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22 September 1982

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2057

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## IVAN BALABANOV: PROFILE OF AN EMINENT JOURNALIST

Sofia BULGARSKI ZHURNALIST in Bulgarian No 8, 1982 pp 27-30

[Article by Zdravko Petrov: "The Magnetic Field of Journalism"]

[Text] The appearance of many newspapers and literary forums, of radio and television, has brought to life a whole category of young people whose appearance at the beginning of the 1950's would have been inconceivable. For at that time there were very few forums. There were many slogans and placards on the walls of buildings, enthusiastic celebrations, rallies, interminable meetings. The times were different then and the media of public influence were different. But now television offers us an entire category of specialized commentators. Unquestionably, many of them are knowledgeable in the field in which they are working, are energetic and clear of purpose.

There has appeared on the "small screen" the corvine profile of Kevork Kevorkyan with the mocking sparks in his eyes and the cunning questions. For a time he gained great popularity. His absence from the screen is quickly noticed. We are so accustomed to him and his Levantine appearance I do not know how one day--heaven forbid!--we will part with his diction and interrogation method, which, to us, comes closer to the work of an examining magistrate than of a smooth talker from the Scheherezade school.

His constant companion during these years has been the literary critic, Atanas Svilenov, a person of abundant versatility and subtle vibrations of the intellect. Ready to smile and ironically skeptical, Atanas Svilenov is active on the small screen and in newspapers and magazines. He never enters battle with the posture of a gladiator. And when he has to take part in polemics, he moves slowly and surely with the weapons of consummate professionalism. Svilenov has the capacity of reincarnating different topics. With identical ease he can transport us to the St Petersburg of Gogol', to vaudeville and the art of the film. The world of Vutimski fascinates him, too. Vutimski is a city tulip in the garden of Bulgarian poetry between two great wars, a nervous and sickly child reminiscent of the irresolution of the begonia. Incidentally, I could tell about Svilenov, his literary tastes and prejudices, his journalistic capabilities, but I have a different task here. My aim is to sketch his profile insofar as he--like Kevork Kevorkyan, as well as Ivan Balabanov, about whom we will talk later on--has been captivated by the whirl of a

profession which in advance kindles passions in the blood and changes human nature into a nature that is aggressive and combative, penetrating and socially responsive. People like these are not people of ideas or conceptions, but of journalism as a most general collective concept, which includes an item of fresh news still unknown to the public and the latest speech of some world statesman. Such people are not encountered every day. They are produced slowly and patiently, and bear the burden of an uneasy existence.

Such a figure once was Lyuben Georgiev, who in the 1960's made the rounds of the editorial offices and was a master at picking up "the rumor of the day." Now, in the words of a friend, he is "a whale in the Danube." And perhaps he does not even have his own Danube. He is forced like every critic to be a "gypsy" and make camp here and there. . .

If we stop to think more deeply, we see that there is already a whole host of young people in our country who are using the sources of television, radio and the mass media for propaganda. Try as I may to force my imagination, I cannot conceive of Atanas Svilenov standing over the literary archives in some institute or even writing a monograph on Aleksandur Vutimski, about whom he has written repeatedly. He will write a short article or essay, nothing more. He is a product of the great city, of the urbanized perceptions of writers of the 1940's. His works are never laden with academic tedium and mold. He flees "literary science" as he would the devil. And not just the monstrous symmetry of structural critical poetics. Every livelier spirit, every more versatile and plastic pen holds aloof from dissertations. In the words of a Frenchman, they are "the grave of literature." But we have, so to speak, become used to many such "graves," which create a silence of the tomb around some authors and classical writers while they are living.

People like Ivan Balabanov, Atanas Svilenov and Kevork Kevorkyan are the product of modern times. They are inconceivable outside the contours of a newspaper or the blue light of a television set. They materialize in an instant. But at the same time they are zealous to publish books. Ivan Balabanov is not satisfied with the atmosphere of the newspapers where he is on the staff. He wants his interviews to become literature; out of an anecdote he wants to extract lasting features. And, as a matter of fact, one day we shall return to his portraits, which will not fade as photographs do, for they convey the spirit of the times, an uneasy changeable world.

Somewhere around the beginning of the 1970's Ivan Balabanov made his appearance in our world of journalism. He came rushing with the brutality of youth and his energetic nature. With some brusqueness he wanted to take first place in it and elbow others out with his quick wit and intellect. He had already been immersed in provincial theaters and suddenly made a serious change to journalism. His theatrical education, so to speak, was left far behind. Something else attracted him. What was it? He was attracted by the smell of printer's ink, by matrix-making, by hurrying to and fro among the typewriters like a "shuttle," by finding young names and supporting positions defended on a small platform, named the newspaper PULS [Pulse]. With a certain enviable ease he recruited staff members and incited lazy pens to sparkle on the stormy pages of a youth newspaper, which sometimes registered rises, sometimes falls,

depending on the temperature of the day. Here he was all ardor for several years, made a name and left the cordon of VITIZ [Krust'o Sarafov Higher Institute of Theatrical Art] graduates. One critic used to like to say that so and so had "theatrical red corpuscles." The same can be said about the born journalist; he is not created in a retort or a literature laboratory, but by restless typesetting, the panic during the afternoon hours in the editorial office, the bustle and energetic tone in the editorial offices. There are people who have journalistic "red corpuscles," who, so to speak, cannot exist outside the air of the editorial office and its strenuous pace. Ivan Balabanov cannot imagine spending hours bent over a book in the public library. He does not have the nerves for it. All his nerves have become knots. Sometimes he has nervous spasms. Whether or not he reads books is his affair, but he always reads the newspapers and knows on what page anything important is to be found. He at once discovers the nuances in a newspaper. He is avid for interesting reading matter--for reading matter which is notable for nerve and temperament, for phrase and fantasy.

A newspaper passes rapidly through his hands; he drops it in boredom if there is nothing to satisfy his curiosity, his permanent journalistic hunger. People like him cannot stay in one place, are not born for contemplation. For he is "on the scene" of a story every minute, chancing upon knowledgeable people, lunching with people from whom he can learn something. In a word, he is poking his nose in everywhere; he is the informed person of the day. He is a typical journalist without having studied journalism, without having had professors like Georgi Borshukov, Vladimir Topencharov, Stefan B. Stanchev et al.

You have to be an observer of this fellow's everyday work in order to understand how absorbed he is in his profession, how he changes taxis, his surroundings, suits, neckties. For him, personal living standards are no end in themselves, are not the preoccupation of a sybarite or a Sofia dandy, but that of a person who must always be among an elite, well-informed public. . .

Ivan Balabanov is quick in his journalistic reflexes; he does not wait to be evaluated, but evaluates himself and praises himself for some journalistic material. There is no time to wait. He is of this generation, of the young avant-garde that does not know the word "Wait"; it has ruthlessly struck this word out of its vocabulary as a great man once deleted the word "impossible." For such people, movement is everything. People like him are always traveling, always writing. Ivan Balabanov knows his journalistic destiny. He told me during our foreign travels, "I will die on the road." Without him I would have had difficulty in overcoming my inherent propensity to stay at home, my Oriental indolence. In Iv. Balabanov's company I actually became aware of the variegation of the hemisphere. We saw the partially illuminated streets in Vienna where there are beautiful shops and luxurious hotels, also the museums and fountains of Schoenbrunn, which I knew from the descriptions in St. Zweig's memoirs. I cannot forget the gardens dotted with sculptured figures of renowned musicians who once were the pride of this city of gaiety, merriment and much serious art.

With him I saw another part of the world, too: the overpraised Statue of Liberty, the statue of George Washington, the green gardens, "one-story America,"

the glittering Broadway musicals. I returned once more, so to speak, to my childhood, recalling the American "girlie" films, Shirley Temple's playful years, the jazz mania of Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers, so many American movie stars.

In those years Ivan Balabanov traveled very intensively. He saw both remote and exotic Tokyo and the "large stars of Famagusta"; several times he was in Cyprus, and Vienna at one time became his neighborhood. To this some would say that the wandering, the craving to see the world was to no purpose, but in all his traveling Balabanov filled his notebook with fragmentary phrases, which later he turned into orderly sentences, into breathless descriptions, into energetic and lapidary appreciations of streets, people, events.

For more than 10 years this man worked in the restless field of journalism where there are names long-since forgotten. But he still lives, pulsates and waits for a situation to deploy his uncommon journalistic vitality. He has now easily regained his health and the situation has made him wiser, but he patiently awaits his hour. He awaits the tocsin of some event which will involve him in its wake, will exercise his will and mind, his quick wit and newspaperman's skill.

There are journalists who are not vain enough to publish books. Some burn out in an instant. They are satisfied to rise again at some other instant. Ivan Balabanov is not of these. He is excited by published books, their luxurious format, their sale. If you want to hurt him, tell him where there are several of his books lying about on some shelf in Sofia.

He is ready at once to refute the fact even if he understands its truth.

Ivan Balabanov is the author of several books of interviews. In a certain sense he is the uncrowned king in this field. He believes he has no other rivals. Atanas is a very good author of interviews, but he has a preference for Bulgarian urban literati and his favorite critics. He will not disperse his energies in pursuing foreigners or distinguished visitors to Bulgaria.

Ivan Balabanov's books, however, are filled with big names, with luminaries of the first and second magnitude, with talented conversationalists, who spare minutes of their precious time for this restless Bulgarian who will not leave them in peace, who is forever on the telephone and badgering interpreters. He pushed the staid and slightly phlegmatic Krasen Khimirski for a bit of time to arrange a meeting for us with the inaccessible Arthur Miller, who was living at his "rancho" outside the New York City limits with his young wife, a Viennese photographer. Similarly our compatriot in London fiddled with his notebook in his hand for a long time until he hunted up some suitable person for the curiosity of the wandering journalists to whom an unfamiliar world was opening up--the world of Henry Moore, the British Museum, the eerie house of Madame Tussaud, and the Thames, familiar from Turner's paintings.

To go around the hemisphere with Ivan Balabanov is a pleasure and a displeasure. The displeasure is that he drags you everywhere, will not give you a minute's rest at the hotel and plunges you into the wanderings of Odysseus. However

much I pore over the published interviews of Ivan Balabanov, however much I relish some curious and rare details, I still see many things that have consciously or unconsciously been omitted. For he has to be concise and punchy.

The contemporary reader does not have much time for reading; he wants to get to know what is essential in just a few lines, to "get the feel" of an unknown atmosphere in a few words. Long descriptions are a privilege of the nineteenth century. But no, even then they were not a privilege of genuine journalism, which has one God and one God only--brevity. I do not know the great age of journalism in Europe except from the novels of the great Honoré [de Balzac]. He shows you the Paris of Vautrin, the courtesans, the mercenary pens of the journalists, the breakneck careers and downfalls of men of disastrous ambition. What I do not see in modern journalistic practice I fill in from the classical pages of certain novels and books of memoirs which reveal the fabulous world of journalism.

However, we have not had such journalism and will not have. For we do not sufficiently esteem the passion in journalism, the grandeur in this profession. Simply out of inertia we view this kind of activity with unconscious disdain. This disdain for the "newspaper hack" is still in our blood even though we are familiar with the supreme achievements of the press during the Bulgarian national revival and the post-liberation period.

In his student years Ivan Balabanov maintained very close ties with Lyudmil Stoyanov and his circle. He adored one of his books--"Moite Sreshti" [People I Have Met] (meetings and conversations with European writers), published in 1938. Obviously this book was an incentive to him for the same kind of activity in which there is breathlessness, whetted curiosity about the world, intellectualism, antifascist passion. And this book has made an impression on our generation, too. It strikes us with its wealth of foreign names, some of which have mythic value in our consciousness. For us, Lyudmil Stoyanov's personal acquaintance with the celebrated writer and "Soviet Count" Aleksey Tolstoy meant a great deal. From him we learned for the first time about the execution of the riflemen, about the cold Moscow morning of their execution; we recognize anew in his "Sestri" [Sisters] not only the eternal Turgenev heroines, but also the aroma of a decadent literary age. From there we learned for the first time who Egon Erwin Kisch was. We already knew about Karin Michaelis from her children's books. The philosophical writer, Julien Benda, little known in our country, is familiar from his introductory essay to the works of Kant. About him Lyudmil Stoyanov writes in his sketch, "Every intelligent Frenchman knows the name of Julien Benda as the name of a famous philosopher, industrialist and humanist. He became especially popular with his book, 'Izmyanata na Vodachite' [La Trahison des Clercs; The Treason of the Intellectual], in which he criticizes the role of the intellectuals, in the main their eminent representatives like Barrès in France and D'Annunzio in Italy."

Obviously this book was engraved in his consciousness and he decided to continue it, but to enrich it not only with writers' names, but with the names of producers, opera singers, creative artists, performing artists, political and cultural figures. Ivan Balabanov told me repeatedly that this book played a role in his journalism and gave it a certain orientation.

But Ivan Balabanov is of this generation, to which history has not offered the opportunity of similar acquaintances. For him the only resounding literary names were those of Aleksey Tolstoy, Paul Vaillant Couturier, Ilya Erenburg, André Chamson, (I. K. Lupol), Jean-Richard Bloch et al., people with whom Lyudmil Stoyanov chatted at the end of the 1930's when the world was being torn by alarming wars, by the war in Abyssinia and the bloody civil war in Spain. Intellectuals had raised their voices in Paris and Madrid. They held sessions in Madrid with the sirens screaming and the bombs of fascist planes crashing. Ivan Balabanov had no opportunity to meet the celebrated author of "Choveshka Uchast" [La Condition Humaine; Man's Fate], but he hurried to make up for what he had lost. He met that author's first wife, Clara Malraux. André Malraux's biography in the 1930's was beautiful. He spoke at the First Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934, visited Soviet schools, participated in congresses in Valencia, Barcelona and Madrid. He fought in the ranks of the Spanish Republican Army. He hoisted the banner of "hope" over the above-mentioned fighters. Malraux declared in those years, "In December the Republicans opened a hundred new schools. Thousands of students turned out with weapons to guard these schools. Another difference between us and the fascists is that we loathe the hierarchy. We want culture to be created not by those who have it, but by those who want it."

Today Ivan Balabanov is the author of several books of interviews, interviews filled with reflections of his numerous international meetings. In time even the greatest skeptics of his achievement will be convinced that we have a journalistic talent among us. He has the radar system of the journalists whom we encounter in the major press.

He is a person who scurries to catch the news in the air; events interest him as long as they are "in the air." He is interested in news no more and no less than required by his profession, which creates a keen sense of competition. About Rayna Kabaivanska he knows what he has to know; likewise about Margarita Lilova, and finally about Karajan.

Many believed that Ivan Balabanov (in view of his theatrical education) would concentrate on theater criticism. But he lightly betrayed the ministers of Melpomene even though to this day he writes articles on the theater. But his nature has drawn him elsewhere. What allures him is journalism, the instantaneous story, the spark that results in meeting with celebrities. His first book was in character an interview, but was devoted to our own Bulgarian problems. In it he analyzed "macro"- and "micro"-justice. Through the eye of eminent writers we were acquainted with the sociology of our daily round. In it a spectral analysis was made of a number of social and national vices. This little booklet made a name for him. Everybody understood that before them stood an interviewer who was able to incline them towards moralistic reflection. Even the most apathetic people could not withstand his journalistic offensive; they could not barricade themselves against his aggressive character which knows no obstacles or barriers. With some ease Balabanov crosses foreign borders and gets to foreign capitals. There he finds interesting people to talk to. Marika (R'ok) [possibly Roeck] had long since vanished from the films and was laid to rest with the Third Reich, but he discovered her in Vienna. I personally was a witness of how he made a search by telephone from the

Wittgenstein House for formerly famous singer Lyuba Velichkova, but she had suffered a slight contusion and promised no meeting. In Rome there were failures, too.

Our famous countryman Boris Khristov was not in the mood and did not want to receive two Bulgarians who were enraptured not only with the pines, the basilicas, the Stendhalian abbots and the statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome, but with the performing art of Boris Khristov too. But alas! He did not condescend to grant us the opportunity of dropping in at his house, which would have revealed many things to us. This was one loss. But an interviewer as experienced as Ivan Balabanov knows that the journalistic craft requires patience, stoicism, and sometimes swallowing bitter pills. He knows that in journalism just as in life everything is victories and losses. As editor of the newspaper PULS he inflicted blows, but he suffered blows too. For the most part he did not get into a panic or turn tail. His menacing energy and liveliness made enemies for him. But not bitter enemies, not mortal enemies. For everything he did he did in the name of journalism. Our journalistic blood seems to have become sluggish if we cannot stand natures like Ivan Balabanov, who in tolerant surroundings represent coloring and give an idea of the image of the eternal journalist whom we know from Balzac's novels and who is reincarnated in the most diverse times and eras. There was often tension around Ivan Balabanov. Respected pens wrote against him, but he, with stoicism and the steadfastness of the former "contributors," knew that the profession was risky and that he was, in principle, in a dangerous magnetic field. He is a flesh-and-blood person. He has his passions and prejudices. But nothing can make him lay down his pen. He would sink into deadly boredom, into weightlessness, into a terrible vacuum. Forbid him to publish and interview and he will be dead.

To this day it is hard to believe that I traveled part of the world with Ivan Balabanov! Only I can tell about our vicissitudes in the dressing room of our famous singer in Vienna, Rayna Kabaivanska. In Vienna we set out to see the luxurious shops, but landed in the auditorium of the Staatsoper where Henrik [sic! error for Herbert] von Karajan was conducting a rehearsal of "Trovatore." Ivan Balabanov fell into a certain state of agitation when we saw the pastry shops, the stores and the automobiles of the Viennese capital. With his nose of a restless journalist, he realized that this was not the place for him. And actually his place was not in the Sigmund Freud Museum. He was not born to contemplate the fountains of Schoenbrunn. He was born for completely different things. Things that have nothing in common with books or the contemplation of ancient culture. He was born to meet celebrities.

If he had been active in the 1920's and 1930's, he could not have helped but meet Toscanini, Bruno Walter, Tagore, Ivan Bunin. His blood of a born journalist and inspired interviewer impelled him not so much to go to premieres as to "scent" the celebrities of the century. Whenever he feels that there is some celebrity near him, he becomes restless, turns into a journalistic "greyhound," smokes cigarette after cigarette and throws them away without even finishing them. At such moments there hovers near his head a certain invisible aura of interviewer inspiration, which strikes him in the presence of writers and performing artists, opera singers and creative artists, musicians and

sculptors. At such moments his world seems small. He quickly obtains entry visas (driven by the Fate of unusual meetings), traverses cities and countries and is transformed into a sort of herald of the inexhaustible national curiosity that wants to find out "what is happening in the world."

Insofar as I recall, I was introduced to Ivan Balabanov, this brilliant journalist of ours, whom hardly any other journalist in our capital equals in penetration, resourcefulness and intelligent reflectiveness, somewhere around the beginning of the 1960's by the literary critic Lyuben Georgiev in a vegetarian restaurant. L. Georgiev is also of a nature congenial to him in energy and resourcefulness. He, too, interviewed many Soviet artists and writers and constructed a panorama of theatrical Moscow.

For the energy of Ivan Balabanov a city, no matter how large, is small. He is allured by wider horizons. Before his glance the hemisphere turns round and round. For people like him there is never enough time. He wants to outrun, to overcome time. He lives in a certain breathless state and has the feeling that he is eternally a traveler. He has grown into part of the waiting rooms of the Sofia airport.

In a Madrid pastry shop with him we contemplated the old furniture, admired the candelabra and the strange charm of the dark furniture. We drew up a balance sheet of our travels and it was at that time that he repeatedly said to me, "I will die on the road." In his statement there was not a trace of posturing. He simply likes to travel and is avid for trips. I personally have no great energy for traveling, but I like to travel with him. He gives me some of his never exhaustible energy which is not just maintained with sandwiches and solid beefsteaks. It simply springs from his whole energetic frame. Purely and simply, he is endowed with inexhaustible energy. And in this regard he sweeps along his fellow traveler, invisibly supplementing the latter's energy with his own. The late Vasil Popov once said to me, "Ivan Balabanov is your good fortune." Being an intimate friend, he knew what a stay-at-home I was. And actually "the beginning of my odyssey" was very out of character.

