Text] (Own information) PZPR reports conference in community, town, and neighborhood party organizations have ended. What have been their conclusions? Above all, their main conclusion has been that the party this year has recovered, begun to consolidate internally, and has taken up an ideological and political offensive. At the same time, however, the PZPR is dealing in its daily activity with the most important problems in the lives of working people such as housing construction, agriculture, working conditions, education and culture. In the realm of production, these are problems involving the introduction of economic reform, growth of capacity and improvement of quality. Through creative initiatives and concrete assignments taken up by individual basic party organizations, the party contributes to the gradual solution of these problems and outlines tasks for the future to be done in these areas.

In Poznan Province, two problems dominated outside the mainstream of party internal affairs. At community conferences, agricultural production was concentrated on to a large degree. The numerous activities of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy among others, met with sharp criticism, especially for its "lawmaking activity" making the proper work of the PGR [state farms] difficult and sometimes impossible. In cities, one of the most important problems was housing construction. At neighborhood conferences in Poznan, there was formulated a series of concrete suggestions for the acceleration of work in providing field equipment, increasing the production of building materials, guaranteeing single-family home construction, and using the possibility of gaining extra housing such as is provided by building new floors onto old buildings. If these problems concern economic reform, it must be emphasized that the evaluations made by party departments on the introduction of reforms and the remarks formulated on that basis and transmitted to the KW and KC have been reflected in central decisions leading to corrections in the mechanism of reform.

Assessment of Party Reports Campaign

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 25 Jan 83 p 1

[Article by km: "12 February - Provincial Reports Conference"]

[Text] (Private service) Yesterday, the plenary session of the PZPR Provincial Committee took place in Poznan and was devoted to evaluating the course of the party's report campaign. The plenum, conducted by KW first secretary, Brig Gen Edward Lukasik, accepted material for the PZPR Provincial Reports Conference and also set deadlines for its printing.

Information on the course of the reports campaign in the party organizations and departments of the Poznan Province was presented by the Provincial Committee secretary, Jan Mielcarek. Among other things, he stated that the reports meetings and conferences contributed to the strengthening of ideological, political, and organizational cohesion and the party organization and that they also became an opportunity to evaluate the degree of implementation of the social and economic tasks designated in the resolutions of the Provincial Reports and Elections Conference of 1981.

In the plenary discussion, members of the provincial party departments developed attitudes towards the report project of the PZPR Provincial Committee scheduled to present evaluations to delegates to the PZPR Provincial Reports Conference.

The plenum unanimously ratified the report of the PZPR Provincial Committee, simultaneously setting 12 February 1983 as the date for the PZPR Provincial Reports Conference in Poznan.

In the organizational section, the plenum accepted the theme of plenary sessions of the PZPR Provincial Committee in 1983 and confirmed the roster of the newly-appointed editorial commission of the GAZETA POZNANSKA. Dr (prof hab) Czeslaw Mojsiewicz became chairman of the commission. With regard to Edward Skrzypczak's accepting professional work abroad and in connection with his transfer to a party organization outside of the province, the Provincial Committee plenum has dropped him from the roster of the provincial party authorities.

Executive Board on Party Indoctrination

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 7 Feb 83 p 1

[Text] On Friday, a session of the Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Poznan was held. The board acquainted itself with the realization of accepted suggestions concerning the stabilization of forms and the dynamic development of the political education process. During the discussion, attention was turned to the need for constantly raising the level of marxist-leninist knowledge of party members and candidates, improving the structure

of training work and the efficiency of ideological activity. The Provincial Ideological Education Center has been made responsible for developing new forms and methods of spreading marxist-leninist knowledge.

The Executive Board then acquainted itself with the activity of information centers of factories in the Poznan Province. It was emphasized that factory newsletters and radio selections centers presently make up one of the most effective means of conveying information at places of work and form an essential element of political work. It was recommended that activity be taken up for the purpose of further improving the work of this form of information.

Next, the Executive Board heard information on the state of preparations for the PZPR Provincial Reports Conference.

Discussions on Party Future

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 10 Feb 83 p 3

[Interview with Marian Majchrzak, Ryszard Borda, Adam Janicki, Benon Klosowski, and Jerzy Strozyk by Andrej Luczak: "One Must Always Be Dissatisfied"]

[Text] It is generally acknowledged that an organization's image is created by people, its members, who by their bearing, living up to set standards, authority and work, and also by the lack of these, determine the outward, perceptible image of this organization to outsiders. It is usually said in this context that the organization will be the same as the people that go into it. This places definite responsibilities before them and often successfully raises the roofbeam of organizational demands.

The view that it is people that set the image of their social organization is undoubtedly correct, because nothing in the sphere of social relations takes place without their taking a part, whether consciously or not, but always as participants.

However, let us turn our point of view, perhaps in somewhat of a contradictory manner, to formulating the thesis that people are also the same as the organization to which they belong, for as a rule the organization has a certain achievement, authority, reputation, social importance, attraction, or going beyond the previous understanding, a lack of these attributes. All of these do have an influence on the personality and social self-awareness of the organization's members.

Active participation and creation of social value does not occur only in the organization's relation of superiority to its members. People have the right, and in their social organization, the obligation as well, to wonder, to disagree, and to have different opinions and demands. Only such attitudes make possible the constructive building of the organization's authority and only active attitudes enable the formulation of expectations and tasks.

Members of the party organization at the Poznan Railway Rolling Stock Repair Plant share their thoughts on this subject. They are: Marian Majchrzak, director of the power division, Ryszard Borda, keeper, Adam Janicki, foreman of spring production, Benon Kloskowski, senior director of mechanical treatment and Jerzy Strozyk, deputy chief quality control specialist.

A. Janicki: What do we expect from the party? That's a loaded question. We know what is expected of us. I dare say that we expect the same thing from the organization, and it is people that make the organization.

M. Majchrzak: To put it in concrete terms: we expect idealism, activeness of all of its elements, and action that will quickly lead us out of the crisis. The party must always accentuate what its historical lineage is, what goals it has and the social power to realize them. It must also never, and this is my particular expectation, camouflage its actions, and must be open to and for society. Everyone should know what is being done, why, and who is responsible for that. Openness of activity is very important.

B. Kloskowski: The strength of the organization is the sum of the activity of all of its members and for its own good, it has to effectively eliminate superficial and incompetent people. Leading the nation out of the crisis is the most important thing. If it is to simplify this, the party must itself be strong and pure. Only such a party will have an influence on the attitudes of people and especially of youth. It must attain trust by its actions, rather than by declarations. The issue will be supplying the market. It cannot indifferently pass by the sufferings of the people. It must give examples from above, bring its influence to bear on the environment and solve life's problems.

J. Strozyk: I expect for the party to likewise consult with the trade unions on all actions that are important to the people. A dialogue is necessary with the unions and the entire working class--broad social consultation and discussion. The party organizations must play an important role in worker autonomy and in PRON.

B. Kloskowski: I expect that the party, which has good propositions, manifest that they are real, but that their realization depends on people--all people of whom demands must be made, but at the same time to give them the same right. Therefore, the cross-section of authority should likewise take into account the participation of workers in their rosters. This will create the broad possibility of quickly gathering the authentic opinions of the work force and of creating spirited discussion. We expect good faith, to be looked straight in the eye, representation of the interests of all people and having their opinions counted. The party should be closer to the people.

M. Majchrzak: The party must take care not to create the type of leaders that only learn from mistakes. Mistakes become so much a natural part of things that anything done correctly becomes an event and great success. The matter doesn't rest with just this. We have to avoid mistakes and not make idols of our leaders. At one time, "party, people, and Gomułka" was cried out, as in the 70's. It is not known today whether we ourselves contributed to their mistakes with this attitude.

A. Janicki: We often say "they." What does this mean? I would say that we, to a large degree, create them. We have to eliminate that word and replace it with "we." Everyone must feel responsible for the fortunes of the nation and has to create mechanisms both of control and of personal responsibility out of which collective duty can be formed.

B. Kloskowski: In ten or twenty years, we must have the satisfaction that the conclusions of September 1980 have born fruit. There can be no return. In ten years, we cannot find out that what we are now doing was a mistake.

J. Strozyk: The party lost in 1981, but wasn't crushed. In 1982, it won, but the enemy hasn't been crushed. We still have a lot of work to do on the unity and cognition of our people. It's true enough that there are fewer of them, but those who stayed in the party are devoted and ready to work. The issue of standards and authorities is very important. We have to point them out to rouse people and inspire them. Many of them lack faith and have a bad taste in their mouths. We should begin with them, sometimes striking upon the customary simple argument that not everything the party does is bad. It is possible to break through to people by bringing up and doing something about serious social problems such as pay, autonomy, housing and trade unions. This has to be done in open elections. I expect for the party to open itself up to people, all people, for it must remember that the large majority is nonpartisan.

A. Janicki: I am in the third generation of workers in this plant. I was born 400 meters from there and it is my second home. Both of my grandfathers have worked there as well as my father. I work there and my son is now studying at the plant school. What hurts me the most now, however, is that the young people today are different than before, but perhaps not only people like we old ones would want... My son doesn't belong to any organization. When I ask him why, he asks me if I want for him to be laughed at. I understand him. Today, many attitudes have been devaluated, and sometimes it befits one to be on the "no" side, because such is the pressure from the environment. Does it have to be like that the whole time, though? I expect the party and not only the party to place greater stress on the civic behavior of youth. Many youth are stumbling along, lost in our present reality. We have to do everything so that the resolutions of the Ninth Plenum will be carried out and deepened. We must preserve the continuity of ideals through the generations. Those who are coming of age in their own social nothingness and lack of commitment will later do nothing good. For that reason, the education of youth, and in respect for the working classes, is so important.

R. Borda: It is often said: youth extracts, we have to help youth. I agree, that is our duty, but duty has to be paired with demands. There has created for young people a chance to start out, perhaps a small one, but a chance all the same. I'm thinking about the credits for young married couples. It cannot, however, be the sort of credit for them to buy color televisions or expensive carpets. This money has been worked out with much difficulty and we must develop the awareness among young people that they shouldn't live beyond their means. Maybe I put that poorly--they cannot live beyond their means! We have to shape their awareness so that they understand that life is

easier and simpler only under one condition--that they honestly work at it. Therefore, we have to create for youth the possibility of acting, but prudently and constructively.

B. Kloskowski: That is true, I have already come across an absurd opinion of some older people--we didn't have it so good. True, but the world goes on and we can't criticize its achievements just because we didn't have a part in them. This is the wisdom of living, after all. Vigilance must be kept, however, on social justice, and I expect that from the party. That means distribution according to your share of work and abilities. There may not be such divergences where some agent, for his monthly activity, "buys" me, my entire family, and all that we have earned for ourselves over 20 years.

J. Strozyk: The key to getting out of this crisis is in the economy. Everyone, including the party, must understand that and act in that direction.

R. Borda: As we are already talking about everything, I want to say that we will not find a way out of this hole as long as we don't build up good faith among party nonmembers, too.

A. Janicki: We expect more dialogue with all social forces and respect for national traditions from our cultural past. It seems to me, however, that in our wishes we went a little too far. It would be good if they were fulfilled but we have to be realistic and make the foundations upon which an influence can be immediately be made. Success if made step by step.

R. Borda: We have to start with solving the small problems that consequently form the general picture.

M. Majchrzak: I expect for my plant's party organization to continue keeping the bond it has had with the workforce up to now and not become inebriated with step-by-step achievements but continually be working for a social understanding. To put it briefly, I expect for it to become coauthor of peaceful, normal living, to which we have a right.

J. Strozyk: I think that much attention must be attached to typically organizational activities such as upholding the discipline of the charter rules and watching over the purity of the organization, so that membership in it would be brought about by healthy motives and not by conjuncture or a lack of it. The party organization must get through to the broad masses of workers quickly and accurately, keep a hand on the pulse of the plant's life and participate more broadly in it.

M. Majchrzak: We expect for all of the information about the organization's work and widely understood life to reach us quickly. Much is gained by this as we do not want to hear about our own affairs from others.

We have to return to propagating the good work of people with moral and professional authority. Such a person must have certain gains for his good qualities, though, and that must be openly said. Only these people will be imitated, because you cannot enchant people into thinking that they live for ideals alone. The epoch of the Pstrowskis has passed.

B. Kloskowski: All achievements cannot be attributed to the party. Winners must always be acknowledged wherever they are. Everyone must be seen, party members or not: everyone who wants to build a strong Poland. We must also always be dissatisfied and have the conviction that we can do better.

Gen Edward Lukasik on Conference

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 11 Feb 83 p 3

[Interview with Brig Gen Edward Lukasik by Kazimierz Marcinkowski: "Patient Winning of Social Support"]

[Text] [Question] We are talking the day before the provincial conference, which is reviewing the achievements and shortcomings of the Poznan party organization since the Ninth Congress of the PZPR. You represented the organization as a delegate to the Ninth Congress, however as first secretary of the Provincial Committee you stood at the head of the organization some time after the congress and the program part of the Provincial Reports-Election Conference...

[Answer] The mandate of trust bestowed upon me by members of our provincial party organization, especially in the complicated social and political situation of 1981, I regard above all as an expression of the positive relationship to the armed forces. I cannot hide the fact that this also gave me personal satisfaction, all the more so, as that was the fourth party congress in a row in which I have had the honor to participate. However, neither then nor later did I think that I would be functioning as first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee. This sort of proposition was, after all, connected with essential changes in my professional life.

[Question] To say, however, that party and political work was not something foreign to you would seem to be too small...

[Answer] In the army, I filled a number of chosen functions directing party and political work in various levels of the armed forces, including the air force. The change over itself to work in the provincial party departments occurred in a specific enough situation that was not free from the emotions caused by the change to the post of first secretary of the Provincial Committee. My first steps in that post were thus directed to various social and industrial areas, in town and in the country. This was so that I could learn what sort of atmosphere dominated in these places and especially the problems that were being lived with. This gave me the most contact with party organizations, their departments and aktiv. I found advice flowing from the collective wisdom of the party, most of all from its working class members. That was and still is an unusually valuable aid in realizing basic tasks. Along with the provincial party department, I feel obligated by that and especially by the direction of the process of strengthening the party and continuing the program of the Ninth PZPR Congress as well as the resolution of the Provincial Reports-Elections Conference.

[Question] We are already undergoing cadre changes. In the Poznan Province these were radical changes, both in the elected organs of the party and in its regular cadre. Viewing these changes after a year and a half, how can we evaluate their course and effects?

[Answer] Cadre changes and rotation of the party apparatus should both be a most completely normal phenomenon. Past stagnation in this area caused well-known negative results. In the stormy days of the post-September period, cadre changes were to many people a panaceum for correcting the whole situation. People felt that the more radical the change, the better. These changes were sometimes made in an altogether automatic way. They were, in our provincial party organization, also very deep. This had its good sides and its weaker ones. A positive side of these changes was that into the company of the party organization and aktiv entered people with a fresh way of looking at things, often full of initiative and willingness to act. Often enough, however, they had insufficient experience in political and were lacking in ideological knowledge. Time for making up for these shortcomings was not provided for, as the party was occupied in a political struggle on a scale for which it wasn't prepared. After all, in the 1970's, the theme of the moral and political unity of the people was in force. That was a falsification of the essence of class struggle. Some of the new members of the aktiv have not met the demands. They have withdrawn or have had to leave the party. Others took their places. As you can see, the process of cadre changes has taken on a character of permanence and naturalness. The administration of the provincial party department places great importance on the cadre policy, knowing that the effectiveness of not only the party's function depends on the cadre selection, but many areas of social and economic life as well.

[Question] During the time about which we are talking, not only the aktiv changed, The whole party was transformed, its ideological face, basic organization roster...

[Answer] The process of change in direction has left the same party, but not completely the same. The change still continues. This is an irreversible process. After September 1980, complex changes occurred in our party and in our provincial party organization. It's hard to describe them in a few sentences. The stratifying mistakes in the policy of the previous party leadership caused justifiable protest by the working class and social and political turmoil. This was also reflected in the situation in the party. Many party members lost their ideological orientation, fell into a mood of bitterness and frustration and lost the will to act. At the same time, attacks by politically hostile forces grew in strength. These forces, taking advantage of the confusion in the party, advanced to overwhelm the authorities. This became apparent especially after the Ninth Congress, which on one hand brought the hope of gradual improvement in the situation, and on the other hand, caused an immediate sharp counterattack by the political enemy, who understood the potential of ideas accumulated within the congresses resolutions. These phenomena occurred to a lesser extent in our province, whose population has deeply-rooted standards of rational behavior.

[Question] Not all party members withstood that pressure, that growing psychological pressure.

[Answer] The result was resignation from the party, dictated by various motives which were at times very individual ones. Today there are 15.5-percent fewer of us in the provincial party organization, but that doesn't mean that we are weaker as a party. Those who remained with the party through the most difficult period and acquired experience and fortitude together with the party are creating new quality in the party.

[Question] The barrier against destructive processes in the party and state turned out to be martial law. At the same time, martial law created the conditions for consolidation and renewal of the party ranks. A review of the actual state of spirit and ability to act of the basic party organization and first degree departments was just finished by the reports campaign.

[Answer] The reports campaign clearly pointed out the symptoms of the party's return to health. Intelligent and constructive discussion at many meetings and reports conferences has confirmed this. This manifests itself likewise in the growing role of basic party organizations, which by dealing with the most pressing problems connected with life and work in their districts, are slowly gaining acceptance and social backing. I would, however, like to express an important reservation: the gradual normalization of party life has nothing in common with the regression to the old, discredited methods of action from before September 1980. If we talk about a return, we mean only a return to the leninist style of party work, to sincerely observed principles of centralism and democracy within the party, and the party's role as servant to the working people.

[Question] Returning to that will not be easy...

[Answer] Of course not. The degree of distrust and reserve toward the party's actions is still considerable. However, the reports campaign has shown that with almost every day that passes, the party becomes more capable, not only in its role as leader of the state, but also as the leader of society. Here we must stress the fact that, to a fundamental degree, the strength of the party and its ability to lead depend above all on its basic elements. We still have a considerable number of weak and inactive basic party organizations. This has not been straightened out. Now more than ever, we must demand that all party organizations take an active position on the affairs and views disturbing working people.

[Question] One of the standards of change in the party is the change in its roster. You were recalling the withdrawals...

[Answer] At this time, withdrawals from the party are not reaching a level which can be considered normal. We are gradually accepting new members as well, but are however increasing the demands of our criteria for admission. Whoever now enters the party may not count on privileges, but only on taking increased responsibilities. This can also be called a fuller life. People apply to the party from all walks of life, although I won't hide the fact that

it matters most to us for the workers to come forth. After all, this is a workers' party most of all and has been called throughout its history to serving the working class. The serving role, constant presence among working people, and sensitivity to their concerns and problems set the style and character of our party activity. That sets the conditions for wide public acceptance of the party's program.

[Question] All the more so, as socialism is built not only by party members.

[Answer] That is an elementary truth that our departments and party members must remember everyday. They must remember that the party draws its strength from transforming life with support of its aims mainly from working people. That is not a simple matter. There is no popular decision bringing quick improvements in the situation of the life of the party or the state. What there is, is patient persuasion and seeking of trust and good faith by rigorous observance of the principles of social justice and ruthless struggle against all of the misdeeds that spread to the subsoil of the crisis. Trust and faith are also gained by building a front for understanding. I would like to emphasize that a growing influence on the stabilization of life in our province is exerted by a developing movement that has been started by the creation of citizens' committees for national salvation, now called PRON. We expect to see similar results in the activity of the new trade unions and the various forms of social autonomy.

[Question] Sir, the assumption of the function of first secretary of the provincial party committee is something more than changing a uniform for a civilian suit. I suspect that it is easier to function in the army, where a specific "cult" of command and higher order reigns than in an elective post.

[Answer] To all appearances that is so. Order is important in the army, but it isn't the only trump in leadership or command. I have to remind you that the Polish Peoples' Army is a new type of army. A series of agencies and institutions with a distinctly democratic character are active there: collegial organs, advisory bodies, political organizations, and social organizations. Maybe their activity is not very visible outwardly, but in the army, they play an important role in the course of leadership and command. In other words, returning to the beginning of our conversation, the direction of party work and political work in the army is not at all so very different from working as the secretary of the provincial department as it might seem at first.

Reports-Programs Conference Delegates' Views

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 12-13 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by tab: "PZPR Provincial Reports-Programs Conference Convenes in Poznan Today"]

[Text] The PZPR Provincial Reports-Programs Conference is convening in Poznan today. In accordance with party statute, the participants are the same comrades that were delegates to the Provincial Reports-Elections Conference almost a year and

a half ago. They are now coming together again in the name of almost 100,000 party members in the Poznan region to evaluate PZPR activity in the region. During the sessions, reports by the PZPR Provincial Committee, provincial revisional committee and the provincial party control committee will be presented. The delegates will evaluate the recent period's achievements in realization of the resolutions made by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress and the Provincial Reports-Elections Conference and will express their views on the subject of implementing resolutions made earlier. Themes of the sessions will be the most important issues of the region's political, social, and economic life.

We wish our comrades a fruitful conference!

Delegates Speak

We posed questions to the delegates to today's PZPR Provincial Reports-Programs Conference about the level of realization of goals that were designated beforehand, their personal evaluations and their proposals for subjects that ought to be taken up.

Henryk Loboeki, director of the forge production division at the HCP [H. Cegielski Works] Metal Works:

The program set up at the conference after the Ninth Congress is a very good program. This sort of document is not, however, regarded apart from the reality in which it has to be realized. The reality, however, did not rise to the program, but rather to the contrary, the program outrode reality. Now we must simply make the program a realistic one and, resign from fanfare and concentrate on the most pressing needs.

Today's conference is likewise an opportunity for contemplating the subject of the whole party's achievements. I think that that can be done analyzing the work of the organization itself. We have made self-evaluations and have come to the same conclusions by comparing the previous programs conference with the last reports conference, which took place in our factory. The opinion is unanimous that in the first case, we overreacted and excited ourselves with fantasies. After sprinkling our heads with ashes, many of us have raised them again, crying out together, why do we still have to do this? That was a peculiar concert of wishes, far from constructive activity and a wise conception of democracy. The second conference, the reports conference, which was held in our plants, was completely different. To describe it briefly, you can say it was businesslike and realistic. I think that today's Provincial Conference will be like that.

At the province's largest party organization, we want to contribute to that and share our own experiences and suggestions with the delegates. We intend to speak about matters that are important to workers at our plant, such as the fact that good specialists are leaving us for plants, often "manufacturers," where they are better paid. We want to take up the theme again of firms that

should have special prerogatives by reason of their importance for the economy. This has been forgotten too quickly. Besides this, there is an entire, rich selection of subjects connected with the housing situation, plant training, and interorganizational matters. Along with the preceding, the program must also deal with experiences arising from the conduct of economic reform and reactivation of the trade movement.

There are many of these issues, but all of them make up the image of our lives. If we are to work with them, we must first recognize them.

Stanislaw Janc, director of the raw materials supply division at "Amino" [Poznan Food Concentrates Works]:

I don't think that one person could make a competent evaluation of the entire program of party activity, which we will be verifying today. That is simply impossible and inappropriate as well. I think that everyone should speak out on the subject that he knows best. I work in the food industry and matters concerning supplying the market with basic food items are closest to my heart. My presentation at the previous conference resulted in the inclusion in the resolutions of a point concerning streamlining the supply of controlled meat and its products. I think that there is still much to do in this realm. This especially concerns enriching and diversifying the categories of cured pork products and the regular and increased supply of stores in residential building areas and peripheral areas. I think that all of the possibilities have not been used to improve the system of meat sales. I want to take up a matter which has already been signalled by the meat packing plants in our region--the matter of the plants themselves taking over the trade in their own products. The Poznan Province should perhaps deal with this subject on an experimental basis. This would eliminate all of the middle men and create one agent responsible for everything, and might improve the situation. It is worth trying!

I want to speak up on the subject of the conduct of the leading role of the party in plants, especially where there is a situation in which there are mutual connections and contacts, and also collisions with the trade unions and the workers' autonomy. There is still a lot to be done in this area.

I think that today's conference will confirm my, and apparently everyone's, feeling that the party wants to be a partner in public life. That demands respect for the opinion of the other partner and preparedness to accept criticism. Today's conference should likewise exactly determine the party's competencies, the threshold of which should not be crossed. Otherwise, every poor decision will be attributed to the party.

Andrzej Kubacki, first secretary of the PZPR higher studies committee at the Medical Academy:

I am not alone in the conviction that today's conference will not only evaluate the realization of the resolutions passed earlier by the party department but that it will also define a constructive program of activity for the near future. I think that the party discussions will touch upon a

series of matters that are of great concern to the PZPR. As chairman of the Provincial Committee commission of internal party affairs, I expect that, for example, the delegates will heed the activity of the problems commissions existing in the committees at various levels. I say "existing," because I have serious doubts about the vigor and work programs of many of them. In my opinion, they are not making use of all the possibilities for action and it happens that their members are people that don't meet the expectations of their constituencies. The next problem concerns the conveyance of information and resolutions to the basic party organizations through elastic departments from another place. Do they always and to a sufficient degree carry out their statutory responsibilities? Will their members act aggressively and do the basic party organizations have working plans from which would come what needs to be achieved in a given period and area? These matters, like the functioning of party groups, demand, in my opinion, sincere discussion of principle. We must also plainly tell ourselves that the growth in party ranks is the best proof the public's acceptance of the party's program and resolutions. Hope is awakened by the fact that people who support the policy conducted by the party are stepping forward increasingly.

Elzbieta Ignaxzewska, employee at the "Pöllena-Lechia" Cosmetic Factory:

As the representative of a work force of several hundred which is predominantly made up of women, the party activities that are of most interest to me are aimed at controlling speculation on the market and at improving its supplies. I am of the opinion that it is just those areas of our life that project to a large degree on the public mood. The sooner we are able to resolve these problems, and the signs of improvement are already clearly visible, the sooner we as a party will attain the peoples' trust and become credible. I have a specific view on that subject as I am a member of the provincial committee commission on matters of letters and intervention and almost every day I encounter the difficult problems that people have. We are certainly not always able to remedy the situation but we almost always keenly analyze the causes of just that situation and try to prevent them in the future. I feel that today's conference will not pass by these often difficult matters.

I have been a member of the PZPR since 1971 and I have worked at this plant for 22 years already. I know how much everything depends upon the good will of people, and not just those that carry a party card. The most important thing is for everyone to remember that the fate of our country and the future depend on efficient work and the civil commitment of workers in every branch of industry. I am convinced that today's conference will pay heed to these matters as well. The program of action that has been resolved must take the most urgent problems into consideration. However, it must above all explain to the people that the fate of our country lies in our hands alone.

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SZCZECIN PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Plenum Evaluating Reports Campaign

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 10 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by E. Pawlowski: "19 January, Polish United Workers' Party Plenary Provincial Committee Conference [KW PZPR] Assessment of Campaign Reports"]

[Text] As we have already indicated, the plenary session of the PZPR Provincial Committee was conducted on Saturday in Szczecin. The topic for discussion was the acceptance of materials for the Provincial Reports Conference. Stanislaw Miskiewicz, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, presided at the conference.

In a report which had been previously made available to plenary members, the accomplishments of the Szczecin party organization were introduced, covering the period from May 1981 to date. That period of time--as S. Rogalski, Provincial Committee secretary, stated in his introductory remarks--cannot be forgotten because it cost the provincial organization too much. It was--the speaker continued--a term which will pass into history as one of the most dramatic in the annals of our party.