Balabanov wants to make a panorama of the artistic part of the world, that part which dawn finds at its easel, which rehearses to the point of exhaustion, which pursues the summits of absolute art like Balzac's monomaniacs.

There is one reporter who has a world name. His name: Egon Erwin Kisch. Ivan Balabanov is no stranger to his spirit.

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ANOTHER VIEWPOINT SUBTLY DEFENDS LOW BIRTHRATE

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 6 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Zlatko Angelov, M.D., "Let the Neighbors Have Them" (Thoughts about consumer psychology and the higher expectations people have of the standard of living)]

[Text] I am a father of four and that is why I thought that my opinion, built upon personal experience and observation of other people, will have a definite weight in the present discussion. Yes, a great deal depends on being materially provided for which lately, rather precisely, has been called standard of living: a complex which includes salary, housing, prices of goods, social security etc. However, the standard of living is determined by the material maturity of the country in question, and no matter how strongly we desire it, we cannot be richer than the historical development allows us to be at the present moment. We are not one of the richest countries, but this is not the problem. Of course there are those who point to us a high standard and we, without considering how it has been achieved, want to see it established in our country by the wave of a magic wand. According to me, our mistake is that we preached to the people that socialism offers an abundance of material wealth, without teaching them that in order to have these material goods we have to work, that they depend exclusively on our individual, conscientious and creative labor, and that no one can just give them to us like that.

One way or another, the consumer psychology of the author of the anonymous letter is the result of exactly this misconception: that in the just socialist society everybody will receive as much as he could. And yet she decided to remain anonymous for she realizes that her position is amoral, or at least objectionable. This fact indicates that not everything is lost. What is worrisome is that, according to my observations, people with such morality are prevalent. It is worrisome too that with the problem of quantity (the number) of children, the much more important question of their quality is being neglected, that is to say the problem of their upbringing. The problem is so complex that I find it difficult to single out the main issues. But while I cannot prove convincingly that consumer morality is prevalent, I can point out to enough convincing statistical data that families with one child are the majority, and families with three children are the exception (such as ours, with four and more are viewed as archaism).

If we accept that people with three and more children are of high morality, then the rest are left with the opposite--not high. And if we admit that this is an oversimplification, we can understand easily that the so-called low birth rate has its objectively existing causes. In other words, if we do not want to blame people that they consciously, as established egotists, make a decision not to have more than one child, then they all will fall into the category of families who lack the material conditions to have more children. And what does that mean? It means that the house and the material conditions of these families are such that they do not want to raise and bring up their children in conditions less than the optimal ones for the child himself.

Consequently the problem is not simply to have more children, but rather to create such conditions for these children which will secure a better life, at least better than the life we have had in our childhood, such conditions which will fit the notion of every parent for the happiness and proper upbringing of his children. This is not the place to discuss how this notion has been created, but it is clear that there is a discrepancy between the higher expectations people have of their own lives and the possibilities for fulfilling these expectations. In this respect the anonymous author is correct when she emphasizes the higher expectations, which in their essence cannot be anything else but material, and indirectly concludes that the conditions for realization of these expectations by the individual family are not present. Her position, however, is objectionable because she remains there, at the material level, instead of naturally using it for the spiritual uplifting and transforming it into an instrument for the thing which is at the beginning of the human existence--spiritual beginning, culture, beauty, and in the final score--humanism. And the horrible thing is that her child, under these conditions, will probably one day become like her mother.

[The following text is in bold type in the original source] How do you think, for example, the two of us with my wife provide our four children and ourselves with that material level of existence which corresponds to our cultural requirements, moral principles, and professional abilities? First, we were fortunate enough that our grandmother's house is spacious enough to allow both my parents and my family to live there without bothering each other, and that it has not been marked for demolition! Secondly, we both are forced to work which, according to us is a burden for a woman. Even the French socialist-utopians have expressed the wonderful truth that the degree of progress of a society can be measured by the degree of free time its women have. A woman who must work in order to provide for her family, who must earn money instead of bringing up her children (I emphasize this because children are our topic) and having free time for herself is not a free woman! Nor is the man free who is unable alone to support his family. I know that this opinion, from the point of view of the contemporary notions about emancipation, seems objectionable, or rather incomprehensible to most of my contemporaries, but I am convinced that if we look carefully into the issue, we will discover the truth that women should be freed from the burden of compulsory profession and earning money, only then will they be able to decide for themselves whether they want to develop professionally and how to do so, only then their development will be truly free, directed by inner necessity, by desires and abilities.

I have to moonlight in order to earn some extra money which affects the time I spend in my main activity. Furthermore, I cannot even imagine what will happen if one of us is taken ill, our organization is so dependent on our physical health and presence that everything would collapse in case of illness. Then, here is a simple balance of economics: when I put my efforts in side activities (which include maintenance of the house, repairs, search for water faucets which are in short supply, and so on) I inevitably diminish my professional activity; in other words, I become a less complete expert to whom the state pays for a certain kind of work. In parenthesis, I would mention too that it is laughable even to think that until now no one has been upset by the fact that I do not devote all my efforts and skills to my profession! Simply no one has shown any interest in what we, lecturers and scientists, are doing and can do! [End of bold type]

With everything mentioned up to now, I want to underscore that we, people with more than two children (and of course, a large part to those who have only two children) are forced to exert much more effort in order to secure to our families appropriate living conditions which are in congruence with the contemporary expectations, not only in relation to the work and professional realization, but also to the culture and upbringing of the young and their morality. I would also like to draw attention to the fact that the way the problem of children is defined on our country today (from a state, legal, medical and human point of view) does not take into consideration the whole depth and complexity of a fundamental demographic phenomenon. That is why even in the best materials in the newspapers we can notice a sliding along the surface, which seems to be necessary if we wanted to prove how beautiful everything would be if it were the way we wished it to be.

As for the children, we all love them. But plain love is not enough. That is why in words we are all convinced that more children should be born, but ... let the neighbors have them. The question is why is this so, and what can be done to change it?

9804

CSO: 2200/135

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION ON 'ABGRENZUNG' POLICY ANALYZED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 26, 28 Jun 82 pp 32, 33

[Unattributed article: "GDR: Change Through 'Abgrenzung'?--An SED Confidential Analysis of the Politburo's Policy on Germany"]

[Text] The SED leadership views the GDR's situation as being extremely difficult and concludes therefore that it must intensify its Abgrenzung policy against the FRG. This can be gathered from an internal SED analysis which SPIEGEL is documenting. It is based on confidential information given by the party leadership to leading functionaries as well as on explanatory statements by Politburo members.

We are proceeding from the following considerations: The CEMA economic situation is being viewed as tense and crisis ridden for years to come. No basic improvement is in sight.

As recently as April of last year, the SED leadership at its Tenth Party Congress had judged the CEMA economic situation in a much more optimistic light and had based its own growth objectives upon that evaluation. However, immediately following the party congress, the leadership was strongly advised by the Soviets that it was proceeding from entirely false assumptions.

At the same time, crude oil deliveries from the USSR to the GDR were cut down by 10 percent, i.e., about 2 million tons per year. The GDR leadership was told that it would have to increase its aid to Poland as well as its exports to the USSR and to increase its share in paying for Warsaw Pact arms expenditures. This was the background for Erich Honecker's more critical and sober evaluation of the GDR situation at the third session of the SED Central Committee in November 1981.

The miserable, even catastrophic situation of Soviet agriculture has in the meantime led to the GDR's having to deliver meat and cattle not only to Poland, but to the USSR in large quantities as well. The rest is being exported to the West so as to earn foreign currency. As a result, meat has become scarce in East Berlin and even more so in the rest of the GDR.

Trouble in its own agriculture makes the situation even worse. Economic plans with their big growth figures have been called "hollow" by Guenter Mittag in the Politburo and in talking with fellow workers--but, he said, they are plans which must still be desperately adhered to.

Internally, the worst thing is not the so-called peace movement, but rather the growing unwillingness to work hard. Additionally, the SED leadership as well as Moscow are disconcerted over the fact that the Polish government is unable to cope with the situation in that country, nor that there are prospects that this might change within the foreseeable future.

The party derives additional insecurity from not knowing who will lead the Moscow government in the future and what their political policies will be like.

Honecker has an unpleasant memory of an event from his own past: during the final phase of the Walter Ulbricht era, USSR Ambassador Pyotr Abrassimov dealt behind Ulbricht's back with the SED's No 2 man, Erich Honecker, on substantive questions, e.g., the conduct of the negotiations concerning the Berlin Four-Power Treaty.

A Politburo group consisting of Honecker, Kurt Hager, Paul Verner, Willi Stoph, dealt with the Soviets in secret negotiations in Moscow for Ulbricht's succession.

All these reasons have apparently contributed to the SED leadership's decision, including Honecker's, to tighten the Abgrenzung course against Bonn. A reduction in the minimum money exchange quantity is less thinkable than ever. Liberalized travel permits for GDR citizens into the West are out of the question.

The small improvements which have occurred recently have always been explained away within the party and the state apparatus with the reservation that a few concessions had to be made, but that nobody was entitled to such travels. Besides, the whole thing was subject to rescission at any time. Many applications were delayed or disapproved.

Even West-travel cadres (state and party functionaries who are permitted frequent travel to Western countries on official business) who apply for travels to the West on urgent family business or who have since retired, are turned down. In the former case, the justification for disapproval is that West-travel cadre members could travel only on official business; in the second case, it is that private travels to the West after retirement age can be approved only after a quarantine period of 3-5 years.

State civil servants charged with the responsibility for approving such requests have become even tougher than in the past. Almost none of them are permitted to travel to the West themselves, either on business or privately. The party leadership pats them on the back with the commendatory remark that within the entire socialist camp they are almost the only ones left on whom the party can fully depend. In view of this, strict control measures at border crossing points are increasing even for travelers on official business.

In its relationship with Bonn, the SED leadership hopes to be able to equalize and/or hide the restrictive treatment of contact and travel opportunities to the West by permitting pensioners who had permission to travel to the FRG until now to continue doing so. In addition, a small circle of "organized travel groups" of people below retirement age is to be given permission to travel. The organized travel groups will be charged with continuously reiterating the basic demands which Honecker had made in Gera in 1980: full judicial recognition of the GDR; ambassadors rather than permanent representatives; recognition of the centerline of the Elbe River as the border; abolishing the central registry for GDR criminal actions in Salzgitter.

In parallel with further Abgrenzung the SED leadership wants to conclude economic and financial agreements with the FRG on a purely commercial basis. However, in no case are such agreements to be linked with questions of travel opportunities between the two states.

Last March Honecker even said that trade with the FRG must not be conducted on the same basis as is done with other capitalist states. The SED leadership feels that every effort must be made to have the GDR recognized in relation to the FRG as having full status under international law.

The thinking on this goes about as follows: with the basic treaty, only half a step was made in that direction. However, if conditions in Eastern Europe and in the GDR continue to deteriorate, which is likely, then future developments could hardly be coped with if the so-called German-German relationships continued to exist; if for instance a permanent representation of the other state continued to exist which presumes to have protective duties toward all types of German citizens; if the border were to be considered only an inter-German one; and if Bonn were to receive and resettle all GDR Germans who want to go to the FRG and who manage to get there by various means and in appreciable numbers.

It is quite sufficient, they reason further, that the FRG has West Berlin smack in the middle of the GDR, reachable through generous transit traffic arrangements traversing the GDR, and that there could be no basic changes in this for the foreseeable future.

Honecker pointed out that while it takes time to translate the Gera demands into reality, pressure should be exerted continuously toward that goal so as to make progress on some of those questions because sudden tensions might serve to obliterate those opportunities again.

He have a reminder that prior to Afghanistan the Soviets had agreed to the regulation about direct elections of Berlin council chamber delegates. However, after Afghanistan it had been impossible to get the Soviets to agree to designate Marzahn as a new 9th city district, since Moscow did not want any further conflicts with the West (the London Protocol of 12 September 1944 restricts the number of East Berlin city districts to eight).

The SED leadership also notes that the future of the Bonn coalition is uncertain. Which is why it is important, during the time left for the

coalition government, to achieve at least some progress in the matter of international legal recognition. But this must not involve any compromises on questions which are particularly dear to Bonn's heart.

Should the CDU inherit the FRG Government, Honecker and the Politburo feel that controversies will become tougher anyway. Any improvement in the starting position obtained prior to such a change in FRG government would then become worthwhile. Should the SPD stay in power, things could continue as before; perhaps, depending on the situation of the moment, the GDR might even show some accomodation.

Under these conditions it would be appropriate for Honecker to make his return visit to the FRG before the end of this year, essentially under conditions appropriate to the visit of a foreign head of state, and without any further concessions on questions of lifting travel restrictions, exchange rates or similar matters.

One would have to take the risk that this attitude by the GDR would diminish the SPD's chances to stay in power. For one thing, the GDR's attitude is not critical to the FRG Government's fate; secondly, securing the power and stability of the GDR has priority over all other considerations. Everything must be subordinated to that objective. Says Honecker: "We can only help the SPD if we are in full control."

National recriminations against the FRG ("No new war must originate on German soil") were intoned by the party leadership only for the benefit of the Soviets so as to increase pressure upon the FRG not to follow blindly on Reagan's course--apart from the fact that Honecker agrees that the GDR could not survive a military confrontation in Europe.

The entire German-German political strategy of the SED leadership is of course subject to a total change if a new leadership were to take over in Moscow which would change directions.

But we must wait and see what develops, says the Politburo. For that eventuality too the GDR would be best equipped if it had previously strengthened its own positions.

9273

CSO: 2300/389

JOINT GDR-FRG PROTESTANT CHURCH DECLARATION ON 'PEACE RESPONSIBILITIES'

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 19 Aug 82 p 4

["News' feature report, signed 'D/R/S': "Draft Report At the Seam of Two World Systems--Text of Joint Declaration by Protestant Church in Germany and Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR," datelined Berlin, 30 June 1982]

[Text] "Draft Report" is the designation for the text (reproduced below) published on Wednesday [18 August 1982] by the Protestant Church in Germany (EKD) and the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR (BEK).

Consultations of representatives of the Association of Protestant Churches in the GDR and the Protestant Church in Germany had the task of helping their churches in both German states to fulfill their responsibility for peace.

This responsibility is based on the mission to act for which our churches are jointly thankful and to which they are committed. Its particular context is that it has been assigned to our church "at the seam of the two world systems." It was called thus in the joint "Word on Peace" on the 40th anniversary of the beginning of World War II, and described as the task of "building bridges to understanding across world political contradictions" and "cooperating in the deepening of the policy of detente." In the consultations it was accordingly asked how this responsibility should and can become concrete for each of the two churches in its own state and jointly for both churches.

1. All our service for peace, which men can perform together, stems from the peace which God put in Christ for all men, and which we cannot create but rather only receive. The specific and first contribution of the church toward peace among peoples lies in the fact that it testifies to the peace of God and therefore prays for the peace of men with God and the peace of men with one another. To that end the consultation group developed the liturgy of a divine prayer service for peace. It asks the leadership organs to ensure that the common divine prayer services be continued and that help for common prayer be developed.

The peace of God, to which the church testifies, bears on our whole life. The prayer for peace is the innermost concentration of an enveloping

commitment to life. Therefore testimony and prayer can never become a retreat from political responsibility for peace, but rather lead into the assumption of this responsibility.

2. Our churches face a particular challenge to their responsibility for peace on earth in the face of growing world political tensions, in the face of the endangering of all life through the accumulation of nuclear, bacteriological and chemical weapons, in the face of the line of division of the great political-military alliances between both German states, in the face of the assumed special spiritual community between our churches, which has to be proven also and precisely in the maintenance and stabilization of peace between our states and thus also among the states of Europe, and in the face of particular theological and ethical positions in the history of our churches which require the critical test on the basis of the biblical message.

3. The first and at present most urgent embodiment of the responsibility for peace is the prevention of war. Its attainment is a condition for an approach to a system of peace, which brings more justice and freedom for all men in this world.

Its failure means unimaginable horrors and suffering for generations.

The responsibility for peace in this world is not fulfilled by the prevention of war, but includes more--up to the goal of international justice.

#### Tasks for the Churches

For our situation we must explain: No goal or value can justify the unleashing of a war today. The prevention of war is a condition for the achievement of human rights, freedom and justice. The church has the obligation to point out that a war does not protect freedom and justice and with them the conditions for a decent life, but perhaps even irrevocably destroys it.

Among us the consequences of the unheard of contradiction is unexplained: the defense destroys, in all probability, all which is to be defended. Jointly we are convinced that this life-threatening paradoxical situation must be overcome.

4. The power of the Gospel holds churches together across frontiers. This applies also to the seam between the two power systems for the special community of the Association of Protestant Churches in the GDR and the Protestant Church in Germany. Both churches take cognizance of their responsibility in their social context and are striving to respond to this challenge. At the same time they do not want to be involved in the antagonism (antithesis) of the systems, because they are concerned with their task as serving as a bridge to conciliation.

#### Tasks of the Churches

Cooperation between the churches (particularly between neighboring churches) should be intensified and broadened through the building of trust, frank

statement of common and reciprocally burdensome problems (conversations between church leaderships working groups on the handling of special questions etc.). In this, differing conceptions are to be respected as a challenge of faith, to reflect one's own standpoint renewed by the experience of faith of the others.

5. The consultations between the churches offer the possibility to see more sharply one's own position and function in society and to reveal how the performance of Christian witnessing is imbued with it. The assessment of the social and state order and its envisaged objectives prevailing at any given time will also thereby be subject to further inquiry. These communications between the churches can act politically as a contribution to a peaceful coexistence which renounces the removal of the other with deception or violence.

#### Tasks of the Churches:

The testing of their own social role includes that of the programmatic self-concepts of the states.

The evaluation of strengths and weaknesses should not proceed only from a point-by-point individual comparison, but must rather strive for a total picture. The churches should support the presentation of the social reality of the other side correctly and without propagandistic distortion.

6. Even in a confrontation of their states the churches stand in the larger community of all Christians. This community places them for the sake of God and man in the service all efforts which are useful to a peaceful development.

#### Tasks for the Churches:

The conversational contacts between church and political representatives in their own sphere can, through the infusion of church experience and stimulation, be utilized to promote the relations between neighboring states with different political and economic systems, awaken understanding for one another, and thereby also contribute to the overcoming of crisis developments. Along with this, the churches should make their mutual links unselfishly available for the maintenance and further development of the relations between their states, if this appears to be offered.

7. In the face of the pursuit of uninterrupted armament and its ever increasing total threat to human life, it is politically reasonable today to develop concepts which seek to achieve the guaranteeing of peace and therefore with the preservation of life with means other than military. Security today is still conceivable only in the framework of a system which takes opposed interests equally into account and compels them to peaceful compromise.

Our churches must validate the priority of political efforts over military security to guarantee peace and therefore promote the building of a European

peace system on paths indicated by the Helsinki resolutions; they must strengthen awareness of common responsibility for a more just world economic order, and make effective education for peace in all spheres of public and social life with their own programs of vigilant criticism and support of their own initiatives.

In their decisions and positions, our churches must express that it is essential to a future regime of peace that each side credibly approve the existence of the other side and coexistence with it; that each side reflect on the security needs of the other; that each side renounce the maximization of its own power and serve the improvement of the security for both sides; that each side reduce those factors which inspire mistrust and increase fears of threat, and promote the building of trust; that each strives toward a form of armament which most credibly demonstrates its defensive intentions.

Even actions of symbolic value should not be hastily disposed of, but seriously tested.

Our churches call to attention the trends in the deterrence through terror which increasingly endanger peace and their effect on the attitudes of men toward life and living together. The mandate to political deaconate is also not to be assumed, and particularly here, without the service of the liberating word of God in witnessing and the ministry.