During the period under discussion, 14 plenary echelon conferences were conducted and the directorate of the Provincial Committee reviewed 119 topics during the course of 57 meetings. The provincial organization numbers 59,000 party members and candidates. The report quite clearly emphasizes details of the struggle by party members for suppression and curbing of unprofitable phenomena emanating from the economic crisis in the country and also continuation of active political battle with opposition inside the party itself and outside it.

A National Council decree announced 13 December of last year regarding martial law permitted resumption of regular statutory efforts by a majority of party echelons and organizations. It was also a time of consolidation for party ranks, of recovering party authority and of struggle for its unity.

Members of the plenum introduced into discussion several observations on reports of past term activities of the Provincial Committee. It was agreed upon that the 20th provincial reports conference will take place on 19 January of this year.

Next, the plenum accepted a program of consultation sessions with regional centers of party work and with delegates of the Szczecin town council [RM] for conferences.

At the close of the conferences, Stanislaw Miskiewicz, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, took the floor and introduced near term responsibilities in party work.

Reports Conference Deliberations

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 19 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article] by Macz: "Provincial Reports Conference of the Polish United Workers' Party Begins Deliberations With a Great Sense of Responsibility for the Party and Socialist Homeland"[7]

[Text] Today at 10 o'clock the provincial reports conference of the western Pomorze PZPR began its deliberations. Conference chairman was Stanislaw Miskiewicz, first secretary of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Szczecin. Invited guests participating in the conference include: Kazimierz Barcikowski, a member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR; Kazimierz Cypryński, director of the organizational division of the PZPR Central Committee; Minister Jerzy Korzonek, director of the Department of Maritime Economy; Janusz Prokopiak, vice minister of construction and construction materials industry; also Ryszard Szunke, president of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Szczecin; and Adam Rozyło, chairman of the Provincial Committee of the Democratic Party.

Stanislaw Miskiewicz, first secretary of the PZPR provincial conference, delivered the report of the Szczecin directorate of the PZPR Provincial Committee. This report is an analytical summation of the efforts of the provincial party echelon of western Pomorze covering the period of time from final deliberations of the 19th reports-election provincial conference of the PZPR to date. Stanislaw Miskiewicz, in his address, stated that the initial endeavors of the newly elected Provincial Committee in Szczecin took place during a period which will pass into history as the most dramatic in party annals. For it was a period--and we all recall this excellently by way of post mortem--when anarchy took place in our province, as well as in the entire nation. The almost daily outbreak of strikes in various parts of the country caused a permanent decline in production. It was a period in which the structure of national authority and the party were attacked ever so aggressively. Our reasons of state, our alliances were shaken.

In another part of the address, Stanislaw Miskiewicz discussed an important moment in our national life which occurred with the introduction of martial law and saved the nation from the tragedy of the approaching spectre of civil war.

The past year not only permitted a reconciliation of matters associated with stabilization of socioeconomic life; it proved advantageous in reconciling intraparty issues, closing of ranks, improving the ideological knowledge of PZPR members and furthermore, active members possessed of political struggle expertise. Today, the provincial party organization numbers 58,000 members and candidates. And, notwithstanding that it boasts fewer numbers than 2 years ago, it is, however, a more powerful entity and a symbol of its members. In the struggle to consolidate party ranks and the marxist-leninist party line, the activists of the labor movement contributed an inestimable share.

The reports campaign, conducted in the western Pomorze region, whose summarization will be completed at today's conference, was conducted in a good political atmosphere. It was well-attended and the debate was constructive. This campaign, Stanislaw Miskiewicz stated, demonstrated that the vast majority of PZPR members relies on the principles of marxist-leninist ideology. The campaign also verified that, consistent with the principles of the democratic center, party organizations implement resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR, as well as resolutions of PZPR authorities.

In discussing projects of the Szczecin PZPR Provincial Committee in the economic sphere, Stanislaw Miskiewicz said that a basic commitment in that direction last year was the curbing of declining production in principal sectors of the provincial economy. However, in spite of multilateral efforts which consequently led to impeding production decline, we did not succeed in halting all negative trends throughout the provincial economy. Stanislaw Miskiewicz also mentioned the plants whose positive economic results achieved last year contributed to the stabilization of the regional economy. Enterprises of this type include: the "Warski" shipyards; all regional ship repairing yards; Polish Shipping Association [ZPO] "Dana" and "Odra"; the Engineering College of Poznan and the Workers University [PPD i UR] "Odra" at Swinoujscie; the Szczecin sugar plant and the papermill "Skolwin."

In another section of the directorate's Provincial Committee report, reference was made to the strategic pattern of echelon accomplishments and the active members involved in it, and the PZPR members in the matter of offering opposition to the political opponent's efforts.

Furthermore, matters concerning intraparty information were reviewed in the report, as well as the search for new procedures for introducing to the public the efforts of the party, of organizations and echelons, individuals and collective labor bodies, in giving satisfaction to people for the results of their socioprofessional activities.

Stanislaw Miskiewicz, in discussing the introduction of economic reform, stated that its success is decided by the fact of how it functions within the employment plant. In support of this argument, in the Szczecin case, the maritime economy and the shipyard industry, which in spite of the fact that they were subjected to the impact of crucial pressures to a greater extent than other spheres of our economy, satisfactory economic results were nevertheless

achieved by those enterprises. Besides economic results, it is worth noting that the reason for the maritime workers' satisfaction lies in the submission of the maritime policy of the nation to deliberation by the Central Committee, as the report stated.

A separate subject of the address which led to discussion, were matters on housing construction. In the process of the reports campaign, housing construction and its shortages were raised by many colleagues. Stanislaw Miskiewicz stated that an increase in the potential for general and specialized construction allows for an annual attainment of 7,000 to 8,000 new dwellings during the course of the next 3 years. Furthermore, this year a concept will undergo study, calling for the construction of 50 schools by 1995. However, through implementation of investment and modernization efforts in the health service, an essential improvement in the health care of women and children will take place.

Stanislaw Miskiewicz concluded his address with wishes for successful deliberations, with a great sense of responsibility for the party and the successful development of the socialist state.

After the conference, a discussion took place continuing to the present moment. We will report on its course and the further continuation of the provincial reports conference in tomorrow's edition of the SZCZECIN KURIER.

Material From Reports Conference

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 19 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "From Materials for the Provincial Reports Conference of the PZPR"

[Text] Delegates elected by all organizations and party echelons were earlier supplied with a Szczecin Provincial Committee report for the period 1981-1982, as well as reports of the party Provincial Control Committee.

They indicate that the Szczecin party organization numbers over 59,000 members and candidates. During the period of time under discussion, approximately 20,000 persons quit the ranks. Of those dismissed and dropped, the dominant group was represented by members of the PZPR with less than 10 years' experience.

The main policy of party endeavors was an improvement in party work in its grass roots' sectors. This was aided by meetings of the PZPR Provincial Committee directorate and full-time employees in employment plants with members of party organizations.

To provide more efficient control of regional echelon endeavors, 10 regional centers of party work were called. An introductory system of direct contacts provided for quicker and more effective handling of motions, petitions, and also all sorts of irregularities.

During the reporting period, a growth in the level of party political influence occurred. A training campaign introducing new forms of planned instruction was broadly expanded.

The system of party information was improved, being enriched predominantly by its own materials.

The provincial party echelon together with the PZPR and the Democratic Party, by continually introducing new forms of cooperation expanded the sphere of people engaged in the patriotic movement for national rebirth. On this level, in support of other communities and social forces, institutional forms of this movement sprang up. Among other things, the temporary provincial program-coordination council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth began its activities in September. This is a new form of party, political party, Catholic and social organization, partnership and cooperation.

Following the passage of a statute on professional unions, the members of the party had a broad participation in its implementation; on party echelons they extend comprehensive organizational and technological aid to founding committees of professional unions.

Youth organizations as related to the provincial party organization were governed by the principle of partnership in creating political, social and cultural life.

The influence of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR on the Szczecin editorship, press, radio and television provided an inspirational character. Projects assigned to Szczecin journalists by the party found expression in a series of publications before and after the 9th Party Congress. The journalistic view drew many attacks on this community by the opposition. However, the fact deserves attention that with the overwhelming majority, there was a lack of submission to these pressures and attacks.

The publication of six factory newspapers serves to present the problems of enterprises.

During the reporting period, the party devoted much attention to the matters of strengthening law and order. It broadly popularized the right of martial law among the people, the statute for coping with speculation and procedures regarding individuals shirking work.

In socioeconomic endeavors, party efforts were concentrated on overcoming negative indications and trends in the introduction of economic reform, and curbing the decline in industrial production.

The implementation of production projects were systematically executed by enterprises in the entire province. Construction in Szczecin during this period of time happened to be weak. Completed housing investments remain on a 1969-1971 level. However, the maritime economy proved that with efficient organization, it is possible to prosper nicely even in a crisis.

The PZPR Provincial Committee plenum held in November of last year, and devoted to the maritime economy and fishing, confirmed that fishing, as a permanent economic component, must be treated on a par with the entire food complex.

In farm production, the province continues to occupy a prominent place in the country. Having acquired eighth position from the standpoint of arable land area, we have become the purchasing center for grain, which places us in second place, while for potatoes and turnips, first place as compared with other provinces.

In trade and services, work appeared to be predominantly under the influence of considerable imbalance between the quantity of merchandise and personal income. The concept of a trade model which leads to liquidation of monopolistic enterprises was considered. Also inspiring were the efforts of services engaged in the struggle with speculative phenomena.

Since March 1982, a group appointed by the first secretary has been active in researching family living conditions and has been engaged in studying the influence of effects of the crisis on the life of working families, retirees and pensioners.

In a report on the provincial conference, we read that the program in the area of health protection and social care is properly proceeding. The financial base of health service is subject to improvement. In striving for uniform employment for doctors, wage priorities are employed, automobile allowances and loans for housekeeping. However, to date there has been no implementation of assumptions concerning mass sporting-recreational activities in places of employment.

The pace and quality of activities in physical culture and sports were inadequate and the attained results are far from satisfying social needs.

From the cultural policy of the party echelon, one should note the establishment of a publishing plant, publication of a sociocultural weekly MORZE i ZIEMIA [Sea and Land], but at the same time it is found that stimulation of cultural life did not occur in culture clubs and centers.

A complicated sociopolitical state of affairs unfavorably influenced the operation of Szczecin colleges and schools. The escalation of tension, strikes at colleges, revealed the weakness of academic and educational authorities, and also of the grass-roots party organizations in existence there. To that extent, there is quite a lot to be done.

The Provincial Reviewing Committee concentrated its report on budget management of the Provincial Committee and also devoted many months to the issues of letters and grievances pouring into party echelons. It likewise completed an assessment of managing cadres.

In its report, the party Provincial Control Committee documented the problems connected with party jurisdiction and the ideological-political attitudes of party members.

9951

CSO: 2600/523

DAILY SCORNS 'ATTEMPTS' ON WALESA'S LIFE

AU071330 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Apr 83 p 4

[Eugeniusz Guz Article: "The Background of a Certain Assassination Attempt"]

[Excerpt] Assassination attempts on statesmen, politicians and industrialists have ceased to be sensations in the capitalist world. They have almost become daily routine. We have recently come across a new kind of assassination attempt--an attempt in the style of those on Walesa. This is the kind of assassination attempt about which a lot is said but absolutely nothing definite is known. Until now nothing was said about these kind of assassination attempts. It is only when people started accusing the Bulgarians of being involved in the attempt on the life of John Paul II--without foundation--That Lech Walesa realized (or maybe someone told him to realize?) that he too could be the target of assassination attempts being prepared against him in 1980.

"I have heard of three apparent attempts on my life, but I have no first hand information," he told the American radio and TV network ABC. Indeed, it is difficult to recall something in detail after 2 years if one has only "heard" about it. Several weeks ago he tried to dominate the columns of the bourgeois press by means of a supposed attempt on his life in Rome, but with no great success. Now he is revealing in the above-mentioned interview for ABC that "a second attempt was to be made in Geneva, but this also did not succeed."

A Geneva police spokesman, invited by the Associated Press Agency to comment, said the following on 24 March: "Neither Walesa nor anybody else in his entourage informed us about this alleged incident. We formally deny that there were any plans on Walesa's life."

In an interview with the Italian ANSA Agency on 13 March, 1983, Walesa presented yet another version on a hypothetical assassination attempt against him in Rome, in which he quite simply denounced his Solidarity colleague Ryszard Kalinowski, the union's former deputy chairman. Walesa did not rule out that Kalinowski could be involved. Why? Because one evening during their stay in Rome, Kalinowski tried to talk him into going out on the town without an escort. It was a good idea to wander around [powalesac sie] a little without the troublesome supervision of the all-seeing bodyguards, who in addition were strangers. Is it right immediately to use this occasion as evidence of an assassination attempt, casting a dark shadow over one's friend? Basing its information on Italian TV, the DPA Agency reported from Rome on 13 March that "Walesa is indirectly accusing a Solidarity official."

Somehow no one heard any bomb going off later in the car into which Walesa did not climb that evening. I also do not quite understand what prevented the mythical assassin from proposing a trip together with the bodyguards when in the end the bomb would have blown everyone to pieces in any case, including Kalinowski, who had proposed the trip. According to THE DAILY TELEGRAPH of 14 March, Walesa unveiled the secret behind his suspicions: His colleague had wanted him to go on a car trip around Rome on his own, without any officials. "If I had gone, I might not have come back," Nevertheless, he added: "I do not know too much about this business. But I think Kalinowski could say something more."

Kalinowski, trying to view all these speculations seriously, "displayed a great deal of skepticism toward all the theories whereby he had tried to assassinate Lech Walesa during his stay in Rome in January 1981" (according to an ANSA report on 16 March after an interview with Kalinowski, who had given evidence at a trial in Elblag).

Walesa obviously must have heard rumors that he had gone too far with Kalinowski because in a statement for THE TIMES of 25 March he corrected himself, saying: "I am not saying Kalinowski knew anything at all. He was a partner of the would-be assassins against his will." Now one cannot understand anything about this assassination story. For now it seems that Kalinowski tried to induce Walesa but was unaware that a bomb had been placed in the car. Did the mysterious assassins know in advance that Kalinowski was going to talk Walesa into taking a car trip alone that evening and placed a bomb in the car then and there?

The U.S. special services were quick on the uptake here as well. Before Walesa began to recall various versions of assassination attempts, THE DAILY AMERICAN, which is published in Rome, wrote as early as 11 December 1982 that "Bulgarian agents were also planning for members of the Italian Red Brigades terrorist organization to assassinate Lech Walesa. The Italian authorities had also noticed nothing for 2 years, since suddenly (or, to be more precise, when the judges returned from the United States), "they reached the conclusion that Bulgarian agents were trying to assassinate Lech Walesa." (DPA from 12 December 1982.) And here is one more version to make life merrier. According to the Westfaelische Rundschau of 2 March 1983, information on the Walesa assassination attempt stems from Agca himself, who said that the Bulgarians had proposed that he assassinate Walesa but they changed their minds "at the last moment," although "the assassination had been planned down to the last detail and involved placing a bomb in the union leader's car."

This is the nonsense that is fed to readers about alleged assassination attempts. But this nonsense really has very definite political aims. In this way, a target of unsuccessful assassination attempts can once again become a focus of interest by the Western press. GLOS WYBRZEZA discussed this recently.

In addition, what Walesa and his advisers cannot fail to realize is that although making sport of assassination attempts is sometimes funny, it serves propaganda trends aimed at the socialist East, just like the notorious interview for the FRG weekly BUNTE.

CSO: 2600/752

NOWE DROGI' CONTENTS FOR MARCH PUBLISHED

AU181721 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Apr 83 p 5

[Text] PAP--The importance of the contents of the March edition of NOWE DROGI is defined by three main trends: meditations on the current relevance of Marxism on the 100th anniversary of the death of its creator, the statements of the editors of the theoretical and political publications of the fraternal parties on important contemporary problems, as well as articles concerning various spheres of the ideological struggle.

In the chapter devoted to Karl Marx, the following voice their opinion: Stanislaw Rainko--"Marxism in the Historical Context," Jerzy Topolski--"The Fundamental Problems Behind the Marxist Understanding of the Historical Process," Mieczyslaw Mieszczankowski--"Marx's Economic Theory Versus Contemporary Capitalism," Zdzislaw Bombera--"Karl Marx's Theory on the Productivity of Work" as well as Stefan Opara's "Marxism Versus Religion." Wlodzimierz Jagiello recalls the Polish editions of "Das Kapital."

At the Prague conference of the editors-in-chief of the theoretical publications of the parties in the socialist countries (the progress of this conference is recorded in the March issue of NOWE DROGI) the following took the floor: Stanislaw Wronski ("From Our Experiences"), who spoke on behalf of NOWE DROGI; Yevgeniy Bugayev ("The Vitality of the Ideas of Marx and Lenin"), who spoke on behalf of KOMMUNIST; and Valeria Benke ("The General and Specific Laws of Socialism") on behalf of TARADALMI SZEMLE. NOWE DROGI contains the statements of representatives of the PZPR, the CPSU and the MSZMP.

Ideological subjects are dealt with by: Jerzy Ladyka--"A Debate on the Problem of Socialist Ideology," Henryk Bednarski and Waldemar Nowak--"A Few Observations on the Party's Ideological Work" (on the basis of experiences from Bydgoszcz voivodship), as well as Jerzy Kossak--"Culture as the Area of Struggle and Accord." Zanna Kormanowa presents a profile of Teodor Duracz (1883-1943) on the 100th anniversary of his birth, Jan Brol and Gerard Bieniek discuss the "New Law on Trade Unions in the Light of International Conventions" and Mieczyslaw Tomala characterizes the progress of the recent elections in the FRG.

CSO: 2600/754

BBC POLISH SECTION'S 'MARX PROGRAM' RIDICULED

PM121343 Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 30 Mar 83 p 6

[Commentary on a BBC world service Polish section program marking the 100th anniversary of Karl Marx' death, by Krajowa Agencja Robotnicza [National Workers' Agency] correspondent Kazimierz Adamski: "Magician For Hire"; passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /When the Polish section of the BBC decided to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, it chose to do it in its own way: by hiring a traveling magician who, in return for his fee, was expected to sling dirt where required. There is a whole swarm of such magicians roaming the West. They live on the handouts and scraps thrown to them, or sometimes they even earn their keep. He who decries the "Reds" will not die of starvation in the "free world." To ridicule Marxism, the BBC hired a magician of professional rank and title, who could be described as the standard-bearer of modern anti-communism--Leszek Kolakowski. This man, at least, could not be charged with dilettantism. He commends a university department in an approved place; he can claim academic achievements; and in some circles he is even famous. And, in any case, being a former Marxist himself, he knows the ropes and can be sure to pull all the right rabbits out of his magician's hat before the BBC micro-phones/

The magician performed in a double act with Monsieur /Eugeniusz Smolar./ "Professor," the latter offered his bait, "philosophers only interpret the world, while the real challenge is to change it...." Now the magician's task was made simple: it would be enough to prove that Marxism has never had any influence on the course of history. But the hook had two ends and there was always the danger that Kolakowski would seize upon that other one. For if it is not up to philosophers to change the face of the world....

The maestro knew what the game was about. He started on the right track: "Marx started off as a utopian who formulated the idea of the working class as the inevitable and the only possible lever capable of transforming the whole world.... Marx' role as a politician was relatively small. It was only after his death that the vital movement, connected with his theoretical legacy, really took off."

The "vital movement"? It looked as if the magician had made a mistake and pulled the wrong object out of his hat. Monsieur Smolar rushed in to help: "Would you agree...that we can subject the Marxist legacy to critical assessment?"...The professor did a double take and remembered that he was not being paid to praise. "Yes, of course," he sang into the microphone, "almost all of Marx' forecasts have proved to be wrong." Well, what about the October Revolution, for example? Kolakowski rummaged in his hat for a few moments and found the following: "I would say that Marxism should not be considered to be the cause of the Russian Revolution;...that revolution was the result of many historical events that could not have been predicted."

When a philosopher predicts unpredictable events, the philosopher is in error: this is the theory of magician Kolakowski, formulated for emergency propaganda purposes. The hired man is rather uncomfortable when talking on this subject: as it happens, he has no data to hand on the period which preceded the revolution and, in any case, the whole subject is too extensive to fit into the commemorative framework. And so Smolar changes the subject. He realizes that their listeners are not necessarily fools, that they are familiar enough with the realities of the contemporary world and that they are aware of the true reach and popularity of Marxist ideology.

Therefore he throws out his next bait--Professor Kolakowski is the author of "A History of Marxism": "The critics of your book maintain that you sum up too lightly both the theory itself and the political movement, for both the theory and the political movement show a vitality that is much greater than might be expected from your critical assessment." Next the host goes on to lead our magician up the garden path, demanding that the latter give short shrift to such malcontents.

Unfortunately, here Monsieur Smolar did the maestro a bad turn. For here is what Kolakowski the denouncer and critic of Marxism has to say on this important question:

"Everything topical and of interest in Marxist theory has already been absorbed into the historical sciences and into the humanities and has lost its connection with Marxism...." This sensational disclosure should be read as follows: Marxism is indeed alive and continues to prove its value, but it has now entered the treasury of human cultural heritage, which it enriched and revitalized. That is why Kolakowski hastened to add that...Marxism has lost its connection with Marxism!

All in all, as the hired critic says, reaching for his last argument, "Marxism is dead today." Monsieur Smolar likes that very much, but he asks his interlocutor to support his statement with some arguments. The professor thinks awhile, then states: "This is because Marxist revisionism is very weak today. One can safely say that in Poland it does not exist at all, and in other countries of Central and Mid-Eastern Europe--such as Czechoslovakia and Hungary--it is very feeble; in Hungary it is represented by tiny dissident groups which exert virtually no influence on the course of events...."

For a hired magician, he is none too adroit.... For a scholar--none too logical. Nevertheless, both Kolakowski and Smolar believe that it is the intentions that matter most in any propaganda work and that it is possible to infect the listeners with one's own, so very plausible, hatred even when one is talking complete nonsense....

CSO: 2600/758

ORZECZOWSKI INTERVIEWED ON PRON ROLE, COMPOSITION

AU181323 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Apr 83 p 3

[Irena School interview with Marian Orzechowski, general secretary of the Provisional National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] and Central Committee secretary: "Before the PRON Congress--As the People Want It"--date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] What is the numerical strength and composition of the national rebirth movement 3 weeks before its congress? People say that the movement represents a significant force. In this just a slick phrase? What is this force?

[Answer] The rebirth movement is certainly a significant force because it exists. At a time when some people say "no" to everything and large numbers of them continue passively to watch events, the mass of those who want creatively and in common to repair our republic is of great importance, objectively. Both sympathizers and adversaries have taken note of this movement, which is a social fact.

Its strength is proved by the fact that it does not mark time, but is developing. Within the last year we have had about 200,000 new adherents to make the present total of upwards of 300,000. This is something, if you consider that purely formal membership of the movement counts for nothing. If you are a member you are at the same time an activist.

[Question] What about workers in the movement?

[Answer] There are areas in which every major plant has a cell of our movement. However, taking into account the importance of the workers class, its participation in the movement is too negligible. It is for this reason that some people assume that the movement is supposedly meant for the intelligentsia and professional people. We have young people in our movement, but their participation is small in view of the numbers and strength of these people as a social group.

[Question] The more grassroots the movement's cell the more specific is its view about its role. Pure ideas are not enough. These cells present more tangibly new great schemes and constructive programs. For example, they say

that it is necessary to build day care centers for children and set up out-patients' clinics because such clinics are important for people and that the movement must see that this is done. Perforce your movement is becoming an institution and, as some people assert, an agency of public intervention.

[Answer] There can be no concrete deeds without pure ideas. Let us recall the beginning of the movement. First, we were resolved to demonstrate our attitude and to save and regenerate the state and people. We were first resolved to do this and then we set out to do it in a concrete way.

To me this represents a direct link with the workers tradition, according to which the working people help themselves. What gave rise to the struggle to propagate culture and sports and to set up the various workers funds? This struggle was a visible sign of a social movement. The strength of our movement is to translate great ideas into concrete actions. "Pure" ideas are of little significance, but so are the details whose purpose is not clearly defined. Little streams must flow together to form a united stream.

Is our movement an agency of public intervention? Things are not that bad. However, if something new appears then people in need think that this something is the last straw to be grabbed and necessarily turn to us to ask for help.

During our preconference many activists of our movement were proud to announce that problems that had not been settled for years were finally settled successfully and that the laws were triumphant where they had been violated. All this means for the movement either that those who implement the laws do this badly or that the laws are bad and that we must intervene in the Sejm and not anywhere else.

[Question] People continue to ask me whether the rebirth movement can be independent, can be a partner of the government and can express the public's independent opinions if the key positions in the Provisional National Council are occupied by representatives of the leaderships of the PZPR and other parties.

[Answer] The signatories and authors of the 20 July declaration, especially our party, feel themselves responsible for this movement born at the grassroots level. They want it to occupy a proper position in our sociopolitical life. They are honest in their intentions and want nonparty elements to have broad access to public affairs and genuine influence on events. As you can see, the signatories' intention is to see that nonparty elements are at least 50 percent strong in the movement's structures from top to bottom. This means that our participation in the movement will not signify a physical advantage of party members. This participation will be signified by authority and the correctness and strength of arguments.

The narrow "top" aktiv of the Provisional National Council includes 12 people, of whom only two are PZPR members. It is therefore a myth that the party apparatus "dictates" or does something of the kind.

CSO: 2600/751

ORZECZOWSKI SPEAKS ON CONDITION OF PZPR SINCE 1981

PM022143 Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 4 Mar 83 p 3

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee Secretary Prof Marian Orzechowski by Krzysztof Strzelecki--date, place not given]

[Text] [Question] The PZPR reports-programs campaign, which was initiated in a series of meetings at PZPR primary organizational cells as early as last year, is now coming to a close. We would like to ask you for your comments on the several meetings in which you recently took part yourself.

[Answer] I had the opportunity to participate in six conferences at the voivodship level, and the reflections which I formed from them--combined with my reflections from the tens and hundreds of daily meetings devoted to party issues--can be boiled down--to put it briefly--to two inseparable truths. The first of these is that, in an overwhelming majority of party organizations, among our party members--although this is not restricted to party members alone--one can sense an awareness of the great distance we have traveled, together with the entire society, since the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, and also since December 1981, and of the considerable changes our party has already undergone and is still undergoing. The second truth is that the above awareness is accompanied by the conviction that we are still only at the start of the road leading both to our gradually lifting the country out of the crisis and, at the same time, creating social and economic structures which would in the future both eliminate the typical nightmare problems of our crisis and give each and every citizen of the Polish People's Republic the satisfaction of being a real partner in managing the affairs of his factory, his farming community, his district and his entire country.

[Question] I know some people--among them party members--who would say that such an assessment sounds overgeneralized and overoptimistic....