6108

CSO: 2300/386

'DEMORALIZING' TRENDS IN RECENT GDR FILMS CRITICIZED

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 129, 26 Aug 82 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "Critique of 'Demoralizing' Trends in GDR Film"]

[Text] The East Berlin journal FILM UND FERNSEHEN (No 8, 1982) has discovered "demoralizing" trends in recent films produced by DEFA. The realistic portrayal of the "feverishly sweaty workday" is not enough; the "meaning of the whole" must also be seen and shown: "Pride in our homeland as it is." It is disturbing to see "the heroes of our everyday life" in films "recovering too little of their ideals." In this connection, the journal blames also the filmmakers' phobia about the "ideal hero." Notwithstanding the fact that "no one is requested or even expected" to provide a hero portrayal of that kind, one sometimes has the impression that filmmakers try very hard "to find fault" with a hero they fear the spectators could really regard as a model. The resulting "anti-hero" has become "now almost a cliché." This hero fails in the end, with the spectator "delivered to perplexity." Films of this kind, the journal comments, collide with the mission of the GDR movie industry "to generate courage." DEFA films "must above all show how conflicts are dealt with, how defeats are overcome, how tests to prove one's worth are passed."

CSO: 2300/399

DRESDEN PHYSICIAN EXPLAINS GROWING ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 108, 19 Jul 82 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "Alarming Alcohol Consumption in GDR-Growing Numbers of Women and Adolescents Turn to the Bottle"]

[Text] Alcohol consumption in the GDR has assumed alarming dimensions. This has been pointed out by Dr Hasso Engel, a Dresden physician who for year has been dealing with problems of alcoholism. He is the author of numerous articles on this subject. According to Dr Engel, alcohol consumption in the GDR has tripled during the past 25 years. In the meantime "a further increase is becoming noticeable." For example, ever more women and adolescents, the doctor says, are turning to alcohol. "While only a few years ago the average age for delirium tremens patients was 40, the intensive care units today frequently have such patients who are not even 25 years old," the doctor reports.

There are many different reasons for this development, according to the doctor. Thus many people regard drinking as an expression of a high standard of living and an elevated life style. In certain professions people regard drinking as part of custom and tradition. Others attempt "in this way to overcome personal and occupational anxieties, problems, even inhibitions, because it is easier, by means of a 'purchased euphoria,' to improve one's morale, to create the illusion of capability rather than proving oneself by real performance." Consequently the intervals between drinks grow ever shorter, according to the doctor, for the persons involved crave "ever more alcohol in order to feel better and gain psychological comfort."

CSO: 2300/400

## TOUGH JOB DECISIONS FACE RECENT GRADUATES

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 30 Jul 82 p 5

[Article by Henriette Thiery: "Placement of Graduates"]

[Text] More than 240,000 students completed their studies at various kinds of schools again this year. In recent months they have been seeking employment and have been getting acquainted with their new lifestyles. By graduates those who have just received their diplomas are generally meant, although they comprise only a small percentage of those beginning employment. Still, they are the ones we shall discuss mostly, since finding employment after completing either elementary or secondary schools is no problem. Perhaps the only exception to easily finding employment would be for those who have completed high school but were not accepted for higher education. Their number is 10,700. The positions available to them are sufficient numerically, but the problem is that 80 to 90 percent of these involve manual labor, which high school graduates are not happy to accept.

This year nearly 10,000 young people will be qualified for employment at the day sessions of higher education institutions. Twenty-two to twenty-three thousand positions have been made available to them. Despite this--according to the colleges and universities--employment problems have arisen.

### The Problems of Teachers

At ELTE [Lorant Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences], one of the country's largest universities, the problems vary according to faculty. In the Law and Political science faculty 240 students graduated. One-third of these were social scholarship holders (these are not participants in the employment system). As for the rest: 189 positions were made available for 160 newly graduated lawyers. The problem is that only 56 of these jobs are located in the capital, whereas about 80 percent of the graduates are from Budapest. By their fifth year, most of the girls are married and have set up households in Budapest. It is understandable that they are not eager to go to the rural areas where the chances of finding an apartment are almost hopeless.

We are encountering similar problems in the liberal arts and natural science faculties. In addition, teaching department students--the majority of whom are also from Budapest--are also frightened away from rural employment by the pay, which is between 2,600 and 2,800 forints (and this is new.) The positions

in Budapest are generally advertised at 3,200 forints. In addition, good scholastic performance is also rewarded by an additional 100 to 200 forints.

In the natural science faculty, 106 students graduated from the teacher training section. The majority of these is seeking careers as teachers. In Budapest and in Pest Megye, 110 positions were made available to them. The numerical equivalency, however, occasionally contains internal proportion discrepancies. For those with mathematics or physics specialties, the "demand" is greater than the "supply". However, those who majored in biology or geography have difficulty finding employment.

Although the Ministry of Cultural Affairs in its admission orientation states that as graduates they can expect to hold positions in secondary or elementary schools, the opportunities in the latter are often disappointing to those beginning their careers. Reluctance to accept these positions is especially true of liberal arts graduates who do not like to accept either vocational secondary too happily. In fact, it was discovered at a preliminary survey at universities that many do not want to teach at all. It is noteworthy that while in 1979 23 percent of the liberal arts graduates remained outside of the career system, today they makeup nearly half of the 165 strong teacher department. This is often because there are no appropriate positions for their specialties. Another reason, however, is that the low teacher salaries forces many to leave their field. The graduates of the two foreign language divisions, for example, can find much better positions as interpreters, or can earn a better living as freelance language instructors.

Other problems have appeared for liberal arts graduates who are not in the teacher training division. Only 24 positions are available for the 56 graduates. It should be added, however, that these positions are not advertised at once, but also continuously during the year. Thus, the number of positions may vary. In all events, there are some divisions for which there are no positions available at all, such as Hungarian-Latin, archeology, archeology-Latin. These graduates can find temporary positions as translators, or in related specialties. This problem may be solved in the future by archeology being classed as a "B" specialty. This means that the program can be entered as a change in specialties only after completing one full year, or as a third specialty. The basic requirement is good scholastic performance. The requests are considered individually, indicating further restriction of the field.

There were 225 graduating students from the natural science faculty's non-teacher sections. The 253 advertised positions seem to numerically satisfy the requirements. The opportunities are more favorable for programmers, systems analysts, chemists and physicists. Mathematicians and biologists will experience more difficulty in finding positions.

The universities, after collating several years of observations see a large number of deficiencies in the career system, and deem it unable to resolve fundamental problems such as, for example, the supply of specialists for rural areas. In their opinion, a system of directly sending job offers to universities would promote the meeting of students and employers in a more

reassuring manner, and the universities could directly influence the placement of students with good academic records.

### Economists and Their Tasks

In contrast to some specialties of ELTE, there is great demand for economists. The 298 graduates of the Karl Marx University of Economics were offered 1280 positions. The situation, however, varied somewhat by specialization. For example, while there were 8 times as many positions than graduates for industrial economists, the 27 who majored in international economic relations found only 12 advertised positions. The number of positions located in the capital somewhat exceeds the number of rural ones, and generally corresponds to student distribution. In addition, it is certainly apparent from an examination of the career materials that the positions outside of Budapest almost without exception are advertising considerably higher salaries. For example: while MEDIMPEX is advertising 2,700 forints, the Beke Mgt. of Jaszjakohalma is offering 4,000 to 4,500 forints. If they wish to accept the accompanying inconveniences, it is worthwhile for economist graduates to accept rural employment, as well as employment by smaller enterprises. Smaller enterprises also pay more than the well known "prestigious" firms.

Rewarding or non recognition of scholastic achievement appears to be entirely an individual matter for the enterprises. Sometimes the difference between an excellent diploma and a merely satisfactory one does mean something. If nothing else, it means perseverance, industriousness, work capacity and a sense of responsibility. There are even some enterprises where this is taken into account. At Tungsram, for example, the beginning salary for a sales clerk with a "B" average is 2,600 forints; for one with an "A" average, the salary is 4,500 forints. In other places, however, the difference is often only 300 to 400 forints. Many places do not differentiate at all.

Economists often have the problem of not having their training appropriately utilized in their jobs. They are often assigned administrative tasks. This happens mostly in positions in which the scope of activity is undefined. How can one know what the designation "a chief economist" covers? One is also unsure in a position in which tasks such as "the recording of the documentation and fulfillment data for major plan numbers", or the "ensuring of management information" are included among more important tasks. And who will accept employment in a place where they promise that the "qualified graduate will be named to a position appropriate to his training and abilities after completing the probationary period". There are not a few of these among the available positions. The problems of the three teaching divisions are similar to those of the teachers.

### Medical School

In 1982 there will be 900 graduating medical school students for whom there will be 15 percent more than that number of positions advertised. The common practical problem of economists or engineers, employment inappropriate to their training, is unknown among physicians. The new graduates are "thrown

into deep water" immediately by receiving medical assignments. Twenty-four percent of the advertised positions are in Budapest. This approximates the distribution of the population between the capital and rural areas, but hardly lives up to the expectations of the graduates. This is well illustrated by the fact that the university and Budapest positions are mostly filled already, while there are still many rural vacancies. It is clearly apparent that the 15 percent surplus positions which the graduates will not accept will be the rural ones.

The universities endeavor to assist in the placement of graduates in many ways. They are on the lookout at all times. They provide letters of recommendation for their best students as well as character references. They do not permit them to enter contract positions from which they could reenter the employment market in one or two years. Placement is made more difficult by the coincidence of the need for jobs and the state examination period. Currently there are no certified doctor graduates. The problem is that the students may apply for an unlimited number of positions and must receive replies within one month. Thus, naturally they will wait for the offer they judge to be the best. In case of negative replies, they may perhaps lose out on good positions. Moreover, when the best applicant does not accept a position, the employer can no longer select his second and third choices because these have already accepted other offers after receiving their original rejections. It appears that the "freedom" of these students, and especially the one month time limit ought to be reduced.

It appears unlikely that any of this year's university graduates will remain unemployed. Many, however, will take positions out of constraint. Low starting salaries and the difficulties of supplying rural manpower will continue to remain problematic. The latter could perhaps be resolved primarily through monetary incentives.

9093

CSO: 2500/354

NINTH PLENUM PARTICIPANTS INTERVIEWED BY 'SZTANDAR MLODYCH'

ZSMP Leader Jaskiernia

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 5

[Interview with Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman, ZSMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth Main Board], by Zenon Kulej: "Positivist Actions--without Rhetoric"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] Soon 15 months will have passed since the Third ZSMP Congress. The Ninth KC [Central Committee] Plenum may be looked upon as the turning point in the solution of the affairs of the younger generation discussed at your congress.

[Answer] The implementation of the resolutions of the Third Extraordinary ZSMP Congress is taking place both within the union itself, on the basis of decisions made by the Main Board at subsequent meetings, and outside the union, based on the actions of political and administrative echelons.

[Question] Will the Ninth Central Committee Plenum fulfill the demands made at the ZSMP congress?

[Answer] Many issues that we raised were raised earlier by the party and the government, for example, regarding certain ZSMP suggestions in the socioeconomic sphere, a Council of Ministers resolution dated 14 June 1982 specifies a program for the improvement of conditions for giving youth a professional and material start in life. The Ninth Central Committee Plenum also prepared the party's ideological platform regarding the younger generation.

[Question] The report of the Central Committee first secretary contains many interesting proposals for the youth movement.

[Answer] In the opinion of our union, the announcement that institutional guarantees for youth and their organizations will be expanded is significant. These guarantees include the right to share opinions on plans of the state and economic administration, the right to participate in developing legislation, the right to take initiatives (which includes lawmaking initiatives) and the right to supervise actions of the administration taken on behalf of

the youth. The recommendation of the plenum regarding the appointing of a Committee for Youth Affairs under the Council of Ministers is likewise important. The ZSMP has been struggling to get such a committee since its Third Extraordinary Congress. The announced law concerning youth will facilitate the development of a comprehensive system of guarantees sanctioning the participation of youth in political life and their impact on the course of state affairs. Thus, in this sense, the Ninth Central Committee Plenum is fulfilling the expectations of the thousands of ZSMP members who, at meetings held before the plenum and in letters to the Main Board and to the youth press, expressed the hope that ZSMP's impact upon the country's political life would increase through attainment of concrete institutional guarantees.

[Question] This will not solve all the problems of the younger generation.

[Answer] Obviously, the very undertaking of such decisions by the Central Committee will not automatically resolve all the social problems of youth. Their resolution is contingent above all on how fast we emerge from the crisis, which in turn depends considerably upon the work of the young people themselves. However, it is important that the efforts of young people not be wasted and that the state support the positive initiatives of youth, such as the movement of youth labor cooperatives, small construction and housing cooperatives and all efforts taken to improve the start in life of young workers and farmers.

[Question] At meetings of the party aktiv held before the Ninth Central Committee Plenum and during the deliberations themselves, much was said about the need for the increased cooperation of socialist youth unions.

[Answer] As the political situation stabilizes, the cooperation of socialist youth unions will increase. This was the purpose, for example, of the appointment of the Commission for Joint International Contacts of Polish Youth and Student Unions 2 July 1981. When the ZSMP was created, emphasis was placed on expanding cooperation in other fields. There are no longer any obstacles standing in the way of similar initiatives in concrete matters, where the need exists.

[Question] We are all familiar with such proposals for cooperation as OKWOM [National Committee for the Cooperation of Youth Organizations]. Why do you have reservations regarding these proposals?

[Answer] Our negative experiences from such forms of cooperation as OKWOM and FSZMP [Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth] show that the process of integrating youth activities may not be used to create a facade. We reject the line of reasoning that says, "Let us begin with formalized structures and later we will give some substance to these structures." We must eschew pretence and the cheap demagoguery that have been cultivated by those who did much to tear the youth people apart, not to integrate them. The very assumption of the ZSMP provides a plane for integrating young workers, farmers, students and soldiers. We will do all that we can to develop this intercommunity integration within the ZSMP. The union leadership is

carefully monitoring the development of the ZSMP in the rural youth community; at the last meeting of the ZSMP Main Board we discussed how to strengthen our impact on secondary and higher schools.

[Question] In the ZSMP press, we find polemics regarding the situation of the rural youth movement. Why is it so difficult for youth organizations to cooperate within this community?

[Answer] Cooperation is possible only when everyone acts in good faith. When the attempts to destroy rural ZSMP circles and ZSMP gmina boards disappear, the obstacles to greater cooperation will also disappear. The rhetoric on cooperation may not lead to attempts to weaken the ZSMP. We are opposed to privileges for any organization, but we do not think that the ZSMP, which has nearly 2 million members, should degrade its authority merely to create sham structures. The leadership of our union appreciates every manifestation of the mutual resolution of youth affairs in conjunction with the members of other organizations as well as with youth not belonging to organizations. But we want positive actions, not propagandistic rhetoric.

Scout Leader Ornat

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 5

[Interview with Andrzej Ornat, head of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP], by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "Practice Will Tell"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] What did the Scout Union expect from the Ninth Central Committee Plenum?

[Answer] As an ideological-upbringing organization and spokesman for the interests of children and young people, we believed that the plenary meeting of the Central Committee should answer how the party, the guiding force in our state, views the most important problems that society must resolve. We cannot isolate youth from society; this could set them against the state. It is not good to separate the young and the old. All of today's difficult problems affect everyone; to determine the degree of hardship caused to one or another age group is difficult. We expected the Ninth Plenum to undertake this line of thinking and it did, as evidenced from Comrade Jaruzelski's report.

The party should concern itself with ideological questions, with the upbringing of society, its consolidation and the development of attitudes. These are the tasks of the ZHP, the school, the home, the family, the workplace and the means of mass information--they form attitudes.

[Question] However, if we consider the five powers granted the youth movement, they are a sort of differentiation.

[Answer] They are a great differentiation. As we look at the documents from the Ninth Central Committee Plenum, we must also note the government program for improving conditions for giving youth their start in life. They address the whole group of issues of importance to children and youth, that portion of society starting out.

[Question] Is this not a sort of separation of youth from the rest of society?

[Answer] Not so much a separation of youth but the problems of youth must be resolved by the party, the state and the authorities. The proposed powers ennoble youth organizations; they give legislative force to the movement's impact. I only hope that the movement will make use of these powers, its new authority demonstrating the need for these state documents.

[Question] Will these powers be of use to the ZHP?

[Answer] They will be very useful. They give us input into the preparation of all legal documents, which we will be able to steer in the direction of the wishes of children and youth, the instructorial and teaching cadre.

[Question] Many Central Committee members have reservations regarding the work of schools. It is being said that recently they have placed more emphasis on didactics and less on upbringing.

[Answer] There is some truth to this but it is not always only teachers and the school who are guilty of this. The measurable results of teaching are calculable. Upbringing is hard to measure. As an ideological-upbringing organization, we wish to take a more extensive part in school upbringing.

[Question] The issue of creating a Council of Ministers Committee for Youth Affairs was also given much attention at the plenum. The various organizations hold different positions on this issue; the ZHP is opposed to it.

[Answer] We have consistently opposed this committee from the beginning. Youth problems and the youth themselves should not be isolated from society. As ZHP, we cooperate well with the particular ministries: education, culture, finance and the oïke. We must battle and we are battling over youth issues. However, by placing an umbrella over youth affairs (which this committee may become), we may delay the resolution of particular issues. The report states that this will be a qualified governmental organ. It depends on how the assumptions and outlines of this institution are prepared. Time will tell.

SZSP Leader Sawic

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 5

[Interview with Tadeusz Sawic, chairman of the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students] Main Board, with Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "This Is Just the Beginning"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] As socialist youth unions, you have received new powers--the five points from the Political Bureau report.

[Answer] I would call these powers proposals for us. Whether we use these instruments and the extent to which we use them depend upon the strength of youth unions, upon their impact and, thus, upon ourselves.

[Question] Do you represent a sufficient force at academic institutions to use these instruments?

[Answer] They are not intended only for use by youth unions. We must find methods of consultation to determine the positions of the various groups of young people who are not necessarily part of youth organizations. We cannot view the youth movement solely through the prism of its member base. We may speak here of self-government and of other social, sports and tourist organizations. We must use these powers to create a plane of consultation.

[Question] Was it necessary for them to be granted such vast powers from above? This may be taken conversely to mean that if the necessity of ensuring such powers is recognized, then the authorities at various levels did not use [their authority].

[Answer] There is some truth to this. We must treat these rights within the framework of the so-called guarantees. People are constantly demanding them.

[Question] The plenum came out in favor of appointing a Council of Ministers Committee for Youth Affairs, despite the differences in the youth movement.

[Answer] The appointment of the committee will not change the operative mechanisms, or be a panacea for youth problems. I have a similar opinion of the draft of the law on youth and on the powers of the legislative initiative granted to unions. These are new elements, opportunities for the youth to make use of their organizations as well. Whether we are satisfied or totally undone in the next several years depends on us. It is also a test of the operational effectiveness of our socialist youth unions.

[Question] Can the proposals of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum be compared with the decisions of the famous Seventh Central Committee Plenum in 1972?

[Answer] I do not treat the decisions of the current plenum as promises. That is what the decisions of the 1972 plenum were. The present decisions are proposals for our utilization in conjunction with the party. In general it is not easy to compare the two plenums. The 1972 plenum contained many valuable proposals and evaluations. It was the implementation of these proposals, or rather, the failure to implement them, that led to their overall negative evaluation. The Ninth Plenum offers no guarantees that the implementation will be successful. By giving the youth movement the right of control, it introduces the principle of coresponsibility for institutions representing youth. There will be no saying that we could not, we were thwarted, it was not permitted, they passed us by. Today's party action answers many demands. It gives youth the opportunity to test themselves in action. This suits me but are youth unions up to it?

[Question] Are these new elements useful for the student union?

[Answer] I think so, although we do not know what the legal language of these party proposals will be. There are still many barriers to overcome before these ideas materialize.

[Question] On the basis of the way that the plenum has proceeded, are you optimistic?

[Answer] I am guardedly optimistic. What happens after the plenum will be the decisive factor. I am afraid that the entire wealth of rich and valuable discussion that preceded this meeting will be wasted after the deliberations. People will say that we had the plenum, finished our debates over the youth and resolved the issue. The plenum should be a starting point. It is an initial step, a beginning.

Rural Youth Leader Swirgon

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 5

[Interview with Waldemar Swirgon, Central Committee candidate member, chairman of the National Board of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW]: "Cooperation Is Essential"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] Has the Ninth Central Committee Plenum fulfilled your hopes as the head of the ZMW?