[Answer] Such people doubtless do exist. This does not alter the fact that the predominant opinion is that over a period of less than 2 years we have managed to lift the party from its knees and to make use of the historically unprecedented state of martial law not only to stem the most dangerous phenomena taking place in our economy and our market but also to take the first steps in long-range decisions for the future. I am thinking here in particular of the economic reform and the positive fact that it was initiated regardless

of the fact that we were then experiencing great difficulties at the very "bottom" of the crisis, and also of the initiation of the action of rebuilding the trade union movement and self-management system and, finally, of pioneering the entirely new--both in Poland and elsewhere--movement known as the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. It was particularly during the recent voivodship party conferences that I received a very strong impression that the optimistic attitude which you mentioned is gaining a firm foothold throughout the party ranks. Such optimism is absolutely essential for the labor of carrying out the vast number of tasks which we are still faced with. It is far too soon to sound the triumphal fanfare--if this should be done at all--but one can clearly see that the previous attitudes of "But will we succeed?" have been replaced by the new and more creative ones of "We are, after all, succeeding. It is, after all, possible...." But I would not call this cheap optimism, especially as there is at the same time an equally widespread awareness of a large variety of dangers, led by that one whose name is self-reassurance and which keeps raising its head in various places and circumstances, both in petty things and larger matters, and appears in the form of a yearning "to regain one's secure position in the saddle," as it was aptly put by the participants of more than one voivodship conference, and of forgetting very quickly about all that happened to the party and to the whole country in August 1980, and about the reasons why it happened.

[Question] And so we have come very near to the continuing key question of the party's leading role in the society which is building socialism. How should we see this role today, after August 1980, after the Ninth PZPR Congress and also after 1982?

[Answer] I believe that this question can be boiled down to translating--and continuing to do so virtually one day to the next--the constitutional expression of the party's status into the language of Poland's social and economic realities in 1983 and the years to follow. Among the many aspects of the PZPR's leading role the one which needs to be highlighted and clearly understood today is the fact that its essential source is derived from the party's role of serving the interests of the working class and the entire society. All party members, the entire party must preserve this awareness, and, on the other hand, the public must see that and become convinced of the consistency existing between the party's words and actions. How to realize this in practice is a subject for several separate discussions, especially as it remains an open subject which life is continuously adding to. The key principle, in my opinion, is the one which states that the party realizes its program through its members, through the millions of people who hold party cards and who carry out their professional and social activity in many walks of life. It is with great satisfaction that I can say that this awareness is becoming increasingly widespread among both the so-called party masses and various party bodies. It is certainly not by coincidence that at many party conferences we have been hearing sharply critical references to the instances of a different method of the party's exercise of its leading role in the past--but not so distant--years. That of issuing directives. Neither is it a coincidence that it was just a few days ago that, for the first time in PZPR history, extensive information on its activity over the course of 1982 was published in the press. In

matters that are its own concern the party has no secrets either from its members as a whole or from the society whom it sets out to serve.

[Question] The reports one reads from the majority of the voivodship conferences might give the impression that these key problems and universal topics are nonetheless eclipsed by whole sets of problems which are characteristic of each individual region.

[Answer] And so it should be. After all, the main line on all the fundamental issues was determined, nearly 2 years ago, by the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. Today our aim is to carry on realizing those lines in practice—with the practical considerations and priorities different in, say, Ciechanow and different again in Legnica. At the seven meetings of the delegates for the voivodship conferences in which I myself took part, the predominant tone was that of realism and matter-of-factness—one would almost want to say "the spirit of good husbandry" if not for the fact that this term has recently become somewhat devalued. The delegates concentrated not so much on what should be done as on how it should be done and in what order they should tackle the most urgent and the most sensitive problems of their voivodships. An accent which I found inspired with optimism, common to all the meetings and proving that the style of the Ninth Congress has already become firmly established in party practice, was the fact that, on the one hand, the meetings never transformed themselves into the sort of "request program" addressed to the "powers that be" that we remember only too well from the past and, on the other, that there was no trace in the delegates' speeches of any direction imposed on them from the outside, any tactical maneuvers designed to play up to the above-mentioned "powers that be," whether on the voivodship or the central level. People simply say quite openly what they think and feel, and they do not accept predetermined taboo subjects in any debate.

[Question] Does all this apply equally to such topical issues as the recently published draft PRON declaration, the development of this movement and the announcement of its congress, to take place in May this year?

[Answer] Of course. In any case, it happens everywhere, not only where the fact of my presence—and, as you know, I also hold, temporarily, the function of secretary general of the Provisional National Council [TRK] of the PRON—might prompt those present at the meeting to take up this subject. I believe that both the history of the PRON so far and its future course can serve as a splendid lesson for our party in how to carry out its role of both leading and serving society as a whole. The principle which I mentioned earlier, of the party being active through its members, is equally valid here. I myself try to observe it and, from what I have seen, this does not give rise to any doubts or reservations among my partners together with whom we are now provisionally leading the PRON, even though they may represent other allied parties, social organizations and movements.

[Question] This conversation keeps returning to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. One of its resolutions concerned the setting up of a commission of enquiry into the circumstances and sources of the "Polish crises," which

would then present its findings to the public and draw the appropriate conclusions. We have not yet seen such a document....

[Answer] That is true. Work is currently in progress on such a report. Perhaps we were overoptimistic in our belief that this question can be examined in a short time. Or, perhaps, it was our impatience that was responsible. We should, after all, have had a clear picture of these matters much earlier, along with an appropriate system of mechanisms for recognition, signaling and rectification. In the end it was the lack of these very mechanisms in our system which led to the social and economic crisis. The economic reform, for instance, should have been introduced a long time ago, immediately after the first signs of crisis appeared. This mistake cannot, unfortunately, be undone now, and we have to bring in the economic reform under conditions which are incomparably more difficult. In any case, to return to your question, I can state with full responsibility for my words that it is not the party's intention to hamper the work on the crisis report, or to have it filed away. Both the party and the entire society are entitled to know the whole truth about the way in which, through the earlier crisis, we arrived at the explosion in the 1980's and about the way to combine our forces to build barriers which would in the future protect us from similar disasters.

[Question] To conclude, let me ask you a question which will take us not only out of Warsaw but outside the borders of the Polish People's Republic. By virtue of your function you often meet, both in Poland and outside it, representatives of the leading bodies of our fraternal parties in the socialist countries. How do they see our difficult and "uphill" road, which sometimes departs from both our own and other models of building socialism?

[Answer] The attitude of our socialist friends is, understandably, marked by careful attention and concern. We are, simply, a far too important link in the socialist community for them to treat our affairs with indifference, particularly in circumstances of international tension and danger. Our socialist friends have full confidence in us, and they frequently stress that we are the ones who know our Polish reality best, especially as the latter--to mention, for example, what we earlier said about the PRON--has no equivalent in any of our fraternal countries. Some of the socialist countries are encountering their own economic difficulties, which tie in, among other things, with the situation in the world's markets. This should make us appreciate even more the help they offer us in our difficulties in obtaining raw materials or with the "lines" caused by shortages of goods. Such a stand taken by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is, clearly, of enormous importance for Poland while the latter is attempting to life itself out of the crisis, but we realize clearly, and should continue to realize, both within the party and all of society, that no one is going to sort out and rectify our affairs for us, whether these are large or small, and that we simply have to do it ourselves. The way our current PZPR reports-program campaign has been going, it seems we do have a chance of achieving this.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the conversation.

'TRYBUNA LUDU' SCOLDS FINE ARTISTS UNION

AU181423 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16-17 Apr 83 p 2

[PAP report: "The Political Activity of the Leadership of the Union of Polish Fine Artists Does Not Serve the Milieu's Interests"]

[Text] On 31 March, the public was informed of the mayor of Warsaw's admonition to the Main Board of the Union of Polish Fine Artists [ZPAP] for conducting activity not in accordance with the law and the union's statute. This admonition was issued on the basis of the law on associations.

As we know, the mayor demanded the revocation of a series of resolutions made by the Main Board dealing with matters falling outside the law and outside the statute which defines ZPAP's activities. Since its reinstatement on 30 April 1982, the union's Main Board had undertaken political activity aimed against the socialist state and the authorities' decisions.

It is worth noting that the decision to reinstate ZPAP was made unconditionally by the mayor of Warsaw on the recommendation of the minister of culture and art. This decision resulted from the good will of the authorities and of the trust placed in the applicants wishing to reinstate the union by the primary party organizations in the artists' community and by a range of eminent fine artists. For the applicants were meant to guarantee that a professionally active representation of the community of fine artists would take active part in settling the difficult problems facing this branch of artists, who are hit particularly hard by the effects of the economic crisis, and to guarantee their influence in shaping state cultural policy.

Unfortunately, the moment the union was reinstated, the Main Board failed to commence cooperation with the Ministry of Culture and Art. The union's authorities concentrated entirely on activity of a political nature.

This activity became particularly energetic during the reports-programs campaign prior to the 17th General Congress of ZPAP delegates which was set for the end of April.

The situation inside ZPAP and the attitude of its leadership have recently become a target of special interest by centers of ideological subversion, especially by Radio Free Europe, which is exploiting this situation in a campaign against

Poland and against Poland's aim to overcome the existing social tension. Also notable is the fact that some political fragments of the Main Board's resolutions, and also parts of the speeches of Union Chairman Jerzy Puciata have been printed by illegal publications of the political underground, so that the printed fragments coincide with the underground's aims.

The authorities have indicated many times that the union leaders' political activity has avidly neglected ZPAP's statutory activity, which is of course aimed at the interests of the artists' community and of fine arts. They also indicated that there is a duty to cooperate on these matters with the Ministry of Culture and Art and with the local administration. The minister of culture and art pointed out on more than one occasion that the lack of this cooperation was having negative effects and he warned against leading the union toward a political conflict with the authorities.

The union's Main Board has recognized the abovementioned admonition by the mayor of Warsaw as unjustified and not in accordance with the regulations governing administrative conduct, and has appealed against it to the minister of internal affairs. In its appeal, the Main Board completely avoided the issue and did not refer to the main accusation--that the union had exceeded the scope of its statutory activity.

On 15 April 1983, the minister of internal affairs conveyed to the Presidium of the ZPAP Main Board a decision which ruled that the mayor of Warsaw's admonition of 31 March was binding. The justification behind the former's decision states that no satisfactory reasons were found to lift the admonition.

The above facts and the situation in which the ZPAP leadership has placed the entire union before the 17th General Congress do not serve public calm, violate the idea of national accord and deprive the ZPAP of its influence in solving any of this community's own problems for the sake of its own interests and for the sake of national culture.

These matters should be settled by the union's authorities, on the basis of a respect for the law, by means of talks with the Ministry of Culture and Art and with the Office of the City of Warsaw before the general congress of ZPAP delegates. For reaching accord is also essential so that the congress may tackle issues connected with the artists' community and with fine arts, and so that it may help ease tension for the sake of social calm.

CSO: 2600/750

DAILY COMMENTS ON WRITERS' UNION PROBLEMS

AU061322 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2-3-4 Apr 83 p 5

[Kazimierz Molek commentary: "The Stance of Party Writers is a Chance for Normalization Within the Polish Writers' Union"]

[Text] Several weeks ago, TRYBUNA LUDU reported extensively on the All-Polish Conference of Writers who are party members and on the results of this conference. Today we wish to inform our readers about the efforts which are being made to give new life to the Polish Writers' Union [ZLP].

The aim of the organizers of this conference of all party writers (and let us recall that these comprise one fifth of the union's total membership) was to find ways of saving the ZLP from a real catastrophe.

The ZLP, as a professional and creative representative body for writers, is experiencing a profound political crisis. This crisis did not appear suddenly, and it certainly did not appear after 13 December 1981. It arose over a space of years. The main cause of the ailments which caused the disintegration of the milieu was the activity of opposition forces present within its ranks. It was possible to thwart this opposition's aims for a long time, thanks largely to Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz, but the impetus of transformations which started in the summer of 1980 enabled it to gain control over the union. A situation arose with whose consequences the writers' milieu is struggling today.

Over a year after the start of dramatic efforts to normalize our lives, cultural lives as well, this situation represents an impasse: The ZLP continues to be suspended because many points of its program, which was adopted at the 21st Congress, do not fit the political and legal framework of our system. This is because the union's bodies are sometimes dominated by staunch activists of the political opposition. In the meantime, the Main Board which was set up by this congress, is demanding that the union be reactivated unconditionally, in other words it is demanding that the authorities agree without any conditions to a return of the ZLP to the state it was in before 13 December 1981.

This attitude by the present ZLP Main Board was one of the reasons why realistically-thinking writers who are party members attempted to extricate the ZLP from its crisis on 25 February 1983. They made an honest, though harsh, appraisal of the situation and the people entangled in it, proposed a positive

program of activity for the sake of Polish literature and writers, and laid down principles whose recognition by most writers will open up a road to healing the situation inside the union, even though this road may be long and difficult.

Looking at the writers' conference from the point of view of March enables one to make several important statements.

The cohesion of the party writers' milieu which the conference displayed, and especially the way in which they voted for the "stance" which was adopted at the conference, is noteworthy. This conference and its achievements have aroused serious interest in it among the entire milieu. The open party meetings which are currently being held in the union's departments and the speeches and press statements being made during these meetings reveal that the principles contained in the "stance" are gaining the approval of a considerable number of nonparty writers, representing various outlooks and concepts, both old writers and young ones. We also come across resolutions adopted during some open party meetings which approve the principles formulated during the conference. This leads one to the conclusion that numerous groups of writers see the proposal of their party-member colleagues as a chance to lead the ZLP out of its deadend.

The furious reaction to the conference, especially to the "stance" by foreign centers of anti-Polish subversion, present a lot of food for thought. In what these centers are saying, the conference appears to be a kind of witches' sabbat, organized by people who are sabotaging writers, literature, the freedom of the writers' profession and so on.

We also observe that some writers' circles in Poland are trying to discredit the conference's achievements and compromise its organizers and participants. It is significant that the rejection of the principles proposed by the writers who are party members is not accompanied by efforts to create an alternative constructive program to extricate the writers' organization from its difficult position, a program which takes our political and social reality into account.

During the conference, an all-Polish team of party writers attached to the Central Committee's Cultural Department was set up. It consists of representatives of all party organizations and groups in the literary community. It became active immediately. A very wide range of important problems which the party activists of writers are meant to occupy themselves with has been established during the team's work. The team's work plan also includes the problems besetting the career of writer, as well as ideological-political and programmatic issues. Several requests have been made to the Ministry of Culture and Art, whose realization will shorten the road works of contemporary literature have to travel before they reach the reader. Matters concerning fees and publishing have been dealt with. Deserving special attention is the idea for a literary fund which has been presented by the team's secretariat. This fund is meant to be an important instrument of state support for contemporary literature and its authors.