[Answer] It has partly fulfilled my hopes in that the position of our organization was taken into consideration in all the plenum's documents and materials. Party policy has also confirmed the independence of the four unions, their internal self-government and their equality before the law. We finally have concrete regulations anticipating the delegation of some state authority to the youth movement. I am referring to the five points from the report and the permission to conduct economic activity and to have our own cooperative unions. This is vital for us. This plenum ends a certain stage of the acquisition of civic rights by the ZMW in our political system. Our existence no longer arouses controversy.

[Question] What has the Ninth Plenum not done?

[Answer] It has paid too little attention to the socioprofessional problems of young farmers. This is somewhat justifiable, since the discussion is of an ideological-political nature. It would have been impossible to enter into the complexities of farm production at this plenum.

[Question] When will we delve into these issues?

[Answer] Soon there will be a joint meeting of the party Central Committee and the ZSL [United Peasant Party] NK [Supreme Committee] devoted to farm policy and the development of joint guidelines on this issue.

[Question] Will we participate in this meeting on an equal basis?

[Answer] We will be present as both parties. The ZMW is a two-party movement of young PZPR and ZSL members. We are trying to create good models of political cooperation. Some of the ideas that I have expressed here will be concretized at that meeting.

[Question] What is the ZMW attitude to the Council of Ministers Committee for Youth Affairs?

[Answer] It is unchanging. It is one of the solutions creating the appearance of settling matters, as in the peasant saying, "He does not sow or turn the soil; he does not help, he does not foil." It is difficult to determine what damage this committee will do. If practice shows that we do not need this committee, we will not be afraid to admit our mistake. The Ninth Plenum has forejudged this issue and it has every right to do so. That is the party's position, especially since it will not be a committee for the youth movement but a youth affairs committee, including unorganized youth. The veto that I recommended in the Political Bureau was not considered.

[Question] In your opinion, what is the status of the party-ZMW cooperation?

[Answer] It continues to be poor. Party operatives at the local level are still guided by the idea of the so-called unity of the youth movement and the so-called shattering of this unity by the ZMW. This causes many young party members to be stuck in sometimes dead, socially inactive elements and structures, while the spontaneous, natural ZMW rural youth movement is arising, often with the active participation of ZSL operatives and the ZSL apparatus. The party must study the ZMW, just as the ZMW must learn to understand the long-term interests and activities of the party. We are appealing to operatives of the party apparatus for help for the ZMW.

[Question] Is there any chance for an understanding with the ZSMP? If not an organizational unity, will there be a clear political unity of the youth movement one day?

[Answer] There are essentially no political, programmatic or ideological differences between the ZSMP and the ZMW. There are differences in their approach to the forms of their work with youth and to their traditions. The base and the aktiv of both organizations have no conflicting interests. On the contrary, cooperation may help to develop each union within a given community. It is a conflict of the leadership of the organizations, rather than of the organizations themselves. It is in the interest of rank-and-file members to cooperate, for this enables more effective action regarding state authorities. Both organizational bases should change the leaders who are in conflict. That is what happens to those who do not understand the need for cooperation.

From the plenum platform, we expressed the need for an immediate return to National Committee for the Cooperation of Youth Organizations, which proved effective in practice. A platform of cooperation for independent leftist youth organizations is essential.

Deputy Premier Rakowski

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 5

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee member, Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "I Do Not Fear Control"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] Are there not too many institutions and organizations acquiring power to control the government and the authorities at all levels?

[Answer] As a member of the government leadership, I cannot oppose another form of supervision over the work of the state administration and the government. I have always believed that we must be under such supervision. The problem lies only in the premises underlying this control. Is it worthy and creative or does it lead to destruction, anarchy and a show of power? Control must be effective. This requires those doing the controlling be familiar with things. They should know both certain government "secrets" and the limitations of government, as well as the exigencies underlying given decisions.

[Question] That is a big order. Will youth organizations be able to fill it?

[Answer] As I listened to Comrade Jaruzelski's report--and he is excellent--I whispered to my neighbor, Gabrielski, I hope that no new staff members are needed to execute supervisory functions. I don't know whether there are enough people who are willing to give their free time after 8 pm to do supervisory work. You should be able to answer this question better as such a first-rate youth newspaper.

[Question] That is quite a compliment. To answer the question, we believe that there are people who will be willing to do this work. Let us change the subject. At the Third ZSMP Congress, you more or less promised that a Council of Ministers Committee for Youth Affairs would be appointed. The Ninth Party Congress upheld this. However, the issue evoked controversy among the four youth unions. One hears arguments that the committee may serve to channel youth affairs into one institution, thus removing obligations from the particular ministries.

[Answer] I do not share this view. If the committee arises, there must be representatives of all ministries in it. Actually, at the Third Congress I expressed the conviction that calling the committee was a good idea. Later I realized that the idea of this body should be prepared by the youth itself and by their organizations. This is why I did not implement the resolution of the Ninth Party Congress on this issue.

[Question] Was this a little consolation for you?

[Answer] Yes it was, because some of the organizations were opposed to the committee, fearing governmental control. They were afraid that it would be a hidden form of governmental management and the like.

[Question] That is not an irrational fear.

[Answer] Perhaps, although I am far from managing...

[Question] However, premiers change and the committee remains. Your successor may wish to manage and he will find the tool.

[Answer] That is why, recognizing that the committee should exist, I wished the leaders of youth organizations to come to a mutual understanding concerning the need for the committee and its powers. I acted democratically and honestly. For this I was attacked by various ZSMP elements of purposeful distortion. Recently, WALKA MŁODYCH also attacked me quite brutally, saying that perhaps Premier Rakowski, who has made reference to the Ninth Congress on various occasions, will finally see that the committee is appointed. Some of my younger colleagues are pretending that they do not know what is going on. I am always prepared to take this on as another obligation and to create this committee but, by God, this was to be a youth issue.

[Question] Is this committee really necessary?

[Answer] Yes, it is. It should not settle youth issues. It should create youth organizations at various levels and in the ministries. I see the role of the committee more on a sociopolitical plane. It should transmit young people's demands, aspirations, longings, ills and ways of thinking to the state apparatus. Since General Jaruzelski became premier, our government is becoming more and more political. There is much more thinking on social and political issues today in the government than a year or two ago. That is why I attach such great importance to the work of the Sociopolitical Committee and why I feel so strongly about the Youth Affairs Committee as organizations for politicizing and socializing the actions of the state administration.

[Question] Is this so important?

[Answer] By its nature, administration has a tendency to treat everything isolated from social goals--it views phenomena in terms of regulations and paragraphs, orders and resolutions.

[Question] Comrade, as deputy premier do you feel the pressure of the youth movement?

[Answer] Not at all, and it is too bad.

Central Committee Member Walichnowski

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 5

[Interview with Tadeusz Walichnowski, Central Committee member, rector of the Academy of Internal Affairs, by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "Youth Are a Part of Society"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] Did we need a Central Committee Plenum on youth affairs today?

[Answer] Of course we did. It is also the result of demands expressed during the Ninth Congress. A youth problem has arisen in Poland, often artificially exaggerated. The youth are part of the entire society; calling an issue a problem of youth, and not a problem of society, is a distortion. Comrade Jaruzelski emphasized that there is no youth problem in isolation from the totality of social issues. We must stop emphasizing the differences between the younger and older generations. Their view of Poland's most important problems is mutual and univocal: improving the system of management, better work organization and more enthusiasm over our mutual, Polish issues.

[Question] Has the organization of a Central Committee Plenum devoted to youth affairs led to demands for plenums devoted to affairs of the middle-aged and retirees?

[Answer] The youth problem in our country arose objectively and was artificially isolated from the totality of social issues. It was included in the Central Committee Plenum to rectify this in some sense and to answer a social need.

[Question] You must agree, however, that the young have special problems--problems of becoming independent, housing problems.

[Answer] If youth have special problems in one field, other generations have them in another. Their problems are also greater than those of previous generations. Recently the division into "us" and "them" has been purposely overemphasized; the young and the old have been set against each other. There was a similar move in 1968 to separate society into the young and old. Meanwhile, we are all participants in the program of the Ninth Congress and in all programs for getting the country out of the crisis.

[Question] Comrade, you are a sort of representative of youth educators, of the academic teaching cadre.

[Answer] The Academy of Internal Affairs has a somewhat specific character. We train youth who are already formed to a great extent--they are officers of the security service, the citizens' militia and prison management. As in the military, upbringing is of special importance to us. Our educators, who are primarily officers, must make effective use of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism upbringing for the homeland, for socialist society. That is why, during the period of tensions and conflict, we have not had such problems as strikes and disruptions in our institutions.

[Question] What is the situation with the Higher Firefighting School?

[Answer] Although it is part of our ministry, in some sense it went its own way. A conflict arose there due to a misunderstanding that could have been cleared up earlier. Since our ministry is not included in the law on higher education, fears arose there, as they did in military institutions, that the education received would not have the same value as an education received in normal higher schools. Of course, they are equally qualified. However, our firefighting colleagues have gained something. Their institution has been transformed from a higher school into a main school with full academic credentials--the awarding of master's degrees. It did not have this power before.

[Question] Did the youth organization at your institution carry on discussions and make demands before the Ninth Plenum?

[Answer] Of course it did. There were lively discussions and many demands. Not all of them have been worked out and used yet. The School Committee of the party is piloting this.

[Question] To what did the demands refer?

[Answer] They referred mainly to the development of our institution, to the creation of an academy profile. It cannot play only a teaching role; we must develop research in our institutions. Academic counseling provided by the institution for those working in the ministry is valid demand. We are in the process of implementing these demands--they will pass the test. Broader participation in making endowments to students and the young teaching cadre, of whom there are many, was demanded. Students said that we must cooperate more extensively with civilian institutions, to broaden our horizons and dispel the myths that surround closed schools (military and our own). For example, there is the myth that the cadre here is a privileged class that goes its own way. But we are teaching basics, just like anywhere else. The specific requirements of the ministry are limited to the fields of criminology and criminal and penal law. We will participate more broadly in outside activities through cooperation, seminars, scientific sessions and the like.

There were also demands regarding general problems--equality, justice for all, the possibility of an equal start for the younger generation and the struggle with social pathology. This discussion has provided us with a wealth of material, including material for research.

PZPR Ostroleka Chief Szablak

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 5

[Interview with Henryk Szablak, first secretary, PZPR Voivodship Committee in Ostroleka, by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "Two Points of View"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] You are observing the deliberations of the Ninth Plenum. Share with us your impressions from two viewpoints: as a party operative with considerable experience and as political leader of not the easiest voivodship, with an untidy social and cultural infrastructure, an agricultural voivodship.

[Answer] I am viewing today's deliberations from the aspect of meeting the material needs of the younger generation and from the aspect of the country's needs as a whole.

How does one describe our youth? They are intelligent, they know what they want, they are educated, with much theoretical knowledge. However, they are inexperienced, both because of their age and because of the imperfections of our educational system. They are not well aware of the mechanisms of social life and of the methods of operating within this sphere.

The material needs of the young are an important problem. The party and society must create the necessary material circumstances for intellectual, cultural and physical development. But when we speak of youth, we must keep in mind mainly the country's future. Our vision of the country should demarcate the methods and the contents of upbringing. We want our country to be [illegible], free, to live in peace, to be prosperous and socialist and to be characterized by social justice. Is our upbringing process compatible with this vision of the republic? This is the main topic of our considerations on youth.

[Question] That is enough from the viewpoint of the state. What is the situation with your voivodship?

[Answer] Large cities are in a favorable position. They have an infrastructure--houses of culture, cinemas and theaters. They also have a strong educational system and good teachers. In our voivodship, the living conditions of the youth are more difficult in every regard. Most of the young work in agriculture; their cultural, sports and recreational needs have little room in their lives. People are driven, busy with work. The development of farming is what lies ahead for rural youth. That is what interests them most--raising the level of farming, streamlining work and supplying the village with materials and the means of production.

[Question] Thus, the young farmer sees socialism in terms of work potential, the development of production and running a farm.

[Answer] Of course these kinds of subjects dominate discussions with rural youth.

[Question] Little was said at this plenum on these issues.

[Answer] I would not restrict these issues to this plenum. The plenum confirms the concurrence of the intentions of the party, the Central Committee, with the aspirations and demands of the young generation. We must also look at the preceding meetings, primarily at the resolution of the Ninth Congress. If we look from this angle, we see that the party's proposals for youth concur with the demands, expectations and needs of rural youth. The plenum is merely creating the political circumstances for improving the situation of young people. Much also depends upon the methods of implementation and upon the youth themselves.

8536

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POLITICS OF EAST-WEST TRADE DISCUSSED

London DZIENNIK POLSKI I DZIENNIK ZOLNIERZA in Polish 31 Jul 82 pp 1, 6

[Article by Jacek Rostowski: "The East-West Trade and Politics"]

[Text] President Reagan's sanctions forbidding U.S. firms and their affiliates any kind of participation in the Soviet Urengoy pipeline project, which will carry Siberian natural gas to Western Europe, have caused a violently negative reaction by the Western European governments. It emphasizes the timeliness of Stephen Woolcock's book.\* Even Margaret Thatcher, usually Reagan's closest ally, has ordered British firms not to observe the American ban. Since, it seems, Western Europe and the United States are on an unavoidable collision course, a question should be posed: How did this situation arise among the NATO countries, what will its probable consequences be, and, finally, who is right?

Stephen Woolcock tries to find an answer for these very questions in his penetrating analysis. These are problems of prime importance for East-West relations and they will have enormous influence on developments in Poland.

Uneasiness of America

Since the beginning of Reagan's term, several elements of East-West trade were a source of considerable uneasiness for his administration. The first reason for this is the possibility of the easy utilization by the Soviet Union of the imports from the West for the purpose of obtaining technology which has military application. In this respect, there is no significant conflict among the allies so far, and the Western European governments, obeying the U.S. pressure, are already tightening the control screw in this area.

The second reason for U.S. uneasiness is to be found in the assumption that the expanded trade with the CEMA countries will make the Western European economy too dependable on the East, and, by the same token, will subject it to Soviet political pressure. As shown by Woolcock's data, these fears are

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\*Western Policies on East-West Trade, by Stephen Woolcock. Chatham House Papers 15 \$3.95.

unfounded. Woolcock proves that because of the very small volume of foreign trade of the CEMA countries, the share of East-West trade constitutes a much larger proportion of their total foreign trade (about 30 percent) than Western European foreign trade (about 5 percent), to say nothing about the United States (1 percent). A politically motivated reduction of the Eastern trade would be felt incomparably more painfully in the CEMA countries than in the countries of Western Europe. The assumption that the East's dollar indebtedness to the West is a political tool is also unjustified. It is said that if one owes a bank L 100, the bank has a debtor, but if one owes a million, the bank has a partner. The CEMA countries owe the West \$90 billion. It is for them a very large debt, since it amounts to a combined total of several years of their dollar exports, and this makes one doubt whether they will be ever able to pay this debt (I will return to this subject later on).

For the world banking system, the CEMA countries debt constitutes only 6 percent of unpaid loans. (I am quoting this figure, even though Woolcock does not mention it in his work.) Although the inability of the CEMA countries to repay entire debt would not cause the bankruptcy of some Western banks (particularly the West German ones), nevertheless, the whole Western banking system will not collapse as a result of this. [As published] Moreover, if the insolvency of the Eastern countries were caused by political considerations, the Western governments would have come to the assistance of the troubled banks. The results of this for the CEMA, and particularly for the smaller states, on the other hand, would be catastrophic.

Some effects we can see already in Poland. As a result of the importance of imported supplies for Polish industry and of Western fodder for agriculture, the decline of imports from the West, which amounted to 50 percent during the last 2 years, has caused a 40 percent decline in its industrial output and a 20 percent drop in agricultural output (these are official figures). Thus, total elimination of trade with the West would have to cause a further significant decline of both industrial and agricultural output.

### Unjustified Fears

Similar reasoning applies to the Urengoy natural-gas pipeline, because, as Woolcock shows, the Western governments quite rightfully reject the U.S. fears that the Western Europe would become too dependent on the energy supplied by the USSR. West Germany will depend the most on Soviet gas, but this will occur only in 1990 when its delivery will peak; it will amount to only 5 percent of the energy consumed by it, it means exactly as much as at present. The reason for this is an expected drop in the export of Soviet crude oil, and this will entirely compensate for the new export of gas. After all, any state's economy can easily absorb without significant harm a 5 percent drop in its energy supplies. There is no reason, besides, to expect that deliveries from the USSR will be more susceptible to political interference than those from the Near East, especially if one considers the enormous hunger for convertible currency in the CEMA countries, as distinguished from a very limited ability to absorb Western exports by the Arab countries.

The third Reagan administration reservation is its fear that through trade the West is strengthening the East's economy, and thus enabling the latter to maintain a high level of expenditures for armaments. According to the United States, the West assists the CEMA countries economically in two ways. Number one, Washington maintains that Western exports to the East have been financed with credits that were subsidized and guaranteed by the Western governments. It has been substantially curtailed now because, as a result of requalifying the Soviet Union as a "relatively rich country," it will now have to pay higher interest, while the inability of Poland and Romania to meet their obligations has made the Western banks unwilling to make additional loans to the East. Thus, the CEMA countries will now have to pay cash for their purchases.

#### Putting Off Doomsday

The second aspect of the American reasoning is not sufficiently worked out by Woolcock. The Americans maintain that because of high technology included in the industrial goods, Western exports are more valuable to the East than the export of Eastern raw materials is to the West, and that the technology involved in the Western industrial goods that are exported to the East is being copied and delivered to all the Eastern economy, thus providing it additional benefits. Consequently, according to the United States, the West by trading with the East helps the communist elites put off the doomsday that should have arrived a long time ago. In the U.S. opinion the Soviet Union is just a "superpower of the Third World," meaning a state with a Third World country's standard of living that manages to maintain its military power only owing to the fact that it spends proportionally twice as much as the United States for armaments. These monumental expenditures (13 percent of GNP in the USSR, compared with 6 percent in the United States) are evidently an enormous strain for the Soviet economy, and are thus hindering its ability to catch up with the United States in the long run. Besides, as all over the world, the Soviet Union is experiencing a revolution of rising expectations, because the population demands an ever higher standard of living for itself.

#### Cannons or Butter?

The above reasoning leads one to a conclusion that Western trade with the East enables the Soviet elite to make a decision as to whether it should have more cannons or butter, whether it is preferable to antagonize its population or to fall behind in the arms race. It is apparent that now (when the rapid economic progress of the CEMA countries of the 1950s and 1960s has ended) the United States is tempted to return to its old policy of an arms race, and thus to exert pressure on the Soviet economy. Seen from this perspective, we can realize that the real reason for the American objection to the Urengoy pipeline is not an erroneous conviction that Europe will become too dependent on the USSR, but rather a correct fear of the inevitable \$8 billion annual injection of hard currency which will follow the materialization of this project. This will be equal to 40 percent of current Soviet exports. Woolcock does not take this fact into consideration either.

Let us turn now to the problem of the degree to which trade with the East can become a Western weapon against the Soviet Union, particularly considering Western policy toward Poland and the Polish junta's policy toward Solidarity.

Woolcock thinks that this weapon will not be effective in the long run. He maintains that each time the Western trade relationship is broken off the East's benefits from such trade would be diminished, and, consequently, this will prompt the CEMA countries to decrease their dependence on the West. In his view, the economic sanctions, with each consecutive use, are a less and less effective weapon.

#### The Bait

As far as Poland is concerned, Woolcock's advise is to use a bait of additional loans instead of the threat of sanctions, since the bait would induce the junta to follow a more liberal course. This point of view promulgated by the author seems to be unrealistic because the United States wants to use the economic sanctions not as a means of pressure on the Eastern countries but simply in order to cut the sale of high technology, which they consider to be overly beneficial to the CEMA countries. As far as Poland is concerned, nobody is now excessively interested in the developments there, and certainly nobody is willing to risk \$6 billion annually, the sum of new money required by the Polish economy in order to pull it out of the present crisis.

The Western European advocates of a far-reaching detente with the East, especially the West German social democrats, believe that East-West trade, through relieving international tensions, increasing the standard of living and expanding contacts with the West, would induce the liberalization process in Eastern Europe. Woolcock, quite correctly, rejects this point of view, while not making the naive error of asserting that cutting off Western trade would lead to a liberalization process as a result of increased pressure from the unsatisfied population. The correctness of the author's views is confirmed by the experiences of Czechoslovakia and Vietnam. The rise of the standard of living after 1968 in Czechoslovakia has been utilized to assure the passivity of its population during the introduction of the Stalinist system there. While in Vietnam the collapse of the standard of living has not forced the communists to make any political compromises with the population.