Among the many ideological-programmatic problems tackled by the team, the most important ones are Marxist-Leninist literary criticism, literature and literary

matters in radio and TV programs, reviews of what periodicals are saying, and so on. There is already a basis for assuming that the team's ideological and organizational efforts will be useful to the writers' community and to literary life.

The party writers' stance became a springboard for the talks which took place with representatives of the Presidium of the suspended ZLP's Main Board at the Central Committee's Cultural Department on 10 and 25 March 1983. The meetings which have taken place up to now show how difficult the situation inside the ZLP is and that there are forces present within it which are opposed to any realistic platform for agreement.

On the basis of the declaration made by party writers, representatives of the administration have been presented with the conditions whose fulfillment by the authorities will make it possible to restore the ZLP. It was stated that the ZLP's negative past experiences were political in nature and had political consequences; therefore any work on normalizing the situation inside the union must start by forming real safeguards protecting the union against renewed activity by the opposition.

The representatives of the Central Committee's Cultural Department expressed their readiness to support any application made by the chairman of the suspended ZLP's Main Board to hold a Main Board meeting, on the condition that the draft resolutions take into account the principles expressed in the "stance" of party writers and that these resolutions refer to those writers within the union who collaborate with anti-Polish subversive elements. Also, the representatives of the suspended ZLP's Main Board were told that it is expected of them to prepare before a future meeting a provisional work plan of the ZLP's activity between its reactivation and the next congress, and also to agree on a membership of the congress commission which would be formally set up by a plenary meeting and equipped with the right powers to prepare for the congress by this plenary meeting.

One may expect that during the forthcoming meeting in the Central Committee's Cultural Department, the representatives of the Main Boards Presidium will adopt a stance which will enable progress to be made in the work leading to the re-activation of the ZLP.

CSO: 2600/760

DAILY DISCUSSES YOUTH'S LOYALTY TO SYSTEM

AU191345 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 14 Apr 83 p 3

[Maj Waldemar Maciag article: "We Must Emerge From The Crisis Together"]

[Excerpts] The Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism attached to the PZPR Central Committee and the PZPR Voivodship Committee of Opole have organized a 2-day national scientific conference under the slogan "Youth-Party-Society." The conference was meant to be a kind of postscript to the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Representatives of various scientific circles, party activities, youth activists, representatives of the state administration and teachers from all over the country have taken active part in it.

The conference was devoted to giving a picture of the state of social consciousness, needs and goals of young people in Poland today. It has contributed much to our knowledge of this subject.

"Like a sponge young people soak up both what is good and what is bad. If we want to place demands on young people, we must take care that morals are in order in the adult world," Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, Central Committee first secretary, said at the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

It is true that young people are particularly open to suggestion concerning both what is good and what is especially bad in social life. At the same time, they mirror the distortions which occur in social life. A lack of democracy, especially during the second half of the 1970's, which caused an excessive growth of centralism; bureaucratic management; unjust and deformed social relations which negated the socialist ideals of justice and social equality; exceeding one's powers during the exercise of authority coupled with a failure to consult the community--all these things played a special role in encouraging a crisis of confidence among young people toward those institutions controlling social development.

The conflict-causing social situations had to create a certain barrier in many young people's feelings and emotions. These tended to generalize already-existing injustices and errors, and threw the blame generally on individual persons and circles. They also generally directed their dissatisfaction, lack of confidence and grudges at the adult section of society.

When describing the reasons behind the above-mentioned crisis of confidence, one must not forget that the hostile propaganda of the antisocialist forces was generally responsible. This propaganda preyed on the political sensitivity and lack of experience of young people and deliberately propagated to them a thesis about a "generation with lost chances," and tried to instill various views into them, such as the one that socialist construction was interested in the domination of "old" people over "young" ones. This had to cause disappointment, set young people back and make them reserved. In extreme cases, it created open hostility among some young people toward the values of socialist ideology, forming a strong psychological barrier against correct party and government decisions aimed at seeking a way out of the crisis.

It emerged from most of the ideas expressed during the talks that the cause of a certain alienation of young people and a lower level of activeness by them in the sociopolitical life of the country were and still are to some extent the discrepancies that exist between young people's aspirations and the possibilities for fulfilling them.

Other factors influencing the attitudes and conduct of young people were also examined during the talks, including relations between young people (or adolescents) and the community (or the people who bring up young people), with emphasis on the fact that this is an important problem both in educational and in sociopolitical terms.

It seems that the only correct concept by which one can influence young people these days is to create for them social activity of their own, during which both the community of young people can be transformed and their consciousness reshaped.

Young people should play a part in overcoming the crisis and normalizing life in the country. This strictly involves accepting the socialist system as the only correct road of progress and recognizing the leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party. Political confidence can be stimulated by means of real changes, which ought to be publicized, and these changes should cover both sociopolitical and economic reform. An important issue here seems to be some young people's attitude toward the idea of national accord, whose supreme national interests should enter young people's consciousness as quickly as possible.

The following question forms itself on one's lips at this moment: What should the party do to regain the confidence it has lost?

The speech of Dr Zdzislaw Gasiorowski, the representative of the PZPR Central Committee's team for youth affairs, on the subject of party policy toward young people and the youth movement, and numerous other speeches have indicated that the PZPR is interested in a strong youth movement being active, a movement which treats young people from a working background and young people from other backgrounds as equal, for an increase in the role and authority of youth organizations may turn out to be a sensitive barometer for measuring how we are merging from the crisis.

CSO: 2600/759

CASE OF COSMETIC INDUSTRY ESPIONAGE REPORTED

Warsaw ZARZADZANIE in Polish No 1, Jan 83 pp 37-38

[Article by Leszek Zawadzki]

[Text] From an unfortunately fairly voluminous card index of acts registering cases of penetration of intelligence in Polish businesses, we will select a rather special case. The object spied upon was not an establishment connected with military production or a shipyard, foundry, or any other factory classed in so-called key industry, but the "Pollena-Uroda" Cosmetics Factory in Warsaw. In spite of the product--little would be produced of interest to the state intelligence service--"Pollena-Uroda" became an object of interest to both foreign intelligence and to a representative of a specific company whose commercial contacts we will refer to in connection with the development and modernization of the Warsaw factory. One of the main roles in this matter was played by a man named Christian.

Christian was born in Poland and until his 16th year studied in our schools. In 1959 he left for the West to live with his family. There he finished commercial school and began to work at the "Niwka" Company. A year later he went for the first time in a delegation to Poland. The delegation began to make reports which soon could be numbered in the dozens--he became a representative in Poland and presented the products of his company at the Poznan International Fair. Christian is intelligent, a handsome and elegant man who enjoys social success and takes no account of money. It cannot be important but it has been observed that he does not scorn the society of foreign-currency prostitutes, although he himself was a stable man and father and thought of moving many people to the province and of promoting the establishment of his own company. He is young, clever and industrious.

In Poland, he established innumerable official contacts with representatives of industry, commerce, and various institutions. Often he tried to establish friendly contact, of a private character. People especially interesting to him he wished to treat and has treated almost as brothers. He knows the Polish language perfectly and feels our weaknesses and habits.

However, he was not perfect. Of course not. One of the witnesses reports: When he first arrived at technical conversations he pretended that he did not know Polish, and when during later encounters he began to speak our language it produced consternation among us. He was very inquisitive and matter-of-fact. Inquiries about purchase terms or negotiations conducted he explained by the fact that his company, like any other, must profile its production program with respect to quantity and kind. Such an answer was very persuasive.

During conversation he was generous with alcohol, and so the company apartment was the place of chats about interesting subjects which draw attention from elevated technical questions. In a fit of outspokenness, Christian complained even that he did much work with our delegation, for he had to be constantly sociable, eternally organized, and actually provide female companions.

During one of the meals Christian without hesitation placed 100 marks before each of the guests. They puzzled over what to do with them, and hurried to spend them on a good time. But an atmosphere of conversation did not favor immediate performance of an exchange. For Christian preferred to talk about work and plans, about such as how to organize efficiently the structure of enterprises and why, damn it, so often nothing comes of it, in spite of the fact that in foreign trade and in industry we have so many good experts. He asked on which companies do we make demands and thus formulated his opinion in order to draw speakers into a discussion. If the subject was not taken up, he tried several times, repeating the same statement.

One of the Polish delegations staying abroad went to a gambling casino. At the entrance all had to show their passports, from which personal details were noted. They noticed that that unpleasant procedure was not used for all those entering. However, when Christian bought each \$10 chips and distributed them with wishes for luck in gambling which they do not have in Poland, they thought that the much-consulted name from the passport is necessary, perhaps, for entering on an account. After all, back home the ladies acknowledge receipt even of flowers on 8 March.

Christian asked about everything. Even if the work was not very important for him, he likewise appreciated the official less than social contacts. He preferred a quiet cafe, a good restaurant, or discrete quarters, more rarely encounters in a hotel, for that, as they say, would be dangerous. Certainly, fear of wire-tapping distressed him. After all, the Duke of Edinburgh had wire-taps in his hotel apartment during his stay in the United States.

During legal proceedings, it was proven irrefutably that these habits of the young man had nothing in common with his personality. Christian in his own country received instructions from an intelligence worker and after each return to Poland prepared a report on the visits of Polish delegations to his company. Because the scope and directions of his interests far surpassed the posture of the circles represented by the "Nikwa" interests, Polish counter-espionage concerned itself with Christian.

The activity of this young trader exposed the national economy to loss. It is not possible to determine what exactly. And yet the whole game had to be terminated as quickly as possible.

Among Christian's friends was a geodetic technician, Adam, born in 1946. Adasko had had much good fortune in his life--he quickly advanced and eventually became a specialist on capital purchases for Plant II of the "Pollena-Uroda" Cosmetics Factory. Earmarked for capital purchases were 3 billion zlotys (expressed in old 1-zloty coins). Therefore it was not a matter of small buildings or small imports of equipment. On account of official responsibilities, he participated in preparation of an investment plan, systematically worked out a comparative analysis of bids, and was present during the discussion and signing of contracts. Therefore he had what Christian wanted--access to all the documentation, including also that which must be kept under lock and key.

Adam and Christian got to like one another. During each visit to Poland--from greeting to farewell at the airport--they were often together. Christian did not cease to be himself, as before appreciated meeting in secluded rented dwellings, restaurants and coffee shops, usually with alcohol and in female company.

There was the risk that Christian obtained from Adam information which he later used for his own purposes, and thus received funds from us which made it possible to stay in the country. The size of the investment, the value of the anticipated import for "Pollena-Uroda"--that is a trump card in commercial matters which is effective if used at an appropriate time. We want to trade honestly, therefore it is from honesty that some of our secrets are disclosed to a foreign company, when we are certain that information about our needs influences a price increase by chance. That was only a basic trade principle generally respected by merchants. This was also monitored by workers of the security service, who delegated one of their people to conduct a laborious conversation advising Adam. It had the purpose of explaining the nature of his contact with Christian, cautioning about the damage which can be done if one does not "hold one's tongue," as well as the consequences arising from violating official secrecy.

It proceeded more easily than was hoped for--Adam behaved as he should. He declared that he understood the danger and asked them to trust him. He announced a breaking of social relations with Christian and busied himself with completely formal contacts on an official level.

Obviously the word given by a man of honor could free all the services from further checking of the contacts between the two men. However, Adam did not keep his word. It soon turned out that Christian had data regarding the purchase of an automated line for bottling cosmetic fluids planned by "Pollena-Uroda," and also bids of companies interested in making delivery. It was the same with documentation worked up by "Prochem" for containers for perfume and eau de cologne as well as competing bids on [?foliowy?] tunnels.

An investigation was started. It was found that Adasko not only did not comply with the warnings and violated his pledge but told Christian that they had the security service "on their necks," transmitting to him simultaneously additional materials and information from the factory, which included official secrets. The two were arrested in the very act.

The provincial prosecutor soon submitted to the district court in Warsaw an indictment for profiting from revelation of economic secrets and financial felonies. The inquiry referred to evidence against four other persons who were active in the matter of disadvantageous purchases from a foreign company and also revealed four more persons charged with illegal circulation of foreign currency.

Christian was in prison a fairly short time. By order of the district court he was released from temporary arrest upon payment of bail of \$25,000, which was promptly paid by the ambassador of his country.

Adam did not await the arrival of his friend on the prisoner's bench. Christian--after consideration of his being compromised in Poland--probably concerned himself with new interests, but under a different geographic latitude now.

In the minutes of the trial it was recorded: the acquaintance of Adam with Christian, a representative of "Niwka," began with joint conversation in the office of the director of "Pollena-Uroda" Cosmetic Factory. "I remember well that at the time of absence of the director, when we were left alone in the office, Christian took in his hands a brief-case lying on the table and containing papers relating to the purchase of an automated bottling line, and acquainted himself with the bids of other companies." Adam had objected to that, but quickly waved his hand [in agreement], all the more so because his visitor was not taking notes and had not taken them. After the conference, he took Christian to a hotel where he was invited to the center, and when they were alone together handed over \$20 without obtaining a receipt.

From that time, during each visit of Christian to Poland they met two, three times or more often. Adam meekly proceeded to treason and personal tragedy which he paid for all his dealings--the greater the subordination, the more extensive the corruption and the higher the demands of the partner.

During the Poznan Fair Christian took in Adam as a lodger and took him to a restaurant. For that he learned that a bid placed by the "Pollena" company was 40 percent higher than bids of competitors. Then Adam prepared for Christian a copy of several analyses of bids on equipment with values of several hundred thousand dollars.

Information about the purchase terms resulting from a capital expenditures timetable was delivered by him in the "Szampanska" Cafe at the airport, and data on the size of planned production. He paid about \$12 for that. Also, all previous payments totalled in the range of about a dozen to some scores of dollars. Receipts, if there were any, were signed in blank. Christian said: "The sum was written in only later." Adam also received presents: brandy, long-playing records, a lighter, and a Ruhla brand watch.

From a certain time on they decided that Christian would call himself Lipski in telephone conversations. "It will be very dangerous for us," he said, "and so we must also limit our meetings and be very cautious."

It is difficult to discover what sums Christian wrote on receipts enclosed with reports to his company. He had signatures in blank and the sums he handed over were really shockingly small. Besides that, at Christian's request Adam brought later documentation to his apartment, copied 10 selected drawings and made 75 copies of plans. He delivered the drawings and copies along with the originals to a hotel room, where he additionally wrote one of the new bids on a machine. After comparing them with the originals, Christian retained the drawings and copies for himself. For all these services he handed over to Adam...two dollars! In the inquiry Adam apologized for being very bad..."With many he was [?friendly], gave brandy, oriented himself in private arrangements. I do not understand. Where did he get this information?"

Giving lectures does not propose conclusions, only suggests them; but in the end I would want to take into consideration a theme from a completely different category. The only person to be constantly the connection is Adam, the geodetic technician.

Adam, barely 25 years of age, was sentenced by verdicts of the district court for Warsaw-Praga to one year of imprisonment with a suspended sentence of 3 years. That was punishment for fraudulent settlement of payments and exposure of his employer, the State Motor Transport, to a loss of 2,700 zlotys. Hardly two months after that verdict he was employed at "Pollena"--- at first as a technical specialist in the capital expenditures section, next as a specialist in capital goods supply, and finally as a specialist in capital goods purchases of the mentioned department in construction. He learned about Christian about two years after the district court order. His present sentence is for 3 years without suspension of sentence.

2174

CSO: 2600/706

CONFUSION OVER CONCEPT OF 'COINHABITING NATIONALITIES'

Timisoara ORIZONT in Romanian 25 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by Prof. Dr. Traian Bunescu]

[Text] We are in duty bound to state that so far also attempts were made to define the concept of coinhabiting nationality. These attempts, either were timid or did not succeed in capturing the phenomenon in its entire complexity. In our view, these attempts were also made more difficult by the confusion that persisted in specialized literature until about 20 years back, the one implying that the coinhabiting nationalities were considered "national minorities." But such a term mentally sent us to the idea of quantity in relation to another social-historical phenomenon, this time designated as people or nation.

The Socialist Republic of Romania is a unified national state. Settling on its territory during the centuries also were populations of other nationalities, ethnoses such as, for instance, the Hungarian, German, Serbian, Jewish and other populations. In the context of coexistence, work and striving together for social and historical progress, established -- objectively and subjectively -- between the native Romanian population all over the country and the coinhabiting nationalities were ties of cooperation and mutual esteem, relationships which have lasted over centuries and tumult, over times of adversity. Said Nicolae Ceausescu: "Living and working side by side, always together for better or for worse, between Romanians and working people of other nationalities, relations have developed of cooperation in work, of solidarity in the social movements for progress, in the fights against common oppressors, against invaders of the country, for independence of the land on which together they built their home and abode." These relations acquired unprecedented dimensions on the construction of the new society. Now, our socialist society has exemplarily ensured all the objective and subjective conditions not only for the settlement of the nationality problem but also for the multilateral molding of the human individuality and the full assertion of this individuality in society. In his report to the National Party Conference Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "We can be proud of the way in which we have assured the resolution of the nationality problem, creating conditions for participation of working people of different nationalities, of all the people, in the development of the socialist society."

In such a political, social and national climate, the broad masses of the people, regardless of nationality, are involved with all their forces in implementation of the program for the continuous development of our common homeland, outlined by the

12th Congress and the National Conference of the RCP. Even dwelling only on the aspects pointed out above, we consider as justified the questions: What is a coinhabiting nationality? What definition can we give to this equally complex and significant social-historical phenomenon?

Also capitalizing on some viewpoints expressed in the sociopolitical literature in this country, synthesizing our ideas and conclusions, we are able to formulate the following definition: The coinhabiting nationality is a form of human, ethnic-historical community, which is characterized by specific language, spiritual life and national awareness, with aspirations and ideals, by economic life and territory, with political statal organization that are common with those of the majority nation (in the case of the unified national state), with those of the other nations (in the case of the multinational state).

Without claiming that we have the last word on the matter, we consider that the definition which we have formulated blends into our party's general concept on the place and role of coinhabiting nationalities in our Romanian society. While under capitalism, the coinhabiting nationalities are kept in the periphery of society, being compelled to endure, in addition to social oppression, also national oppression, under socialism ample conditions have been created for the progress, work and assertion not only for the nations but also for the coinhabiting nationalities.

Our definition, which of course is perfectible as well, captures -- at the outset -- the defining elements that are capable of individualizing the coinhabiting nationality vis-a-vis the nation (specific language, spiritual life and national awareness) elements which, in the context of our socialist society are preserved, maintained and developed on the basis of the materialistic-scientific outlook on the world and as a finality of the resolution of the nationality problem. The other constitutive elements of coinhabiting nationalities forcefully and convincingly bring out what is common between them and, for instance, the Romanian socialist nation (aspirations, ideals, economic life, territory, political statal organization). Together, these common elements signify a granite foundation for the brotherhood between the Romanian people and the coinhabiting nationalities that, also, have become socialist, just as our nation.

How different are the national relations, the status of coinhabiting nationalities in socialist Romania from those in capitalist countries! In this respect, in our view, telling is the following exemplification: In the United States, a country that claims to be a model of bourgeois democracy, the coinhabiting nationalities "are subjected to prejudices and discrimination. Here is a proof: for the same level of schooling, minorities hold the least prestigious jobs as compared to nonminorities, and for the same prestigious jobs minorities are paid less; at each level of income, minorities cannot live where nonminorities live, cannot hold the same power positions within the community, cannot send their children to the same schools; within each social class, minorities belong to the lowest categories. That is why they have a strong feeling of frustration, helplessness and inferiority, and this inevitably generates on the psychological-affective level demoralization, unhappiness and dissatisfaction, a strong perception of misery." (AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, No 3, 1980, pp 480-481).

We feel that there is no need for comments and, as far as we are concerned, we have the moral duty to assess the correct value of realities in socialist Romania, in the area of national relationships, to most firmly combat nationalistic, chauvinistic manifestations, to deliver a categorical riposte to the attempts of international reaction at distorting the successes in our country.

11710

CSO: 2700/44

ALBANIAN PAPER IN KOSOVO REFUTES SERBIAN MEDIA INACCURACIES

[Editorial Report] RILINDJA, the Albanian-language daily published in Pristina, in the 17 March 1983 issue (page 4) objects to articles in JEDINSTVO, the Serbian-language paper of Pristina, discussing the ethnic aspects of employment in the province (8 and 9 March 1983, page 6, respectively). Acknowledging that there has been discrimination in past employment practices, RILINDJA nevertheless says that the JEDINSTVO articles are one-sided and contain inaccurate figures. It also cites "disinformation" in POLITIKA and JEDINSTVO in reporting on administrative problems at the Obilic electric power industry, denying accusations that engineers from this enterprise vacationed in France and visited Enver Hoxha at enterprise expense. JEDINSTVO subsequently (24, 25 March 1983) admitted it had published an inaccurate POLITIKA report based on rumor.

RILINDJA of 30 March (page 14) criticized as "ideologically damaging" the film "Mother" produced by Milenko Jovanovic in Belgrade and based on the Albanian murder of a Serb in the Kosovo village of Samodreza.

The 6 April issue of JEDINSTVO (page 5) reported that the editorial boards of the two papers recently met to discuss plans for "closer cooperation," so as "to eliminate possible ideological-political differences in approach to certain current subjects and problems."

CSO: 2100/41

DISCORD IN ISLAMIC COMMUNITY IN BOSNIAN OPSTINA REPORTED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 17 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by F. Misic and S. Ilic]

[Text] Statements of representatives of individual religious faiths not infrequently turn into political and nationalistic ones, which is essentially a misuse of religion. Examples are presented that support the notion that at some funerals and other religious ceremonies, nationalistic and undermining speeches were directed against the brotherhood and unity of Yugoslav peoples and nationalities.

The agenda of the opstina conference of the SAWPY at Zavidovici, held on 14 March, contained the topic of the status and certain unacceptable manifestations in the activities of religious faiths of this community. The delegates of the conference were presented with detailed information about how, in several places, there had been reports of misuse of religion and attempts by individuals and groups of three faiths, and especially of the Moslem faith, to "confront the sociopolitical community directly."

Nationalist Statements

Among other things, the report states that from 1980 to 1983 religious communities in various ways strengthened their activities that are contrary to provisions of the law that regulates their legal position. These actions represent in essence a misuse of religious feelings and religious convictions. During that period there were ever more frequent and bolder statements by individuals from such positions.

Activities of SAWPY and other sociopolitical organizations in exposing and eliminating negative manifestations in religious communities strive to determine how the involvement of the society and institutions of the political system in the internal affairs of the religious communities, or an attack on the religious feelings and the limitation of religious freedom of citizens, shall be controlled. Recently such manifestations have been particularly noticeable in the Council of the Moslem Community in Zavidovici.

Statements by representatives of individual religious communities have and do become political and nationalistic, and this represents a misuse of faith for political purposes with clear antisocialist aims. Examples are presented to support the theory that at certain funeral services and other religious gatherings, nationalistic and disruptive statements were directed against the brotherhood and unity of our Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. The speech of the Roman Catholic priest Matija Simic at the funeral of a worker who died in the village of Dolina, it is asserted, had a nationalistic nature, for among other things he especially stressed the phrase "brother Croats," even though those attending the funeral included Croats as well as Moslems and Serbs, and also members of the LCY. The dignitary of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Vladislav, addressing the faithful in the village of Stog, said that the Serbian people in Bosnia and Hercegovina had suffered the most sacrifices in the past war, that the worst genocide had been committed against them, that the Serbs had been bravest in battle, but that today they had become the most frightful when it was a matter of preserving their fealty to the church and their national identity.

The information also related to the questions that concern the discord at the Council of the Moslem Community in Zavidovici. Disagreements there began as early as 1972, peaking in 1979 and continuing until the present. The damaged relations, it is stressed, are not the result of relations between the society and the Moslem community itself. The consequences for such a situation have already been felt, according to this source, and responsibility is to be borne by individual officials and the main actors in the conflict, as well as by the Administration of Moslem Communities in Sarajevo.

Clashes Between Religious Officials

Individuals of this religious community in Zavidovici are trying ever more constantly to use political means with the intention of making social agencies appear to be arbitrators in resolving internal conflicts that are solely their internal matters. The clashes between individual religious officials have as their goal estrangement of the people and provocations on a religious basis. That is reflected in a broader manner and has a marked impact on overall sociopolitical activity and the life of the citizens, as it is transformed into personal conflicts. It provokes hatred among people, going to the extreme of parents forbidding their children to make friends with children of "the enemy side." Furthermore, there have been quite a few mutual insults and threats of physical retaliation. Such occurrences have been particularly common on the territory of Gostojic, Koyaci, Dolina and Vrbici. Estrangement has reached such extremes that people openly threaten one another. They exchange accusations and hurl various half-truths and insinuations back and forth.

The pressures and manipulations of believers and other citizens of the religious council do not select the means they use to obtain influence with this or that party. This amounts to nothing other than political work that seeks to estrange and cause quarrels among people. It is fundamentally an attempt at destroying the political unity of the working people and citizens, and an attempt to destabilize the system of socialist self-management.

Thus it is a matter of orthodox clericalization of religion, religious rituals and affairs.

Pressures on Citizens and Believers

The main persons involved in this behavior are Mehmed Mahmutovic, known as Memis, along with a group of likeminded people on the one hand, and Zaim Sendic, along with the individuals who support him, on the other. For all of them the most important thing is the realization of their own egoistic interests through the politicization of faith and religion. The aspiration of Mahmutovic and his supporters is to form a new Islamic community, which from a formal legal viewpoint is not disputable, but in reality it is an ambition that is not religiously inspired or of a religious character, but rather a struggle for personal prestige and, along with that, the realization of material interests. Among citizens and believers there is an adroit thesis that at one time Mahmutovic was a member of the LCY, and thus the society and its agencies should protect him, for he is supposedly the extended arm of the state. Clearly this is a bold and tendentious imputation of the LCY and the society, in which either by chance or on purpose it is ignored that the social agencies never have nor will they become involved in the internal affairs of the religious communities, or in their personnel policy. That means that as long as it is in accordance with the Constitution and the Law, their activity is exclusively their internal matter, and the Mahmutovics, Sendices and their supporters should know this.

Pressure is being brought to bear on citizens and believers and contributions are being collected, outside the framework permitted by the Law, and receipts are being sent for monetary amounts set prior to the fact for which approval of the responsible authorities has not been obtained, and which are contrary to provisions of the Law on the Legal Position of Religious Communities. Thus, for example, certain Imams assert that they are in difficult economic straits, and they seek from governmental agencies legal measures for "regulating affairs among believers so that the Imams would be able to work normally." The degree to which individuals are in conflict within their religious communities is best confirmed by the example of the village of Kovaci, where certain believers declare that they will give their last cow to support their side -- in a conflict with the other faction. Thus (Hasan Fejzic and Rifat Mahovac) said at the opstina assembly that the conflict within the Islamic community would grow to be another Kosovo. The high point in all of this came with the act of unilateral organization of believers on 28 January 1983, in which a number of Imams took part, including Hasan Mujic, Sulejman Efendic and Ramiz Sabic. They led a group of between 70 and 100 people in front of the hotel "Crystal" and the building of the opstina assembly, and this was supposed be a call to the people for revolt and demonstrations.

The gathering also had as a goal to bring pressure to bear on the state agencies and sociopolitical organizations to become involved in the conflict, which contained the personal interests of certain religious officials, along with some individual believers in the Moslem community.