#### What Are the Prospects?

What is, therefore, the prognosis for East-West trade and what will be the effects of whatever happens for the Eastern bloc and Poland? These questions are not included in Woolcock's study but they inevitably arise when one reads it.

It should be assumed that the efforts of the United States will only delay rather than stop construction of the Urengoy natural-gas pipeline. There is no possibility either of exerting effective pressure on the Western governments to stop their exports of nonmilitary high technology to the East. On the other hand, because of the deferment of the Polish and Romanian debts, both the Western banks and governments are very reluctant to grant further loans and credits to the East. Even the GDR and Hungary, the most dynamic economies among the CEMA countries, experienced very serious difficulties in their search for money on the Western markets. This situation in the East European countries

will cause a drop of the level of their output and their standard of living, resulting from lower imports from the West (this will depress output) and increased exports to the West (this will decrease consumption). The same fate awaits the USSR if the next harvest is as catastrophic as the three previous ones. Incidentally, such a harvest is being predicted for this year.

Consequently, the communist elites will have to face the following options:

1. to decrease the level of spending for armaments;
2. to introduce economic reform and increase efficiency and productivity through the application of strong market elements;
3. to increase repressions;
4. to liberalize the political system, and thus to gain increased support of the population.

As it is clearly documented by the recent events in Poland when Solidarity demanded lowering arms expenditures, a liberalization process would trigger pressure in this very direction. Since neither liberalization nor the decrease of arms expenditures are to the liking of the governing elites, the probability that such a policy will ever be accepted is very small. On the other hand, though, the policy of catching up militarily with the West poses many serious problems. Because Western military power grows very fast owing to the enormous technical progress, the only way it can be equalled militarily would be by paying the price of a steady and progressive lowering of the standard of living of the CEMA countries. It is doubtful whether even growing political repressions can prevent an explosion under such conditions.

#### The Likely Option

The most attractive option for the communist elites will probably be an improvement of the efficiency of their economy through reform, while at the same time maintaining considerably harsh repressions. They will have to be resigned to some degree to the fact of their military inferiority. In order to limit its extent they will keep supporting Western peace movements.

What will be the development of the situation in Poland in this context? It appears that the economic prognosis must be very pessimistic, while the political prognosis is more optimistic than for the rest of the Eastern bloc.

The Polish people have manifested that they are able to resist the communist elites much more successfully than the peoples of other people's democracies. Consequently, it can be expected that the increased economic pressure may result in lowering the prestige and self-esteem of the present governing group, and this in turn will lead to far-reaching political concessions. (I have discussed this previously in the article entitled "Can the Junta Survive?" in the TYDZIEN.)

It cannot be foreseen when this crisis will occur but it can be expected within the coming 5 years.

MAIN DIRECTIONS OF YOUTH ASSISTANCE PROGRAM PUBLISHED

Outline of Program

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jul 82 p 4

[Article: "Main Directions of Actions Resulting From the Program for Improving the Conditions of Youth's Start in Life and Profession"]

[Text] At the recommendation of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the Government Press Office is issuing: "Main Directions of Actions Resulting from the Program for Improving the Conditions of Youth's Start in Life and Profession" for publication. The draft of the program was prepared by an interministry group appointed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers on 3 February 1982. The plan was discussed by the Council of Ministers' Social-Political Committee. Then, on 14 June 1982, it was considered by the Council of Ministers with the participation of youth union chairmen and approved.

In adopting the program for improvement of the conditions of youth's start in life and profession, the Council of Ministers recognized the actions discussed below as the most urgent and important. The implementation of these tasks has as its goal the assurance to youth of basic living standards as well as activation of the young generation in socioeconomic life. Stabilization and stimulation of the economy depend in large part on the active participation of youth in creating conditions for the country's socioeconomic development, which in turn guarantees the full achievement of all of the actions proposed in the program:

Improving the conditions of the young generation's start in life and profession is based in large measure on resolving the housing problem.

Hence, a series of actions was embodied in the program aimed at assuring improvement in the young generation's housing problem. The effects of these

actions are dependent in large measure on youth's own direct and active involvement in satisfying its housing needs.

In this connection, the housing policy of the '80s will strive to create the most favorable conditions possible for the development of construction that is achievable with a great amount of effort by those concerned. For it is in broad citizen participation, particularly by young people, in the housing construction movement, that the essential element of increasing the volume of housing construction is perceived, and at the same time, a speedup in improvement of the housing situation.

1.1. A particularly convenient implementation form for youth should be small cooperatives, cooperative single-family construction associations formed by those interested in building a house. This is a form that not only gives investors and their families the opportunity for profiting substantially from their own work, but also for taking advantage of raw materials and other materials of local origin, including wood, stone, home-made hollow clay blocks, bricks, etc.

There is a special need for the wide dissemination among youth of small cooperative forms, or of house-construction worker groups organized at work establishments. They can provide comprehensive assistance to young workers undertaking the construction of a house (financial, material, equipment-transportation, etc.).

It is also necessary to intensify activities whose purpose is the adaptation of superfluous attics, drying plants, and other quarters located in state buildings, through increased state credit assistance. A similar course of conduct is recommended in cooperative construction.

1.2. A condition for increasing the volume of housing construction in the present decade--above all is, the overcoming of barriers in this area:

--obtaining individual building lots for individual and small cooperative construction;

--preparing and developing building sites;

--the general and engineering production capabilities of construction enterprises, including construction services;

--supplying materials and technical equipment;

--creating favorable credit conditions adapted to youth's financial capabilities.

Detailed plans which are to be undertaken by state and local authorities for combating these barriers were presented in material under the title "Housing Construction Assumptions to the Year 1990 Together with Changes in Certain Housing Policy Principles,"\* prepared by the interministry group appointed by

\*Published in the Polish press 14 July 1982.

the minister of administration, local economy and environmental protection [Min./AGTios].

Among these activities, a statute in preparation on the management of sites will have real significance in assuring improvement in obtaining new sites for housing construction, including the building of homes by cooperative means. The statute assumes an essential change in the state's policy in this area.

The implementation of housing construction, including that undertaken by youth, is in large measure conditioned on an improvement in the supply of building materials. In connection with this, there is an assumption, among others, of an increase and appropriate adaptation of building materials production peculiar to construction by citizens individually, or by groups in various organizational forms.

Assurance by designers of simple--and at the same time, material-saving design solutions has a no less significant meaning in this area. These designs should be adapted to local capabilities that take the maximal use of local materials and raw materials into consideration in construction.

2. The reformed system of administration and management introduced should prompt enterprises toward efficient operation, including the area of employment.

This can create difficulties in assuring jobs to some youth groups consistent with their education. However, most graduates will find work in many of our neglected public service sectors such as, for example: postal services, local transportation, health protection and social welfare, education and upbringing, and financial institutions. Work posts for school graduates will also be established as the results of actions and initiatives by voivodship authorities, with the possibility of involving professional-activation-fund sources.

Additional job possibilities that are not fully utilized are also inherent in the development of cooperative movement work both in the area of services and production activity. A special cooperative movement form could be youth cooperatives, including student co-ops (also employing graduates), which constitute an important source of new work posts.

Such co-ops could offer services in the area of veterinary medicine, agriculture, gardening, forest management, construction, repair of various types of implements, etc. However, at present, their activity encounters many obstacles which make the development of this form of employment difficult. This problem should find its legal regulation in a law on the cooperative movement that is now being discussed in the Sejm. It will also be necessary to provide assistance to youth work co-ops in obtaining raw materials, machinery and premises that will permit the expansion of production and services activities. Also necessary is the creation of flexible forms of employment in order to make it possible for youth to improve its material situation. The draft of a Council of Minister's resolution in this matter prepared by the minister of

labor, wages and social affairs [Min. PPrSS], envisions the following forms of flexible employment: flexible worktime, part-time work and casual work.

A special role, particularly for youth, will be played by the organization of an institutional instrumentality in undertaking casual work. Employment in this form would also pertain to persons employed in other forms (including even full-time workers) as well as those for whom this would be the only way of earning a living. A general assumption is making certain that young people will be able to work in various occupations--primarily in the sphere of services--for which wages would be paid immediately upon completion of the job. An example of jobs like that could be: supplying homes with milk, bakery goods, the paper, taking care of children, routine jobs, work in trade, in the post office, on behalf of local transportation, in workshops and service points, in the health service, in social welfare and the like.

It is indispensable to undertake activity for the development of young people's settlement opportunities of a productional-colonization and productional-family type--in individual and group form--mainly for rural youth, and for graduates of higher agricultural schools, including those from big cities, as well as for graduates of secondary agricultural schools.

It is proposed that the settlement system be based among others, on the following principles:

--the state finances the full costs of the plan for setting up a farm and infrastructure in the area of land recultivation and reclamation, as well as of the equipment bringing water and electrical energy, and the access roads;

--housing construction and farm costs will be borne by the future user of the farm, with which he receives a long-term credit with a several year term, or in the event of obtaining completed buildings, makes repayments of their costs on similar terms;

--after a period of not less than 5 years, the farm will be relieved of land tax payments, and will also benefit under specified terms from investment reductions;

--during the first year of farming, settlers are entitled to a grant for living costs that is equivalent to the minimum wage. Candidates for settler must complete a preparatory course or be identified with many years of farming practice.

It is necessary to create a uniform system of centralized settlement in order to endow it with the character of a long-term program solving the problems of bringing under cultivation the arable lands in State Land Fund [PFZ] inventories or accruing from agricultural farms without heirs (particularly in areas of an intensified appearance of this phenomenon).

During the passing phase of the appearance of the lack of production means for farming by settlement farms, it is necessary to assure appropriate supply

guarantees under terms of individual agreements that pertain to indispensable reinvestment for the farm. This assistance should be expressed in granting owners of such farms priorities in obtaining investment credits, and the purchase of machinery, other means of production and building materials.

Agricultural services should provide far-reaching help in the area of expert advice to agricultural farms that have arisen as the result of settlement, as well as those taken over by young people from their parents.

Voivodship and gmina offices will develop appropriate programs that will assure comprehensive assistance to young farmers.

4. It is necessary to create real promotion possibilities for young people.

Vertical professional promotion, based on the attainment of ever higher positions in the service hierarchy should depend on work results, appropriate professional qualifications, predisposition to directing groups of people, as well as an appropriate ethical-moral attitude.

Also indispensable is the creation of vertical "promotion paths" that increase motivation to better work in every post, and the attainment of occupational expertise regardless of the position's location in the vertical hierarchy. Toward this end, a system of grades and qualificational occupational and specialized titles that delimit the stages of horizontal promotion will be developed.

5. Assuring conditions for joint management of work establishments by young people requires, among others, their active participation in the activity of worker and cooperative self-governments.

In order to incorporate youth into these organs, it is necessary to utilize the mechanisms embodied in the law on the self-government of the staff of a state enterprise. Irrespective of the participation of young people in the operations of workers councils, the possibility exists of the creation--there where it is justified--of commissions or youth groups as auxiliary organs of enterprise workers councils. Such possibilities are created by Article 23 of the statute on the self-government of a state enterprise. Commissions or youth groups should concern themselves, among others, with the entire problem of youth in the enterprise, and cooperate in that area with youth organizations.

Also important is the participation of youth in territorial self-government operating in gminas, cities, city sections and voivodships representing society in a given area. It is necessary to stimulate youth to various kinds of social activity in their community. Likewise, a new youth group should be formed in individual elements of an establishment, community or locality territorial self-government which will be concentrating on activity connected with creating life-start conditions for young people in the actual situation in a given area.

The upbringing of young people through work should also play an important role in the general educational system. Youth's start in life and profession is

conditioned to a large degree on the level of polytechnical education that is essential in a period of the dynamic development of technology.

Modern technical civilization requires the comprehensive preparation of youth for life and work, as well as the formation of the kinds of attitudes for which the proper measure is man's efficient and effective work while observing conditions of industrial safety and hygiene.

These problems enter into the area of a broadly understood work culture, education through work and technical culture, and should be the primary goal of broad technological education.

The implementation of tasks involved with the polytechnical education of children and youth rests first of all on schools and institutes for the dissemination of technical culture and scientific information.

In this connection, from 1982 to 1985 essential activities will be undertaken so that the modern school, becoming the area of varied and comprehensive student activity, promotes the kind of organization of the educational process that will permit broad promotion of polytechnical contents during and after class lessons.

Full implementation of the polytechnical program of education and upbringing will require:

- an improvement in the outfitting of schools and other educational institutions with essential materials, machinery and tools--and the safeguarding of local conditions that make possible the organization of two to three subject workshops in each school that are adapted to the implementation of program tasks from the "Work--Technology" subject;

- dissemination of circles of interest activity in schools and educational institutions, youth cultural houses and settlement clubs for children;

- constant improvement of the system of schoolboy training;

- modernization of the education and self-improvement system of the teaching cadre which is essential for conducting lessons from the "Work-Technology" subject, and interest circles operating in schools, houses of culture and settlement workshops for tinkerers;

- popularizing technical culture among children and youth by means of mass media sources, and publishing manuals and other material aids;

- activation of the work of Technical Culture Societies and Youth Patent offices;

- coordinating activities aimed at the fuller implementation of the general technological contents defined in the programs of other school subjects;

--strengthening the system of school ties with work establishments in order to utilize their material base for organizing schoolboy training.

The further stimulation and development of Young Masters of Technology competitions should plan an important role in the polytechnical education of young people.

#### Schedule of Tasks

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jul 82 pp 4, 5

[Article: "Schedule for Implementation of Tasks Resulting from the Program for Improving the Conditions for Youth's Start in Life and Profession"]

[Text] In considering the adoption of the "Program for Improving the Conditions for Youth's Start in Life and Profession," the Council of Ministers simultaneously confirmed the schedule for implementing the tasks resulting from that program.

#### With Respect to Youth's Civic Start

1. Verify the currently implemented system of education -- its contents, personal models and cohesion. Responsible for achievement: the Min. OIW [minister of education and upbringing]. Manner of accomplishment: Preparing and initiating new directions of education with youth in the 1982-1983 school year.

2. Forming a feeling of responsibility in educators for pupils, modifying teaching programs in force in the direction of:

--closer linkage of the future teacher with his place of work, among others, through the development of the system of training including in rural schools;

--placing emphasis in teaching on the upbringing function of future teachers, particularly in psychological-educational subjects;

--increasing the participation of future teachers in nondidactic educational functions (including students--future teachers in scout work, social care homes, educational campfires, and the like). Responsible are: the Min. OIW, and the Min. NSZWIT [minister of science, higher schools and technology].  
Deadline: continuing work.

3. Use work results as a basic appraisal measure of citizen attitude adopting that as a basic criterion of social and professional advancement. Responsible are: the Min. OIW, Min. NSZWIT, and the Min. PPrS [minister of labor, wages, and social affairs]. Manner of and accomplishment deadlines:

--maintain the principle of cooperation with work establishments, so-called "patronates"--continuing work;

--in principles of OHP [Volunteer Labor Brigades] activity assure the precedence of educational tasks--1982;

--improve the tools that stimulate students to better results in learning and study discipline--1982;

--introduce the obligation of physical work for candidates for higher studies, increasing attention to its organization and course--1983;

--assure preference in employment to students who distinguish themselves in learning and social work--1982;

--restore the rank due group and individual rivalry, creating an appropriate system of material and moral awards--continuing work;

--popularize good workers in work establishments and in the mass media.

#### In the Area of Developing and Improving the Process of Educating and Employing Young People

4. Elaboration of principles on employing young people who are undertaking their first job. Responsible are: the Min. PPISS and the chairman of the KP [Planning Commission]. Deadline: immediately. Manner of accomplishment: a law and executive orders relative to the employment of graduates.

5. Elaboration of wage systems that respond to agricultural reform assumptions. Responsible are: the Min. PPISS, Min. Fin [minister of finance], and KP chairman. Deadline: consistent with successive stages of agricultural reform initiated, particularly with the general reform of the wage system. Manner of accomplishment: creation of flexible wage scales and principles of compensation, taking into consideration professional knowledge, work quality and efficiency regardless of worker tenure or age.

6. Employment of this year's school graduates. Responsible are: the Min. PPISS, governors and managers of economic departments. Deadline: immediately. Manner of accomplishment: elaborating a program.

7. Professional activation of youth by the creation of flexible forms of employment. Responsible are: the Min. PPISS, Min. NSZWIT and Min. Fin. Deadline: 1983. Manner of accomplishment:

a) with reference to youth that is studying: introducing flexible forms of student employment in student cooperatives.

--making it possible for secondary school students, particularly of general high schools, to obtain rights to perform work for which there is a need, and financing the appropriate training from the FAZ [Vocational Action Fund].

b) with reference to working youth,

--making it possible to perform additional work in the same or other occupation;

--repealing the requirement of obtaining employer consent for performing work for another employer;

--organizing young people's work cooperatives under the auspices of youth organizations.

8. Creating similar learning conditions for all young people who are studying in order to equalize the instruction level in the countryside and in the city, and the gradual dissemination of secondary education.

Responsible are: the Min. OiW, the KP chairman, Min. Fin., and governors.

Manner of accomplishment:

--execution of the kindergarten construction program;

--obtaining new places in kindergartens through noncapital means;

--assuring an education cadre for kindergartens, particularly in the rural area;

--continuation of the idea of the collectivity of rural schools;

--assuring preferences for teachers who undertake work in rural areas;

--modernizing teaching programs and work methods with rural school children;

--an organizational-program change in vocational high schools in the direction of instruction in typical worker occupations;

--a change in education proportions for the benefit of secondary schools;

--development of schools for working people, particularly for ZSZ [Vocational Schools Group] graduates;

--expansion of the boarding-school base.

9. Improving the financial and material assistance program for higher school students.

Responsible are: the Min. NszWiT and Min. Fin.

Deadline: from 1 October 1982.

Manner of accomplishment: elaboration of a new system of material assistance for higher school students.

In the Area of Improving the Housing Situation

(The deadlines for accomplishing the tasks were set in the schedule for implementation of the housing construction development program to 1990).

10. Fuller utilization of establishment forms of housing construction implemented via the economic system, for meeting the housing needs of the young family.

Responsible: the Min. AGTiOS.

Manner of accomplishment: fuller utilization by work establishments of their resources and accomplishment possibilities, and the wide use of young staff members for housing construction.

11. Assuring conditions for the development of small housing cooperatives, particularly those that implement single-family compact construction.

Responsible are: the Min. AGTiOS by agreement with the ZG ZSMP [Central Housing Construction Cooperative Union], and the ZK ZMW [Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth].

Manner of accomplishment: elaborating concrete proposals of solutions that stimulate youth and facilitate its establishment of housing construction cooperatives.

12. Creating conditions for the development of rural housing construction, particularly for the young generation.

Responsible are: the Min. AGTiOS and the Min. RiGZ [minister of agriculture and food economy].

Manner of accomplishment:

--elaboration of concrete proposals directed toward:

1) simplification of the procedure for taking care of formal-legal problems and assuring favorable credit terms.

2) creating conditions for the development of small construction enterprises in the countryside.

3) a renewed startup of existing brick kilns, saw mills, and the like.

13. Allocating cooperative housing category M-1 and M-2 to young married couples which were released by the previous users, treating them as rotating (transitory) housing.

Responsible are: the Min. AGTiOS in agreement with the Chairman of the CZSBM [Central Housing Construction Cooperative Union]. Manner of accomplishment: a recommendation that the housing cooperative movement observe this principle.

14. Allocating housing recovered in the course of reviews made of state stores to young married couples.

Responsible: Min. AGTiOS. Manner of accomplishment:

--a recommendation that regional organs of state administration allocate recovered housing to young couples on the greatest possible scale.

15. Broad participation by youth in the adaptation of superfluous attics, drying kilns and other spaces in state buildings for housing purposes, and increasing credit assistance for this purpose.

A similar course of procedure is recommended in cooperative construction.

Responsible are: the Min. AGTiOS and the Chairman of the NBP [National Bank].  
Manner of accomplishment:

--increasing credit allocated for the conversion of uninhabitable spaces appropriate to the increased costs of adaptation.

16. Streamlining housing exchanges, creating easements and convenient credit terms for young couples who are endeavoring to change their living quarters.

Responsible: the Min. AGTiOS. Manner of accomplishment: elaboration of principles applicable in this area.

17. Creating a system of social help for individuals who are worse off, including young couples, to cover the costs of obtaining and using housing.

Responsible: the Min. AGTiOS. Manner of accomplishment: allocating financial assistance to cover their own input and housing payments.

#### In the Area of Family Protection and Development

18. Improve school and afterschool education in order to provide wholesome upbringing, preparation for family life and managing a household with regard to its basic functions in an urban and rural community.

Responsible are the Min. OiW, Min. ZiOS [minister of health and social welfare], Min NSzWiT and Min. RiGZ. Manner of accomplishment: elaboration of a cohesive program of education within the framework of school and postschool education with consideration of indispensable conditions for its implementation (preparing teachers and instructors, publishing appropriate manuals). Deadline:

--an analysis of the operating situation to date--1982;

--elaboration of a comprehensive program of education in this area--1982;

--successive initiation for implementation following adoption of the program.

19. Introduce premarital medical examinations.

Responsible: the Min. ZiOS. Manner of and accomplishment deadlines:

--prepare changes in ZiOS Ministry and MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] legal acts--1982;

--prepare health service agencies to conduct studies--in 1983, then a continuing process.

20. Develop maximal production and improve the quality of foodstuffs, articles of clothing, shoes and basic items of cleanliness and hygiene for infants, children and youth of school age.

Responsible are: the Min. ZiOS, Min. RiGZ, and the Min. PCHiL [minister of the chemical and light industry].

Manner of accomplishment: assuring the implementation in 1982 of operational programs pertaining to:

--basic pharmaceutical and sanitary products and medical equipment;

--supplying children with dairy, vegetable-meat and fruit-vegetable products;

--clothing and shoes for children and young people;

--supplying basic items of cleanliness and hygiene.

Create conditions for speedier expansion of a network of care agencies for the children of working mothers. Responsible are: the Min. ZiOS, Min. OiW, and CZSBM. Manner of accomplishment: Exacting the observance by appropriate construction and housing cooperative authorities, of the terms of the order of 29 January 1959 issued by the MAGTiOS [Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection], which places a responsibility for the construction of nurseries and kindergartens corresponding to 4.2 percent of the number of people foreseen for settlement. Deadlines for accomplishment:

--in the years 1981-1985, build a total of about 266 nurseries with a capacity of 20,000 places, and acquire about 10,000 places by noncapital means;

--in the years 1983-1985, construct about 550 kindergartens, as required.

22. Expand credit forms of assistance to young couples and persons raising small children. Responsible are: the Min. Fin., NBP, Min PPiS, and Min. HWiU [minister of domestic trade and services]. Manner of accomplishment: adaptation of regulations pertaining to the allocation of credits to young couples to changing circumstances. Deadline: Continuing process from 1982.

23. Return to the principle of granting generally available credits associated with equipping a household, with which the payment period should be based on incomes per family member. Responsible are: the NBP and Min. Fin. Deadlines: following attainment of a satisfactory state of equilibrium in the internal market.

24. Elaborate and initiate the idea of a system of prophylaxis and social adaptation of children and school youth. Responsible are: the Min. OiW, the Min. Spraw [minister of justice], Min. NSzWiT., Min. PPiSS and Min. ZiOS. Manner of accomplishment: creating a uniform system of social prophylaxis for the purpose of protecting minors against demoralization. Continuing process.

#### In the Area of the Start in Life and Profession of Rural Youth

25. Assuring priority in furnishing materials, and granting trade and investment credits to young farmers. Responsible are: the Min. RiGZ, GBZ [Bank of Food Economy], governors and institutions supplying agriculture.

26. Assuring priority for rural youth undertaking work in agriculture in obtaining farms from PFZ inventories. Responsible: the Min. RiGZ. Manner of accomplishment: issuing appropriate recommendations to governors and gmina directors. Deadline: 1 October 1982.

27. Allocating building lots in gminas for housing for young people working in institutions serving the rural area and agriculture. Responsible are: governors and gmina directors. Manner of, and accomplishment deadline: within the framework of gmina land-management programs. Continuing work.

28. Encompassing all young people remaining on agricultural farms by agricultural education. Responsible: the government's presidium. Manner of, and accomplishment deadline: directing young people without qualifications who remain on agricultural farms to agricultural schools by gmina directors. Continuing work.

29. Popularizing the regulations on credit possibilities for agriculture, particularly for young farmers. Responsible are: the Min. RiGZ and youth organizations. Manner of, and deadline for accomplishment: mass media sources and youth organization bulletins. Continuing work.

10433

CSO: 2600/835

DELEGATION OF REAL POWERS TO YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS URGED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 9 Aug 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ryszard Naleskiewicz: "We Cannot Let the Chance Slip By--Let Us Discuss the New Powers of Youth Organizations"]

[Text] The resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the party Central Committee has proposed very broad powers to youth organizations as representatives of the interests of the entire generation. In political language, these powers appear very attractive. What sort of legislative form will they acquire and what sort of form will they take on in executive acts? Will they lead to a subsequent attempt at "decorating" very important conferences with youth; will they assure real influence for youth or will they only create a screen for decisionmakers on the basis of-- "after all, you knew" or will they enable the advocating of their arguments in defiance of convenient and established patterns?

These interesting questions should already start being answered today in political practice--practice created by the organizations themselves.

Presenting opinions regarding the decisions and plans of authorities of all levels concerning youth matters is the first power proposed in the resolution. We read in detail: "This power would be synonymous with obligating the state and economic administration of all levels to seek the opinion of socialist youth unions in the above matters."

These matters are many--cadre policies, professional and social advancement, the distribution of benefits, wages, housing, education and upbringing, higher education, culture, sports and tourism...

And yet, the resolution uses the conditional mode of procedure--thus it does not determine conclusively the form and the responsibilities resulting from it.

What may be gained in such a clause and what lost? Everything.

The presentation of opinions may take on various forms. It may resolve itself

to activities which today are practically commonly used by the authorities and by the leadership of nearly all levels. Interested parties are invited to an appropriate consultative meeting, governing council or secretariat; a draft of the decision under preparation or of an ordinance is explained to them and they are asked to give an opinion. Those who come unprepared, who are sometimes taken by surprise, or who come without previous consultations with the masses, mumble something here and there or protest or approve categorically. If they become uncomfortable, the members of the leadership kindly remind them that only they have an advisory voice and they explain objective difficulties and incline them to sign the draft. If this does not work--the invitees are ceremoniously voted down and other interested parties are then invited to the next meeting of this type...

However, in official records and reports, the following annotations are evident: "with the participation of...", "in the presence of...", etc. Paper democracy has, therefore, been retained.

In the implementation of this clause [zapis] of the resolution, this undoubtedly is not what it is all about.

This is the final hour in the youth movement for working out its understanding of this issue. The opinion of representatives must be binding to some significant degree for decisionmakers. The inability to gain acceptance or a positive opinion should delay decisions for as long as it takes to reach a compromise. Disregarding consultations with youth ought to automatically make life difficult for public officials--also making it difficult from the point of view of formality.

If this point is not understood thus in the process of implementation, then in my opinion, it will change nothing in practice. It will merely remain on paper just as many other points have from many previous valid resolutions...

The next power concerns agreements "or the participation of socialist youth unions in legislative work on those legal acts which concern the young generation."

And here again, I have comments similar to those regarding the right to present opinions since participation may be real, legally sanctioned by reaching a consensus or formal. The latter is mainly based on checking off entries on the attendance list.

The highest party echelon did not specify--it is not the government--to what the word "participation" obliges both (or more) participating sides. To what extent will the voices, opinions and suggestions of the representatives of particular unions--discussed, I should think, with youth--be binding for decisionmakers? Will outright opposition cause some sort of difficulties besides, of course, being "examined?"

In brief, to what extent will the representatives of youth organizations really be able to feel that they are the coauthors of legislative acts? Placing sociotechnics aside--to what extent will the youth really be such authors?

The third power pertains to "the initiative which enables the socialist youth unions to submit drafts of legal acts and which obliges state organs to examine the merits of these drafts; this would also concern legislative initiatives."

It would seem that this point is the most unequivocal. The only thing is that with the exception of the Sejm, where the power of legislative initiative is clearly specified, every citizen possesses this right; everyone may send drafts, proposals, etc. to a given authority, echelon, executive board or leadership. Why, some people even strive to do this! Besides accumulated wastepaper, nothing is gained from such initiatives.

Thus again, the working out of an executory tone of such a rule depends today on the efforts of the youth unions themselves. The following must be specified: Who and upon the completion of which preliminary activities (drafts, consultations, decisions made by echelons and which echelons) has the right to submit drafts of decisions, ordinances, laws, etc. and to whom? Next, what procedure is to be followed in examining them and where or to whom may one turn in case of misunderstandings or refusal, etc.?

Similar general wording is contained in the point on the right of control "which allows socialist youth unions to obtain information from the state and economic administration on the state of 'implementation of decisions undertaken on behalf of youth'".

In this point, particularly in the process of formulating executive documents, resolve and alertness will be necessary by the representatives of youth organizations because control without sanctions is not control. Social control may be maneuvered as skillfully and as long as many a social body has been maneuvered in our practice.

In order to put this point actually into practice, it is necessary to clearly describe in which matters the administration must submit to supervision and give access to documents, archives, etc. It is necessary to clearly define the other side as well: To whom from the youth movement should this power be made available? This is important since, first of all, a professional (this being an official) will always outsmart a layman; secondly, in certain matters, for example, cadre matters which are and should be confidential, it is impossible to make personnel files available for just any reason.

Finally, control also means sanctions--an obligatory way of carrying out postcontrol recommendations. If such a procedure is not established--this point may terminate. Its practical life with polite questions such as, "Why haven't you done it yet and when will you do it? The usual answer to this is: "It will be done when the time comes, there are more important problems now..."

The definition of who will supervise the carrying out of recommendations and how also belongs to control sanctions. Surely it will not be the youth movement but the supreme authorities of the controlled [body]. What then should be done in order to make the said authorities interested in control and not in crushing or disregarding it?

Many questions arise. However, activity is of the utmost importance at the present time--activity in the organizations themselves. Meetings of the aktiv concerning the Ninth Plenum are being held. Much satisfaction about the results of the plenum is being expressed. However, I have reservations. The results of the plenum are not available yet and they will not be worked out at the meetings.

The plenum has encouraged young people to act on their own behalf in thier own matters. We should clearly be getting attacked in the youth press for supporting various versions of the executive documents of the resolution. A battle should be raging to attain as extensive executive prerogatives as possible; there should be a struggle for access to power, for the formulation of particular rights and obligations. In the meantime, vacations are continuing and official silence.

Part of the resolution, after all, states explicitly: "We are turning to the socialist youth unions to carry out consultations in all communities and subsequently to present the prevailing attitude in the matter of the new powers of youth organizations." Therefore, no one has as yet conferred these powers and in addition no one may ultimately confer them without considerable input of one's work and initiative.

We are waiting in the SZTANDAR MLODYCH for specific drafts of legal acts--we will discuss them. We wish to discuss them principally with nonunion youth. Therefore, we must go beyond the summer campaign, beyond camps and training sessions. This concerns everyone. If the interests of the entire generation are to be represented, then discussions must be conducted with it. We are extending an invitation to the pages of SZTANDAR MLODYCH.

One thing is certain. This chance cannot be allowed to slip away.

9853

CSO: 2600/840

## POLISH PRESS CONCEPT OF PATRIOTISM, SOCIALISM CRITICIZED

London DZIENNIK POLSKI I DZIENNIK ZOLNIERZA in Polish 31 July 82 p 3

[Article by Szperacz: "From the Polish Press--A False Point of Issue"]

[Text] Actually, there is a considerable number of these false points of departure in the behavior of the Warsaw regime, however, I will dwell on one of these which encompasses all the others as well and reduces them to one. What I am concerned about is, namely, the slogan of patriotism which is abused by the regime's propaganda at every turn. First of all, patriotism has been associated with "socialism" for a long time now--this should be read: with communism. "The defense of the socialist regime," it was recently written in the article entitled: "One Measure of Patriotism" published in TRYBUNA LUDU, "is connected with the program of national rebirth which was formulated at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress..." And a little further on, we read: "The concept of national accord continues to be the essential element of the rebirth program. However, it cannot signify consent for the undertaking, under any form whatsoever, of antisocialist activity which would threaten Poland's position as a member of the union of socialist states and which would undermine the role of the party in the country's political life."

Briefly and emphatically stated: only the person who accepts "socialism" as the regime in force once and for all can be termed a patriot. And such a patriot must continue to accept unrelentingly the so-called "alliance" with the Soviet Union. "The strongest bond," as is written in the aforementioned TRYBUNA LUDU, "of friendship and alliance between Poland and the Soviet Union is no doubt the common bond of social systems, a mutual striving to build modern societies on the basis of socialism and communism and the brotherhood of solidarity and cooperation between the leading parties--PZPR and CPSU--which are led by the common ideology of Marxism-Leninism. The experiences of the entire postwar period confirm this. They teach us that only socialist Poland can be a sure and lasting partner which can be depended on and which can guarantee vital allied interests."

And here is the principle described by the author of the quoted article as "fundamental:" "It should be stressed emphatically that despite the contentions made by adversaries, no allied obligations have interfered or interfere with our carrying out of indispensable reforms and transformations of the system. All that is needed is a clear, realistic program and the will

to implement it. However, from the point of view of preserving the alliance, the protection of common allied interests and our own national and class interests, there exists one important principle: as a result of the implemented reforms and transformations, socialism cannot be allowed to shrink; it should become stronger, improve itself and develop. This basic requirement must be respected. This issues forth from the logic of the development of the modern world and the place that Poland occupies in it...The alliance of socialist states and its basic, manysided organizations create a complex political and geographical construction which assures all those states which enter into its composition, a feeling of security and stability, conditions for favorable cooperation and increased effectiveness of one's own activity on the international arena."

Naturally, communists are of the opinion that Poland, like all the other states which enter into the composition of the Eastern bloc, is sovereign and controls its own fate. This is an initial falsehood from which all others follow. As is well known, all of these countries, therefore Poland included, were occupied by force of arms by the Red Army which followed in the path of the retreating Nazi armies. The communist regime--which the nations concerned did not want, considering it as foreign--was imposed under these conditions of armed occupation. In certain cases, the communist regime was imposed immediately while in others--somewhat later following an initial period of relative liberalism. This was the case in Poland and in Czechoslovakia. Elections were crudely faked while true representatives either perished or escaped abroad (the defenestration of the younger Masaryk in Prague, in flight of Mikolajczyk).

In these countries, liberating attempts were not lacking. This led to rioting in Berlin, to the Polish "October," to the bloody incidents in Budapest and finally to the Czechoslovakian "spring" in 1968 and to disturbances in Poland which ultimately led to Solidarity. These attempts were always stifled by armed force or deceit. The ineffective efforts of Soviet propaganda to attribute these disturbances to reactionary forces were capable of satisfying only the authors of these propaganda measures. Soviet "socialism" was rejected by all Central and East European nations and they are being held in this "socialist" cage solely by armed duress. Propaganda denies this and propaganda is an insolent liar.

Thus, the first substantial falsehood: these states are not sovereign and they have a regime forcefully imposed by the imperialistic power. The form of communism proposed to the Polish nation by the communists has nothing in common with true patriotism but rather is the blatant denial of it. What these comrades call patriotism is submissive service to the interests of their common nation--the Soviet Union. Solidarity did not want to break away from this situation knowing that under the current circumstances this would be impossible; it only wanted to loosen somewhat the Soviet collar and to create acceptable living conditions. This was enough for Polish communists to murder it upon the instigation of the Soviets. The martial law order given by Jaruzelski occurred after more than a year of furious wrangling by all Soviet media of mass propaganda. There is no need to search for the true perpetrator--he revealed himself long before the decision was made.

They [the Polish communists] have identified patriotism with the regime hated by the nation and also with the equally or perhaps even more hated dependence of the country on the Soviets. They adorn themselves with false pride in freshly turned out confederate caps [konfederatki] which have not been worn at all for over 30 years. In the name of this falsehood, they take away from the Polish political emigres the right to call themselves Poles.

And it is always the same: Communist "patriots" do not want to know anything about Polish martyrdom during the years of World War II. They carefully make no mention of all the Soviet crimes perpetrated against the Polish nation. Katyn was brought about by the Germans while transportation out to concentration camps and for resettlement was humanitarian evacuation from war-endangered regions. The Soviets liberated us from Nazi occupation for which we must show eternal gratitude.

This comedy of propaganda calmed down somewhat following the birth of Solidarity whereas currently it is raging on with new vigor. And yet, it is clearly known in the party that the Soviets are hated in Poland and that this hatred has increased even more, if that is at all possible, since the beginning of 13 December of this year. The nation is fully aware that the source of all of its calamities is found in Moscow and the nation reacts to this accordingly. The deceitful propaganda leads people to fury and this is its only outcome. The more empty talk there is about friendship and gratitude, the greater the mental dissent.

"Patriotism," informs the TRYBUNA LUDU, and all the other regime organs, "means only one thing today: peace, responsibility, work." In other words, involuntary submission to those who took away from the nation the hope of improving the political, economic and cultural conditions in which it finds itself--after these several months of breathing a little more freely.

9853

CSO: 2600/847

PZPR PLANT COMMITTEE SECRETARIES SPEAK ON NINTH PLENUM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Aug 82 pp 1, 3

[Article: "What Will Happen After the Plenum Comrade Secretary?"]

[Text] The Ninth Central Committee Plenum took a broad and comprehensive look at youth affairs. Its resolution was addressed to government agencies, professional educators and the youth and their organizations, but most of all to the party, its organs and ranks. It is the basic party elements and plant organizations, however, that will ultimately determine the successful implementation of the resolution.

We have asked several plant committee [KZ] secretaries to share with us their initial conclusions about the plenum decisions as they affect them personally and their ranks.

Jerzy Brochocki, Hard-Coal Mine [KWK] Siemianowice:

Advancement: Horizontal and Vertical

I will not hide the fact that I and my comrades in the plant committee found considerable satisfaction in the documents from the ninth Central Committee plenum. They convinced us that the direction of our activities, geared toward the young, have been correct. It may sound a little immodest, but the truth is that although little time has passed since the Central Committee plenum, we are already seriously involved in the implementation of its resolution.

For many years the mining school at the plant has been the main source of our mine cadres. We do whatever we can to permanently link its graduates with the mine and the city. We do it through our system of internships, during which a young boy learns the environment of his future workplace and finds out about the opportunities for advancement. This perspective seems to be the best incentive for good work, the acquisition of new qualifications and advancement on the job.

Many of our miners have already mastered two or even three related specializations and thus have the opportunity to prove themselves in increasingly difficult and responsible positions. This way, older and

work-weary miners can be moved to less strenuous jobs, because replacements are available. This is how we are already implementing the system of horizontal advancement, accompanied by appropriately higher wages.

Furthermore, we have at our disposal a considerable number of youth classified as a reserve cadre. There are quite a few employees in their 30's in important positions in supervision, including such posts as department heads and supervisors of mining operations. Thus, we also have a mechanism for vertical advancement. I want to add that this is why we are not afraid--unlike managers in other mines--of early retirement by miners; we are prepared for that by having a trained cadre. Also, here in Siemianowice youth patronage over housing construction, which is still being pursued at the initiative of the ZMS, has probably for the first time brought concrete results. Soon the young will receive 130 more apartments through this system.

We note with great satisfaction young people's interest in and cultivation of miners festivals, traditionally celebrated in Siemianowice. On days off, as in the old days our mine's amateur groups entertain in the park near the villa at Michalkowice and the young have an opportunity to chat with the oldtimers and to play skat or chess.

We believe, however, that our response to the needs of youth is not sufficient. Therefore, in August all department party organizations will hold joint meetings with ZMS circles in the plant, and in September at the joint plenum of the PZPR plant committee and ZMS plant board we will adopt a more concrete and comprehensive action program.