Energetic Condemnation of Unacceptable Behavior

Delegates to the SAWPY opstina conference energetically condemned this and other unacceptable behavior in the religious communities in the area of the community and they sought to acquaint all working people and citizens with these facts by the end of March. They especially stressed that it is necessary to carry out decisive organized sociopolitical action against misuse of religion for political and anti-socialist purposes and goals, to deal with nationalism and clericalism, and any other attempts against that which is the holy achievement of the Yugoslav revolution, the brotherhood and unity and socialist community of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. The basic task of all organized socialist forces and of believers as well as citizens of this society and members of SAWPY, which has long since come out in support of socialism, brotherhood, unity, community and a nonaligned Yugoslav foreign policy, is by personal patriotism and personal example and involvement to contribute as much and as concretely as possible to overcoming negative manifestations and behavior in religious communities. An appeal was addressed from this gathering to all who live in the community for whom the principles of self-management and the other basic values of Tito's and our Yugoslavia are close to the heart. Those with such convictions should not permit anyone to devalue all that has been created in the socialist revolution and the postwar construction of our country.

Playgrounds at the Taste of the Clergy

Under the cloak of ritual and religious matters, various proposals are being forwarded that are far from religious in nature, which divide young people by nationality, and ask children not to make friends with members of other nationalities on playgrounds and other similar gathering places. Thus the nationalities are asking that reading rooms and social facilities be built exclusively for the use of one nation, or for members of another national group. Such instances have been recorded at Lovnica and Gostovic (Poljica). When the sociopolitical organizations in the community prevent or intend to prevent such intentions with good reason, the report asserts as it was presented at a session of the opstina SAWPY conference, when individuals colored by their nationalist hatred promote matters for separating local areas and establishing new local communities as has happened, for example, at Gostovic (Poljica) and Stupovici, as well as at Viniste, Vozuca and Hajdarevici, such problems arise.

12131

CSO: 2800/225

YUGOSLAVIA

VIGILANCE AGAINST NATIONALISM PLEDGED IN BOSNIAN COMMUNITY

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 21 Mar 83 p 3

/Article by F. Midzic and S. Ilic: "Dangerous Nationalistic Arrows"/

/Text/ A report about the situation and certain negative phenomena in religious communities in the area of the Zavidovic commune, which was recently discussed at the Commune Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People /SAWP/, was sent, in accordance with the decision by the delegates to that conference, to all of the party organizations, local conferences, and branches of the SAWP. Many meetings were held on Saturday and Sunday, and they are also being continued today, on Monday. The residents of Zavidovic, as we have become convinced while attending meetings of political aktivi in local communities, have very sharply condemned the unacceptable behavior of individuals and groups from the religious communities, certain nationalistic statements, and the long-standing conflict and discord within the Islamic community.

We Should Be Even More Alert

Thus, on Saturday, we were at a meeting of the political aktiv in the Local Community of Vozuc, one of the largest in the commune. It is 25 kilometers from Zavidovic, and has a population of about 5,000.

"It is necessary to be decisive in getting rid of the individuals and groups that are trying to spoil relations among us and to mislead the people," says Milenko Pantelic, a worker in the Forestry Administration.

"We all have to be even more alert and react more effectively to this and similar conduct. If these phenomena had been eliminated earlier, there would certainly be considerably less of them now."

"The nationalists who unfortunately exist in our commune," adds Fadil Dzerzic, the secretary of the LC basic organization in the Forestry Administration, "are not selective about the means by which they attack the fraternity, unity, and socialist cooperation of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. We have and we will have the strength to keep them from sending their nationalistic arrows into the people, among the believers and other citizens. They are sadly deceived if they think that they will be able to carry out their destructive intentions. The elders of the Islamic community in Sarajevo bear

a great deal of responsibility for such a disruption of relations within the Islamic community, in which individuals are conducting a real war for personal prestige and power."

"We will not allow individuals like Mehmed Mahmutovic, Zaim Sendic, and others, not only from the religious communities, to conspire and neutralize everything that we have created with such difficulty in self-management," emphasizes Redzo Camdzic, the secretary of the LC basic organization in the Vozuc Local Community, which has 45 members. "In our area, there have not been any disturbing attacks on a nationalist basis. Above all, it is the obligation of communists to train themselves ideologically and politically, constantly, and to detect those in the areas where we live and work who do not wish us well. And naturally, they should be the first ones, without any compromises, to prevent the negative phenomena which have gotten into full swing among the religious communities, especially in the last 3 years."

"It is good that we have been given a report on the situation and the negative phenomena in the religious communities," says the agricultural producer Luka Lukic. "It is very important for people to be aware of all events, to be informed, and to know, specifically, who these dissatisfied people are, the individuals who are obviously trying to misuse religion and the religious feelings of citizens for political purposes. We will not overlook such people. We are justifiably requesting that the authorities call to account the intriguers and nationalistically inclined individuals in the religious communities."

The worker Hasan Mujic recalls that "Individuals from the religious communities, and not only from them, want to make use of the serious economic difficulties in the economy and in society in general to achieve their own dark goals. We have to oppose them energetically in this. It is necessary for us to work even more and better and to implement consistently the stabilization program, to increase our unity, self-management, responsibility... This will be the best response to those who would like to turn us away from Tito's path and ours. They will not get away with it!"

"Just imagine -- neighbors are not speaking to each other or greeting each other, and they are forbidding their children to associate with the children of people whose houses are next to theirs. This is the shameful work of individuals and groups from the religious communities. We must not tolerate such poisoned relations," categorically stated the worker Cedo Savic, who is firmly determined, like most of the residents of Vozuc, to be in the front ranks of the battle against individuals and groups who are deliberately undermining something sacred -- our fraternity, unity, and socialist cooperation.

"Even if it were my own brother or son," Savic added, "I would renounce him publicly if for any reason he decided to attack these and other values of the socialist revolution."

Preserving the Heritage of the Revolution

"We are determined, through organized social action, to halt any attempt at a nationalistic, clerical-nationalistic, or any other attack on the heritage of the socialist revolution and the values created in the postwar rebuilding of the country," said Nenad Popovic, a representative of the Vozuc veterans' organization. "For all of us, communists and all working people, it is our honest patriotic obligation to prove to the handful of hotheads in the religious communities that they cannot do whatever they want. This country, Tito's country, our Yugoslavia, has paid an enormous price for its freedom, and it is precisely because of this awareness that the vast majority of the people of Zavidovic will oppose those who would like to demolish the indestructible foundations of fraternity and unity."

We also heard these views at meetings lasting for hours in the Kovac local communities, and then in Stog, Brezik, Hajdarevici, Gostovic... In short, people, including decent religious believers, are embittered by the negative phenomena in religious communities, and judging by what they said in connection with this, they will not show any consideration for these phenomena and those responsible for them.

Thus far the people of Zavidovic have created many values in common, in harmony and cooperation. The commune's economy, for example, is growing stronger and stronger with every year. The one responsible for its overall boom, the Krivaja combine, is a giant in the lumber industry of Bosnia-Herzegovina and of Yugoslavia, which maintains business relations with 48 countries of the world, and is operating successfully even under complex business conditions. At the end of 1982, Krivaja was left with an income of 500 million dinars, and its exports this year should reach \$52 million, which is 33 percent more than last year. The working people and citizens of Zavidovic, led by the LC, are fighting to make as concrete a contribution to stabilization as possible, enrich self-managing relations and relations derived from them, and intensify personal and collective responsibility... All of these achievements, thus, are ones that did not come by themselves.

This is precisely why, as a message from the 80 communists of the Braca Kosoric local community says, "We know how to protect and defend these and other values from attacks by individuals and groups from the religious communities who are bothered by them."

9909

CSO: 2800/220

BOSNIAN WORKERS DISCUSS DISTURBANCES IN ISLAMIC COMMUNITY

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 83 p 3

/Article by F. Midzic and S. Ilic; "Close the Door To Middlemen"/

/Text/ A great majority of residents of Zavidovici have decided to expose the disruptive occurrences which have been taking place in the religious communities; this was clearly indicated in a statement which has been adopted by the opstina conference of SAWPY, and later sent to be discussed by organs of associated labor and local communities. The citizens and working people of this opstina have resolutely decided to join in the broad campaign to prevent the abuse of religion and to end once and for all the discord in the Islamic community; this campaign was set in motion and is being headed by public organizations together with the League of Communists. We remind the reader that for many years now individuals and groups in this community, because of personal ambitions and interests, have quarreled with believers and other citizens and have acted in an unacceptable manner in disuniting the people of the area, especially those living in rural regions.

They have divided the congregation assembled in this community into two groups and will stop at nothing so that their leaders, Mehmed Mahmutovic, called Memis, as the leader of one group and Zaim Sendic as the leader of the other, are able to do as they want.

What do the workers of the Krivaj Kombinat say about the disturbances in the religious communities and about all the provocative attacks by individuals and groups from all three faiths of brotherhood, harmony, and unity?

"We are acquainted with the content of the statement concerning the disturbances and the nationalist attacks made by individuals and groups from the religious communities, from meetings of our local organizations of the LCY, and from workers' meeting," says Rifet Beric, a technician in the planning office of the plant. We have condemned decisively the unacceptable behavior and have rightfully demanded that authorized organs of the commune take urgent, appropriate actions against individuals who, out of personal interest, have caused discord among the people--the believers--and other people as well. We will not allow them to ruin relationships and to use religion- and there have been examples of this- for political purposes."

"Individuals and groups from the religious community should have been dealt with in an uncompromising manner even earlier," adds Naim Srganovic, a worker who belongs to the Floorers' Local Organization of Associated Labor. "Had this been done, there would certainly be fewer disruptions in the religious communities now. If necessary, we the workers, without any reservations whatsoever, will take care of Mehmed Mahmutovic, Zaim Sendic, and their like-minded followers. We will not, as they say, look the other way when there are those who are undermining our community."

"If the malcontents in the congregation do not get out, and if they do not stop causing disturbances among the people, we, ourselves, will keep them from carrying out their intentions, which obviously go beyond the limits of religion," emphasizes Drago Ilic, a worker in the construction component of the Local Organization of Associated Labor. "Dividing up the believers in the region of the Gostovic local community, where we live, has had the effect of ruining many of our important social activities. We do not dare to wait any longer. We must openly struggle against the individuals and groups from the religious community."

This was the sort of thing that Sulejman Hamzic, a worker from the Floorers' Local Organization of Associated Labor, told us, adding that it is necessary to carry on until the end in the campaign being carried out by the public agencies. According to what he said, it was very important that the citizens and working people of Zavidovici were informed about the state of the religious communities and were told about the nationalist attacks by individuals from the statement adopted by the opstina conference of SAWPY. In his opinion, this knowledge would be quite important in drawing a clear line of distinction between those who are respectable people and honest believers, and those who are like Mahmutovic, Sendic, and the people allied with them who are trying to break up the unity of the citizens and working people.

Petar Dejanovic, who is employed in the Timber Processing Enterprise work community, also condemned the disturbances in the religious communities, emphasizing that it is high time that these individuals and groups be told openly that they cannot do what they want to do. Dejanovic also said that a more suitable sense of vigilance and quick reaction must be developed everyday to combat these disturbances and other occurrences, as well as the people who advocate them.

"Because of the great disturbance in relations in the Islamic community," notes Jusuf Humkic, a worker in the Local Organization of Associated Labor for civil engineering and metallurgy, "the Elders of the Islamic community in Sarajevo should intervene. They cannot be completely indifferent to the fact that church followers have been alienated and that individuals and groups from the Islamic community are openly confronting socio-political organizations and authorized organs in Zavidovici."

"A man can almost believe that anything is possible when individuals and groups from the religious community behave in such a vampire-like manner. Members of the same nationality are not speaking, neighbors, parents forbid their children from associating with children whose fathers are on 'the other

side;' people are asking that reading-rooms and social halls be built which can only be used by members of one or another nationality; every day there are threats of violence. What does it mean? What do these people want? To force all these things on us in the name of religion so that we will be preoccupied with them and neglect production and productivity, the struggle for a stable society? No one, not even the malcontents from the religious communities, will be able to divert us from Tito's path, from our path." These are the words of Boro Peric, a worker from the Local Organization of Associated Labor for transport mechanics.

"We will prevent the middlemen and the malcontents from the religious communities from carrying out their intentions," says Hasim Beganovic, a sawmill workers from the Local Organization of Associated Labor." All the workers in the Krivaja Kombinat who believe in self-management, brotherhood, harmony, and unity of the Yugoslav people and their nationalities are bitter about the disturbances in the religious communities and the nationalistic attacks in our area. Indeed, no more of this can be tolerated. Together we have supported the public campaign to expose the disturbances in the religious communities. The workers of the Krivaja Kombinat, all of whom stand for the further development of self-management and for the strengthening of brotherhood and unity, will prove this support in deed as well."

Responsibility

According to reports we have received from the secretary of the presidency of the opstina committee of the LCY in Zavidovici Milan Serdar, yesterday (Tuesday) a party meeting of the Kovaca local community was held in which the degree of responsibility of LCY member Nurija Basic, president of the SAWPY branch in this local community, was discussed. Basic, as they are saying in the Committee, stated to the author of the article "Memis Alienates Believers," which was published in Monday's VECERNJE NOVOSTI, that the secretary of the local Organization of the LCY in the Kovaca local community, Dzevad Catic, "has openly supported the positions" of the Memis followers, and has challenged every action against the culprits of this base condition. From the article mentioned above, as recalled in the committee, it is possible to get the impression that the Kovaca party organization, of which Catic is the secretary, defers to one of the opposing sides in the conflict in the Islamic community, that of Mehmed Mahmutovic, named Memis. This as well as the author's quote of Basic's words that "the secretary Catic has been called to account..", is not correct according to the opstina committee of the Zavidovici LCY.

9548

CSO: 2800/221

END