No doubt, it will focus on perfecting the educational function of the workplace and more effective ideological influence on the young people; in other words, on creating conditions enabling the young not simply to satisfy their ambitions and material needs but also greater participation in popularizing socialist ideals and values.

Jan Szczesny, PAFAWAG, Wroclaw:

#### A Part of Plant Affairs

As early as last April we had a plenary meeting of the plant committee and executive committee of the ZMS factory board devoted to forms of cooperation in resolving problems experienced by youth in our plant. After the ninth plenum, however, we enriched our program of activities in line with its resolution.

We do not forcibly or artificially isolate youth problems from the general affairs of the plant. When we talk, for example, about greater opportunities for advancement, we do not have in mind that youth should be the only criterion for appointing people to responsible positions. The decisive factors should be qualifications, social involvement, moral attitude, etc. It is true that until now we have not really had a real personnel policy; for example, we still do not have a list of the reserve cadre. However, we would not agree to placing on such a list only the young. Nevertheless, we

do want to remove the barriers that hamper advancement of the young, break up various special arrangements and so forth.

There are also problems of particular importance for the young, such as recreation, rest and housing construction. In conjunction with the plant ZMS aktiv, we have created a five-member team entrusted with the formation of a housing cooperative in the plant. Among the most urgent tasks we consider the enrichment of recreational activities and the activation of mass sports, because lately we have noticed a visible regress in both. On our part, we will continue to assure material conditions, but we also count on greater organizational activity of the young. We intend to intensify ideological-educational activity among the young. We observe among them common passive, negative and even hostile attitudes. To a great degree this is the result of a lack of knowledge about the mechanisms of political and social life. Therefore, we will organize discussions with voivodship committee lecturers and other invited guests for the purpose of explaining to the young their doubts and presenting to them the changes occurring in the country.

Stefan Wysocki, Voivodship Municipal Transportation Enterprise (WPKM), Szczecin:

#### Adaptation, or a New Hire in an Enterprise

For a long time the young constituted a considerable percentage of our work force. However, hard working conditions have brought about a situation when fewer and fewer young people want to become streetcar operators.

Youth affairs have always been high on the agenda of our party hierarchy. With our limited resources, we have always tried to resolve youth problems.

Recently, we had a joint meeting of the plant committee executive board and ZMS factory board executive committee to prepare a sort of a "book of needs and actions." Our young comrades presented their point of view and the means for resolving their problems, while we helped them to compare the reality of their intended actions with the enterprise's resources.

In a few days we will have a joint plenary meeting of the enterprise committee and enterprise board. We expect this meeting to be a useful forum for preparing a real--let me emphasize real--plan of action. For we must remember that in the past there were many programs, beautiful programs, addressed to the young. Most of them were never taken beyond the planning stage; they remained sheets of paper covered with lofty slogans. I can see two basic directions in our work. First, internal actions, focusing primarily on socioprofessional adaptation, or the new hire in the enterprise. Often we hire a young person and limit ourselves to showing him his place of work. This is one of the most important causes of frustration on the job, a feeling of not belonging and, consequently, of abandoning the profession.

Our actions extending beyond the enterprise will be exceptionally difficult, but we must not back down. I am talking about apartments for the young. When the enterprise occasionally receives one or two apartments for its

disposal, it is obvious that priority is given to employees with high seniority. And it is difficult to imagine a different situation. However, in the last couple of years in Szczecin there has been a project involving an effort to adapt attics for apartments. An active group has been created in our enterprise to explore this possibility. Both as a party element and an enterprise, we will render the young every possible assistance in this field.

I wish to share with you one observation: After the ninth plenum, 10 young employees came to our plant board and requested ZMS membership applications. I was very heartened by this fact, because to me it is proof that the youth trust party decisions.

8609

CSO: 2600/846

# SHORTCOMINGS ASCRIBED TO PEOPLE RATHER THAN MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 13-15 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Ireneusz Czyzewski: "This Is Impotence of People, Not of Martial Law"]

[Text] Under a rather misleading title ("Impotence of Martial Law," SZTANDAR MŁODYCH No 123, 6-8 Aug 82) Wladyslaw Styczynski published a call to vigilance directed at those who see themselves as public guardians of the idea to bar a return to pre-August days and to the events that took place between August and December.

There are many such people, and today they are a majority. This is the first truth, a truth that is not easy to gainsay. The second truth, which at the same time is evidence of an amazing paradox, is that there is also a fair number of quiet adherents to various past sins. I am not concerned, of course, with the result of the confrontation--condemned evil has little chance of returning. It can, however, interfere effectively and for a long time. It can cause delay and deterioration of public moods. That is why I write about it.

To put it broadly, in his article, Wladyslaw Styczynski is concerned with the widespread disease of impotence. He writes: "The main method of maintaining the system of protecting the 'state's private interests' and the irresponsibility on which it was based was to create a general climate of impotence in the area of decision making and action at all levels." In short, he seems to suggest that the impotence persists in spite of martial law because it is not possible to fight the black market, to hold back the "blue birds" [niebieskie ptaki] and to take care of a couple of other matters about which the author speaks using statements made by representatives of our political life. The author is right, except for one thing: These are examples of the impotence of people, not of martial law.

Of course, Wladyslaw Styczynski does not exactly claim the opposite. He simply suggests that we cannot manage certain matters in spite of martial law and that the "strong men" are really "weak men" when confronted by those matters. Much can be blamed on martial law, and its opponents take advantage of this fact. However, there is one thing that cannot be blamed on martial

law. Specifically, it cannot be claimed that martial law has not introduced the proper climate for exacting responsibility. But the matter of the black market and of "blue birds" cannot be settled according to a simple formula of guilt and punishment. I think that we all know it very well, and there is no need to discuss it any further.

Especially since my article is not intended to be polemical. The thing is that Wladyslaw Styczynski touched on a topic around which a certain visible climate of interest ought to be maintained. Although I fully agree with this idea, I want to devote a couple of words to the subject of impotence, which is a disease of the mind and will and from which it is only one step to ignorance or perhaps even arrogance.

Impotence of people is the first evil. As our experience teaches us, it can destroy every task and it can lead the culprit, from a janitor to a minister, by the nose without any practical result. It is quite remarkable that life, instead of eliminating such cases, produces more and more new, sometimes bitter experiences.

Almost since the beginning of martial law, an indefatigable control team headed by Gen Wladyslaw Mroz has gone around the country, and in many voivodships it brings to the surface matters that stir public opinion. While I admire the perseverance and emotional strength of the team members, I find it difficult not to notice that, except in a few cases, the team reports are just as harsh and stern now as in January and February. At first, a lot was understandable---the extent of neglect, social upheavals and the resulting concern of those in positions of responsibility. But months have passed and it would seem that the time would have been well spent on learning useful lessons. But it seems that changes in evaluations are still very minor. Scandalous lack of concern, negligence, disregard for people and simple swindles are already a tradition.

But this is not even the most important problem. Everybody can make a mistake. It is worse than that, after mistakes have been pointed out, little is done to correct them. Pila Voivodship serves as a case in point, as confirmed by the second military control.

Facts are what counts, not intentions. And that is why I allow myself to voice a charge that the administration of the voivodship reacted to the shortcomings according to the worst pattern. The pattern "they came, messed around, but will not come back too soon, so we can relax" is a frequent phenomenon, and, undoubtedly, it was followed in Pila. They did come back, however, in accordance with the new climate of responsibility I spoke of before. The shock came; the governor and directors had to be replaced--the bad smell spread all over Poland, our opponents and those ill-disposed toward us happily point the finger and shout, Look!!!

I do not mean to say that supplying arguments to our opponents is the main evil resulting from this case. There is another evil, much more important. It is the shaping of negative opinions on the part of those who are still waiting. In such matters, alarm is needed, especially since this is not just one case. Unfortunately!

In the Warszawa Metallurgical Plant, a visit by the first Secretary and prime minister was needed to make the director, the management and the sociopolitical organizations, including the party organization, realize that more plant cafeterias should be open on free Saturdays. This is because during hot summer days people need to drink more, especially since very high temperatures are maintained at the plant. And, finally (omitting other "shortcomings"), scrap iron is needed for the plant to function. It does not, however, need to be brought from abroad in large quantities, since it is sitting in the dumps. Here, it is disturbing that the charge of impotence has to be directed at experts, not dilettantes.

It remains to be asked, If we adopt this mode of operation, how many years will pass before the prime minister gets a chance to go to all the plants that have similar situations.

This case is a glaring example of impotence. I do not doubt that the plant had many meetings and conferences before the visit. After all, the responsible people must have known what the needs were. And this is why I greet with half-smiles examples of how various collectives manage to correct shortcomings pointed out to them by the prime minister, which are shown on television. Sometimes it seems to me that somebody winks at me from the screen. I do not mean to offend anybody, but this situation is simply embarrassing.

The case of the metallurgical plant should also be seen as an alarm signal concerning the relationship between the management and the work force. It would seem that nobody bothered to talk to people at the plant. Especially justified are grievances in both this and the Pila Voivodship case directed to local party groups. I understand that it is not easy, that bitterness often makes it impossible to communicate in a businesslike manner, but, at the same time, we all know that the duty to fight to gain the confidence of the people is long standing.

Both time and many opportunities have been wasted at the metallurgical plant. This situation is going to persist if decrees of the PZPR Ninth Congress and the aspirations of leaders of the state continue to be treated as self-serving bouts that simply need to be repeated at the right moment. Ignorance is also an example of impotence, except that it happens to be premeditated.

Not so long ago, already during martial law, there was a time of critical reflection, when all actions of the government at all levels were carefully observed--also through the press. Every day, in the columns of dailies, one could find reports depicting commissars struggling with problems in gminas. A degree of interest was maintained, that, on one hand, prevented dangerous relapses but, on the other, did not enhance the image of those involved. Hundreds of people left their posts. Things are a little calmer now. Maybe the time has come to quietly wait for some results. Some good will could help. This attitude should not, however, turn into idol-worshipping, and dangers still abound.

After all, a question could still be asked, to what degree the improvement--which is unquestionable--is a result of the climate of responsibility brought on by martial law or to what degree it is just force of habit? Here opinions may vary and initial data will be provided by the evaluation of readiness for harvest in villages conducted last week by operational teams. In many cases, it is feared that commissars, upon return to gminas, will have to shake their heads when they see what happened to their accomplishments after a rather short time. I would like it not to be so, but....

Here it is--a gmina. It does not matter where, it could be anywhere. There is a new mayor. I come and ask for a list of instructions left by the commissar. The list is available. All functions are listed and assigned, and letters have been sent out to those interested, sometimes across the hall or to a building a few hundred meters away. And what about accounts? They are also available, of course, except not really, since they are not too clear. Besides, during a rather short stay, I was able to ascertain that there is warfare being conducted within the gmina government. It is conducted quietly, but it is guerrilla warfare. The village looks at it with an ironic smile and asks for a rope for bindings.

To insist on strict fulfillment of commissars' instructions may not be a prescription for general change in the situation. It may be that problems of this village are being settled elsewhere--perhaps in the lack of the rope, materials and machinery, and not, for example, in the sphere of interrelationships and mutual "let us love each other" within the circle of gmina government. But what was formulated on the basis of hundreds of talks with people should not be forgotten. Thus, the fact that this matter is not fully settled in spite of the specter of repeated control hanging overhead is a proof of continuing impotence, this time of the rural variety.

A question arises: Is the present impotence of the same kind as the pre-August impotence?

It seems to me that it is not! The basic information attesting to this claim should be seen in the fact that this brand of impotence decisively rejects and destroys the intentions, as well as the specific purposes, of the authorities. Thus, this is only an occurrence, not a program. It is only a pity that to a citizen who encounters the evil this subtle difference does not mean much.

Thus, to sum up: Our impotence not only has hands and legs but specific names as well. It does not, however, have political and social bases.

Nevertheless, a fierce battle is going on. On the other side there are many people of good will and they have on their side the argument of public support. They also have a political program. That is why, I repeat, I am not worried about the end result. That is why I will allow myself to go back to the article of Wladyslaw Styczynski. I am not worried about the views of a ministry clerk on the matter of workers' self-government. Most probably, he will insist on his infallibility and sacred, vigilant watchfulness. Except that, as W. Styczynski writes, this clerk does not have too many allies

any more. They think differently in a plant and in the (PZPR) Central Committee. His supervisor also has different opinions, and, finally, different opinions have been voiced by workers who in conversation with the prime minister destroyed the myth about difficulties in making contact with the people.

I pulled examples for this article out of my "black notebook." But, after all, in spite of appearances, a bright future cannot be built simply on arguments of boom and oftentimes debatable success. The future requires good sense as well as respect for people who in spite of the wind blowing in their eyes are determined to fight impotence. The difficult but realistically seen future will be the best expression of their determination.

9959

CSO: 2600/651

COMMENTS ON CURRENT SITUATION IN MARTIAL LAW POLAND NOTED

London DZIENNIK POLSKI I DZIENNIK ZOLNIERZA in Polish 31 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Stefan Sobolewski: "Playing For Time--Seen From Stockholm"]

[Text] Recently I had an opportunity to talk with a journalist who, after considerable trouble, managed to get out of Poland for several weeks abroad. By no means a supporter of the regime, he is rather a neutral character among Polish journalists. Our conversation centered, of course, on Polish affairs. Anyone supposing that our dialogue abounded in likemindedness would be wrong. Although there were no fundamental differences between our assessments of the Polish puzzle, we totally differed in evaluating the social mood. This is not surprising. We are separated by a generation and by our completely dissimilar stocks of information about society's basic self-preserving responses dictated by living under an occupation.

Having arrived directly from martial-law Poland, my interlocutor had a lively interest in Polish internal problems. I attentively listened to his comments, characteristically quite moderate and far from radical. Understandably, he did not insist that I have tolerance toward Mr Jaruzelski, which would have been pointless anyway, since my appraisal of this issue is unequivocal. Instead, he tried to persuade me that, next to clubs and arrests, time was the greatest ally of the military regime. Is it so, in fact?

The 7 months since the December coup have enabled the authorities to boast that they put under control the "reactionary and imperialist groups of antisocialist provocateurs." At first glance, this might seem to be true. Widespread social resistance has been broken and, not surprisingly, the pyramidlike pattern of responsibility for violating martial law has engendered fear.

The events of last December polarized public opinion, which is a major defeat to the defenders of communism in army uniforms. Only last March I received a letter from a friend in Poland. He wrote: "True, it is harder to live in Poland now, but we are living more sanely." The nation became united in its hostility toward the regime. "The military coup cut off the dialogue on the concept of Poland--the authorities' post-December monologue allows no alternative solutions. 'The only road for Poland is the road to socialism.'"

As time continues to bring no solutions of a political or economic nature, increasing difficulties in food supply and a drop in real wages coupled with severe price escalation and a sense of hopelessness have inevitably affected society's attitude to some extent. Voices are increasingly heard in Poland that permanent endangerment and uncertainty are extremely discouraging and conducive, now more than before, to submission to the existing political order. Propagandist explanations of the economic difficulties as being caused by Reagan's sanctions are also making their impact in some segments of society.

This political impasse can have several solutions. In Poland, increasingly frequent references are being made to a national consensus. There is nothing new about that. Today, however, moderate trends seem to be getting the upper hand among those actively interested in a solution to the crisis. A compromise, however, is not a simple matter. It is predicated on the emotional encumbrances of recent months and, most important perhaps, on a total lack of confidence in the communist authorities.

Time is thus working to the advantage of those in power. The nation is being forced into increasing subservience, while propaganda achieves some of its effects. Even the most absurd attacks on Solidarity, although convincing nobody, necessarily lead to reappraising of the Independent Self-Governing Labor Union, which is what practically every individual engages in today and which the authorities probably find to their liking. The claims that Solidarity made a number of errors, went into politics rather than dealing with union matters, or advanced its demands too far can only be grist for the regime's mill. And such voices are increasingly heard these days.

My interlocutor was rather pessimistic. His assessment, presented above, is on the whole devoid of the hope that some day Poland will be free and fully democratic. Fear-triggered instinct for self-preservation, partisan interests, posturing as "saviors of the nation" or martyrs in crowns of thorns have all combined to destroy a badly needed polarity of views. These evaluations, coming as they do from inside the boiling Polish cauldron, undeniably carry their sad truth. My opinions, developed from a removed point of view and based on my unshakeable faith in the victory (no matter when it comes), are more idealistic and optimistic.

Undoubtedly, the process of polarization has again yielded to internal subdivisions and the essential human instinct for self-preservation. Although a large segment of society is almost ready to become reconciled to the existing arrangement, either in return for meeting its material needs or merely for the sake of its own peace of mind, an even larger segment of the Polish nation has no intention of backing away from the demands for codetermination in Poland. Apparently there are too many people with nothing to lose to become obedient to their oppressors over the long term.

What about the time factor? In his "Diary Written At Night" (KULTURA No 7-8 1982), Gustaw Herling-Grudzinski writes: "...for 5 months now a total military impasse has continued in Poland. It is necessary to accept outright that it will persist for a long time to come. And that in the nearest future

the two most often mentioned 'ways out of a situation with no way out' would be equally ruinous: a compromise at this time can be virtually tantamount to elimination of society's resistance by installments while an 'organized collective upheaval' (Kuron's term) can now only lure a totally unprepared Solidarity out of hiding. Time is not on the side of the authorities. A standoff is always more burdensome and costly to the assailant than it is to the assailed." The time factor seems to me to work in two ways: on the one hand, it neutralizes a spontaneous outburst and, on the other hand, it intensifies the desire to retaliate by thorough preparation for a counter-attack.

Several years ago, probably in 1977, I talked in West Germany with a person I thought was familiar with Polish affairs, but it proved to be otherwise. When I talked to her of Poland's economic (chief topic at the time) and political problems, she gave me a surprised look and asked: "Then why don't you go out into the streets?" I am not sure if she would say the same thing today. She probably would not because Jaruzelski lacks the glory that enwrapped Gierek who enthusiastically avowed himself to be on the side of defenders of human rights. The guy in dark glasses and green uniform plays the role of an enforcer.

Will taking to the streets actually accomplish anything? The answer from nearly all quarters is unanimously negative. Is there, then, any way out of the crisis that is more reasonable than a compromise?

This question is posed today by Polish communities abroad and by those fighting in Poland.

Any attempts to follow the Czechoslovak pattern in Poland cannot solve the original Polish problems. As long as enslavement of minds is not effected (even that has no chances of success), we cannot cease to believe in the victory of reason over idiocy. The flow of time, while variously affecting human reactions in Poland, cannot obliterate history and its lessons. Perhaps it will even result in taking to the streets.

8795

CSO: 2600/845

FRENCH JOURNALIST REJECTS ACCUSATIONS IN TANASE CASE

Paris LE MATIN in French 1 Sep 82 p 9

[Article by Bernard Poulet: "Reply to Virgil Tanase"]

[Text] In these columns we have always given careful and responsible attention to the fate of the dissidents from the East and I think that I have demonstrated, to my own disadvantage, that I was very much attached to the cause. But I do not boast about having been beaten up by the Romanian Securitate. It seems to me that, at this time, it is the fate of the Romanian dissidents which is in question and not a sordid history of frustrated competition.

Yesterday, in a press conference held in the offices of the monthly ACTUEL, Virgil Tanase and the turncoat Romanian "spy" implicated LE MATIN and myself, accusing us of having revealed too much of the hidden aspects of this mysterious affair, "out of sensationalism." If one were to believe them, we are said to have endangered the lives of Tanase's mother and the spy's mother simultaneously. These detestable accusations show another aspect of the "Tanase affair," which, unfortunately, does not contain anything very honorable.

If the monthly ACTUEL and Virgil Tanase, who is one of its employees, are frustrated for having "missed a good shot," that is their business. On the other hand, if that leads them to accuse me of irresponsibility, if not of assassination, that goes too far.

Thus, I am forced to enter into this sad polemic, which, in my opinion, is a minor issue in this affair. I do not know if Virgil Tanase's mother actually returned to Romania yesterday (that remains to be proven), but I am stating that Tanase knew for a week that the affair would be made public this Monday. And it was not until 1700 hours, when he had just learned that LE MATIN was going to publish the story, that he suddenly asked the investigators to "stop everything" because of his mother.

As for the mysterious mother of the spy, who has remained in Romania, according to what he told us yesterday in his press conference, the investigators say that they had never heard him speak about her earlier. Obviously, somebody is lying.

The publication of the monthly ACTUEL had been scheduled for Wednesday, 1 September, and the admen had received the announcement of a "big scoop" a week before. The Flammarion publishing house is publishing the last book of Tanase and the press release sent to the newspapers requests that "nothing be published before 2 September."

All this resembles, a little too much, a commercial affair. Each one makes use of the incidents of his life in his own way. Here, we content ourselves with providing information.

CSO: 3100/953

FRENCH TRADE UNION MEMBERS, JOURNALISTS MEET DISSIDENT PARASCHIV

Paris LE MATIN in French 1 Sep 82 p 9

[Article by B. P.: "The Appeal for Help of the Romanian Walesa"]

[Text] Not only is Vasile Paraschiv, the "Romanian Walesa," still alive, but some Frenchmen succeeded in meeting with him recently in Romania, in the city of Ploiesti. Paraschiv, who disappeared about 3 years after he had tried to create a free trade union, is issuing an appeal to several French intellectuals and trade union leaders to help him to go to France immediately.

On 15 August, two French trade union members were able to see him for 2 minutes in his home. But Paraschiv, apparently terrorized, closed the door again, very quickly. On 27 August, two journalists from the Awacs agency also had a meeting with him at night and reported his appeal.

"All I want," Paraschiv explains, "is permission to go to France immediately. On 30 March 1982, I requested a passport, but so far I have not received any reply. I am asking everyone to help me."

Dictating this appeal, in his unlighted room, Paraschiv spoke very softly and, according to the journalists, he gave the impression that he was very much afraid. On his forehead, he had a red scar, the result of a beating.

CSO: 3100/953

BOOK ON EDUCATION IN LANGUAGES OF MINORITIES REVIEWED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 12 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by Ernst Breitenstein: "A Publication of Great Interest"]

[Text] Editura Didactica si Pedagogica [The Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House] has published a book which is of great interest, for a number of reasons: "Invatamintul in limbile nationalitatilor conlocuitoare din Romania" [Education in the Languages of the National Minorities in Romania]. I will enumerate only one of these reasons: If material equality represents the foundation on which a realistic, scientific nationality policy is built, then education in the languages of the national minorities becomes, hierarchically, a necessary basic condition for the preservation and development of everything related to the ethnic identity of a national entity. It is said, with justification, that the German minority population which, for eight centuries, has been living alongside Romanians and Hungarians in Transylvania, has remained the most stable of the many communities of German origin outside German-speaking countries. The phenomenon is explained by its entire history and it is perpetuated as a result of the high-principled and consistent policy of the Romanian socialist state and the party, and, last but not least, as a result of the fact that the national minorities in Romania are guaranteed, by provisions of the Constitution, the free use of their mother tongue at all levels of education and each nationality is ensured the study and thorough knowledge of its own language.

In this context, I would like to mention something important, which happened relatively recently. One of the leaders of the West German parliament who visited the country recently came to the editorial staff where I work (NEUER WEG) and gave us a memo of an emigre organization stating that Romanian authorities are limiting the number of subjects which are taught in German in the education in the German language program, thus restricting the students' opportunities for mastering their mother tongue.

By chance, the West German guest, who had been given this memo, made a visit the next day to secondary school No. 1 for mathematics and physics in Sibiu, where German is the language of instruction. He was deeply impressed, stating that he has not found in his own country many schools

of the caliber of the one he visited in Sibiu and that he would be happy if his grandchildren could attend such an educational institution.

This is why I think that the work which I am discussing is a publication of particular importance. It provides the Romanian reader, for the first time, with an overall picture of the great and original implementation of the nationality policy, constituting, at the same time, by the wealth of factual material and illustrations, an eloquent response to any attempts to distort realities of which we have profound and numerous reasons to be proud. Thus, it is completely natural that Editura Didactica si Pedagogica would translate and publish this work in the Hungarian, German, English, French and Russian languages.

"Invatamintul in limbile nationalitatilor conlocuitoare din Romania," as the book states, was compiled by a collective of the Office for Education in the Languages of the National Minorities in the Ministry of Education and Culture, a collective coordinated by Gergely Laszlo, with Marin Gaspar, Nikolaus Kleininger, Murvai Laszlo and Sorin Teodorescu as members.

The authors devoted the first part of the book to the place and role of education in the languages of the national minorities in the overall educational system in Romania, proceeding, in this context, to present both the general principles which govern public instruction in our country and the concept and principles which guide Romanian policy in regard to the nationality issue. In both cases, it is clearly demonstrated that the concrete practice in this realm is the result of a profound analysis of the conditions, the possibilities and the needs of education, in general, and of education in the languages of the national minorities, in particular, in the specific conditions of Romania, in the present stage. The permanent and, at the same time, evolving, character of the issue of education in the languages of the national minorities, as an organic component (and not as a component depending upon circumstances, as it is sometimes presented, in a distorted fashion, in foreign countries), the result of a mature judgement, inspired by the realities of living together for many centuries and of a mode of social thought common to our entire political existence, which is verified and perfected in a continuing confrontation with social practice, is very clear.

As we have said, Part I of the book seeks to give a concrete demonstration of the principal assertions, using, for this purpose, a wealth of statistical data, a large number of comparisons, a procedure which has never been used before in this area. Part II of the work is also used for purposes of demonstration. In it, noted teachers, personalities in the field, mostly from the ranks of the national minorities, present, on the basis of their own experience, the way in which education in the languages of the national minorities is carried out.

I do not have enough space to give the details. However, I must cite the contribution signed by Dusan Sablici, with the significant title: "Timis

County: education in six languages," since, in this county, newspapers are published in four languages and state theaters operate in three languages. The case of Timis County is unique in Europe, if not in the world, in this regard.

The third and last part of the book presents excerpts from the "Law on Education and Instruction" in regard to teaching in the languages of the national minorities, as well as plans for pre-school, primary, gymnasium and secondary school education with instruction in the languages of the national minorities. Let us remember, in this context, that in socialist Romania, education in the mother tongue begins at kindergarten age and continues, in the case of the Hungarian nationality and, in part, in the case of the German nationality (since both minorities are the largest in number) up to higher education. I would have a hard time naming any other country in Europe or on any other continent in which a similar situation exists.

Recently I returned from a visit to a country which has been deeply concerned with the problem of integrating as citizens millions of foreigners, brought in at a certain moment as transient work force, who, because of unfavorable conditions in their countries of origin, conditions aggravated by the economic crisis, cannot return home. I was often asked if education in the languages of the "minorities" does not separate populations with different languages, one from the other and if such a school system does not endanger the civic loyalty of those who speak a language other than the official language of the country. I was happy to respond to the persons who asked me such questions that in my country, in which the idea that our world will remain, for a much longer period of time, a world of nations and national states has been substantiated theoretically, it is considered that the national minorities have a long future ahead of them and that, in a country in which such a theoretical conclusion has been elevated to the position of state policy, there is firmly established the tradition--which has its source in many centuries of historic experience--that true friendship, unity among the sons of the same country, loyalty to the fatherland have been and will always be a natural, legitimate consequence of mutual respect for the ethnic identity of each person, of traditions and customs and, last but not least, of the mother tongue of each separate population. The recent publication of Editura Didactica si Pedagogica demonstrates with facts.

CSO: 2700/352

ROMANIAN DISSIDENT VISITED BY FRENCH COUPLE

PM011615 Paris LE MONDE in French 1 Sep 82 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Two French Citizens Visit Vasile Paraschiv in Ploiesti"]

[Text] Apart from Albania--a country with tightly sealed borders, where one does not know what the official press really means to say--Romania, of all the communist east European countries, is undoubtedly the one with the fiercest repression and the most widespread terror. Despite the often bloodthirsty terror maintained by Mr Ceausescu's political police, the securitate, several people--especially since 1976--have risked asking permission to emigrate, trying to form a free trade union movement or even purely and simply protesting against their working and living conditions, as the miners of the Jiu Valley did in 1977.

In its latest issue the magazine L-ALTERNATIVE publishes a list of names--drawn up by the Romanian human rights defense league--of people who have disappeared following such kamikaze actions. Vasile Paraschiv, one of the founders of the Romanian free trade unions, was apparently nevertheless seen alive in his Ploiesti apartment Sunday 15 August by a French couple, Lionel and Marie-Helene Prouteau, on a visit to Romania.

However, it emerges from the report that they have conveyed to us that Mr Paraschiv is under constant surveillance and finds it very difficult to talk. The couple report, among other things, that they observed that the trade unionist, whom they saw only briefly, seemed incapable of any reaction to their questions and that he had "a long red mark across his forehead."

On 11 February a special correspondent of LE MATIN, Bernard Poulet, was violently attacked and manhandled by "unknown persons in civilian clothes" while trying to trace Mr Paraschiv in Ploiesti.

CSO: 3100/951

## ROMANIA

### CAREER OF 'SPY' WHO ASSISTED FRENCH IN TANASE AFFAIR

Paris LE MONDE in French 6 Sep 82 p 14

[Article by Bruno Frappat: "The Tanase Affair--Autobiography of a Spy"]

[Excerpts] Spy, what do you say about yourself? One must listen to him. But must one believe him? Certainly, the central figure of the disturbing Tanase affair, Matei Haiducu, alias "Mr. Z," currently under protection somewhere in France by the police officers of the D.S.T. [Directorate for Territorial Surveillance], is not inventing everything which he says about his life. But, although he is voluble, he does not tell everything.

Speaking with meticulous precision about his beginning in "intelligence," he becomes somewhat confused and less convincing, as soon as the conversation moves on to a more recent period.

Let us add to this dossier, which is nowhere near closed, the things which "Mr Z" told us Friday, in Paris.

The man who is still called "Mr Z," with a taste for espionage, although there is no longer any mystery about his legal identity, narrates his life as if nothing should remain hidden. He has professional patience and he knows that an overabundance of details sometimes helped authenticate an incomplete discourse.

#### Atavism

Our man, as the Romanian intelligence services are no longer saying, was born in Bucharest in May 1948. His father, Ludovic Haiducu, had this name only since the beginning of the 1950's. Before that, his name was Hirsch. Like many others, he wanted to make people forget the fact that he was Jewish at a time when the antisemitism of the state was beginning to gain ground. Atavism: during the last 10 years of his life, the father was one of the four directors of the intelligence services. His son did not learn this until later. A member of the Communist Party, released in 1944 after 7 years in prison, Mr Haiducu, the father, was a "believing" communist. He got this from his mother who was one of the pioneers. Pushed aside in 1959, Ludovic Haiducu was to have final satisfaction. In January 1961, his son says, he was appointed minister of construction. But tough luck: he died the next day of a heart attack.

Matei was alone with his mother, Florica (who was 17 years old when her son was born), an Orthodox Christian, and his young brother, today a refugee in France. Matei had good results in secondary school studies in a large lycee in Bucharest ("the equivalent of Louis the Great," he says). After completing secondary school, he was accepted into the large school of commerce ("the equivalent of the H.E.C. [Advanced Trade Studies Institute] he says) the Academy of Economic Studies, foreign trade faculty. At the same time, he took courses in an engineering school, specializing in general mechanical engineering. And, simultaneously, he studied how to be a spy.

It is 1969. The young man is returning from a summer visit to France, to the home of an emigree aunt. In 1 year, he would have a degree in his pocket. He dreams--like so many others--of a trade which would permit him to travel abroad. To serve his country, but from a distance. One day, someone in the Ministry of Foreign Trade decides to try a subtle "approach" to Haiducu. This attraction to foreign countries is very good. They can help him, when he gets out of school, to realize his dream. They could even hire him. Through contacts at dinners, flattery at closed questioning sessions, the Romanian intelligence services checked this ambition.

He ends up by understanding and agreeing to what they are asking him to do: "To establish myself in a foreign country to obtain information of a scientific, economic or technical nature." From 1970 to 1974, he is employed in a company named Mecano-Import-Export. He does a great job there. He is a good salesman. And, in particular, he is in the espionage school. His "handler"--his tutor--makes him undergo technical, psychological and military training which lasts 4 years. Everything is taught: "Surveillance and counter-surveillance, coding and decoding, signals, stripped film, microdots, white carbons. He ends up with the rank of captain in the intelligence service.

#### "Visan"

What should be done with this good subject? The Romanian intelligence services were dramatically shorthanded in South Africa. At that time, there was only one Romanian there and he was an opponent of the rule of Nicolae Ceausescu. It was agreed: Haiducu will go to South Africa. Haiducu? No, "Visan": from now on that will be his "cover" name. A surname which he will be keeping until August 1982.

South Africa? The country does not want exiles from the Eastern countries. They tell him this at the embassy of South Africa in Paris, as soon as he lands in France on 6 July 1975.

The Romanian authorities fabricated a "cover story" for him. He is being cast aside in his company. They seem to be preventing him from going abroad. This is the source of the pseudo-"distaste" which he has for the regime. A distaste which will render credible, in July 1975, the steps which he takes in Paris at the French Office for Refugees and Stateless Persons (OFPRA). Having come on a tourist passport, he becomes a refugee and, as such, he can travel in Europe.

One fine day at the beginning of 1976 he is in Rome, at the foot of Trajan's column. There, General Manea, director of intelligence in the Ministry of the Interior in Bucharest, informed of the fact that the South African assignment was a failure, orders him to establish himself in France and "to do research on the latest scientific and industrial technologies."

In order to do this, he will have to become a Frenchman; "To become a French citizen, that was the mission." Not at all astonishing and, a year later, the Romanian "headquarters" blesses his union with a French secretary, a union which will permit him to become a Frenchman on 14 November 1978, and, especially, to travel freely from Paris to Bucharest and other places for several years.

In the meantime, our man is advancing his career. After having been a warehouseman at a sponge company in Saint-Maur and then, for several months, in 1976, a prospector-salesman for an insurance company, he lands a good job in the company for the mechanical application of industrial plumbing (AMRI) whose president is Jean Creissen. The company is looking for an engineer and it recruits him as a technical-commercial agent. He stays there for 5 years, as he says, supplying some good tips to his honorable counterparts in Bucharest. AMRI does work for the nuclear industry and this is very appropriate since Romania is trying to achieve energy independence based on the construction of nuclear power plants. What does he transmit? He does not want to tell us. He speaks of "gates" and "volumes." You will find out.

All goes well. Until 1979. Then he has his first contact--an involuntary one--with the D.S.T., the French counterintelligence service. "You are a spy," they tell him. "You must be kidding, prove it." They do not get to him, at least at that time. At AMRI, he tells anyone who wants to listen that he was unjustly suspected by the D.S.T. They sympathize with him. He continues his career.

But it becomes very confused. It is a question of "trafficking in beige pistols by the Palestinians" and a "sugar affair." He says that at the beginning of 1981 the Romanian intelligence service does not have any more money in its accounts. He says that in October 1981 he left AMRI (on his own initiative but with a separation allowance of 50,000 francs), on the order of the Romanians. One could suppose that it was more likely on the order of the D.S.T. He denies it.

1 April

What will our unemployed man become now? A killer, as we shall see. On 1 February 1981, Matei Haiducu is received in Bucharest by General Plesita, the chief of the "headquarters," Mares, the director of intelligence and Badescu, his "handler." The conversation deals with the Romanian writers exiled in France. The previous month, Virgil Tanase published a vitriolic article in ACTUEL. They are shorthanded. "How can they be physically eliminated?" the general asks. "That would give Comrade Ceausescu great pleasure." The mission is clear.

Clear as the conscience of the spy who does not sleep any more at night. Kill? "Never." When he returns to France, he looks for someone to confide in. He finds "in the telephone book" the number of the D.G.S.E., the former SDECE [Foreign Documentation and Counter-Espionage Service] which finally became the D.S.T. On 1 April 1982, he makes his "first contact" in order to come clean.

The rest is known. The D.S.T. "spends 9 days checking my statements" and puts the final touches on the false kidnapping plan. It is thinking about an operation which would completely destabilize the Romanian intelligence service to the point where its chief, General Plesita, would have no choice but to emigrate to Paris in order to save his skin. Alas! Some impatient journalists reveal, too soon, the manipulation of "Mr Z" by the D.S.T. It will not have the "crowning touch" of the arrival in Paris of a general put to flight.

The account of Mr Haiducu--who will soon be changing his name--also lacks precise details about his relations with the D.S.T. "I did not have any contact with them before 1 April." Mr Z, do not hold it against us if we do not believe that story. And if we think that the D.S.T. has not spent 7 years discovering your status and some months transforming you into a French agent for the destabilization of your former country. But, nevertheless, what a career."

CSO: 3100/953

## LEGAL ACTION AGAINST MARKO VESELICA DEFENDED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 82 SEDAM DANA p 8

[Article by Vlado Rajic: "Marko Veselica's 'Harmless' Ties"]

[Text] The public's interest in Dr Marko Veselica's case ended early last September. At that time the District Court in Zagreb issued a verdict sentencing him to 11 years in prison. In the meantime the case has gone on appeal to the Supreme Court of Croatia. In mid-June of this year that court rendered a verdict which in part sustained the defendant's appeal, and it modified the sentence imposed in the first instance to a sentence of 7 years in prison. In both cases the prison sentence was accompanied by the measure of prohibition of public expression for 4 years.

To go back a bit, Veselica was found guilty before the District Court of crimes under Article 133, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Criminal Code, Article 134, Paragraph 1, of the Code, and under Article 131. The pronouncement of the Supreme Court's verdict states that the defendant "by virtue of the activity described under Point 1 did commit a crime, and that the crime of hostile propaganda under Article 133, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Criminal Code," for which he was sentenced to 3 years in prison, "and for the crime described under Point 2, under Article 131 of the SFRY Criminal Code, the penalty of imprisonment for 5 years." Veselica was sentenced to a single penalty of 7 years for these two crimes under Article 131, in association with Article 48, Paragraph 2, Subparagraph 3, of the same law.

Were we to translate this language of numbers, we would say that the Zagreb District Court convicted Veselica of the crimes of hostile propaganda, provocation of ethnic, racial and religious enmity, discord and intolerance, committed under ideal circumstances, and of the crime of participation in hostile activity. Yet the Supreme Court felt that a considerable portion of the actions involved in the crime defined in Article 131 did not go further than an attempt (the material intended for officials of refugee organizations did not reach the addresses indicated because of intervention of customs authorities). Moreover, the court felt that the first two crimes described in the pronouncement of the verdict in the first instance could legally be indicated as a single crime. That is the briefest summary of the grounds in criminal law why the appeal of Veselica and his six lawyers was in part honored.

## The Error Concerning "Confederation"

Particular attention deserves to be paid to that part of the verdict of the Supreme Court of Croatia which describes Marko Veselica's hostile activity in political terms. The reference here is not only to the content of the interview which led to the filing of charges, but also to other activities aimed at untruthful and tendentious betrayal of the economic, social and political relations in the SFRY. The distortion of those facts reflects his intention to inflict harm on Yugoslavia.

For example, he called upon certain forces abroad to condemn the position and treatment of Croats in the SFRY, to exert their influence to change that position, complaining that in Croatia itself, in his opinion, the subjective forces did not exist that could accomplish a change. And that change which he anticipated would be brought about, as he put it, by a "radical confederation." The verdict takes as its point of departure the historically proven contempt in our country toward all those who "fighting for their own people" have believed very little in that people and have needed foreign help.

Veselica's defense in the appeal is that his interview given to a foreign newspaperman was not timed with and motivated by intensified hostile activity against Yugoslavia at the time of President Tito's death. He also contested the allegations of the judgment in the first instance that a large portion of the "arguments" contained in the interview were drawn from the objective difficulties in which our country's economy found itself. According to him, the only motivation for the interview with the foreign newsman was his awareness that in certain meetings of political and government bodies he had begun to be portrayed as a person engaged in hostile activity against the SFRY and that he was being threatened with criminal prosecution. The verdict of the Supreme Court had this to say concerning that portion of the appeal: "In view of the words used in the interview, its overall purport and purpose, (the accused--author's insertion) was quite clearly aware that criminal prosecution could be undertaken against him because of it," so that in the estimate of the court he was more defending himself in advance than refraining from a criminal act.

And let us say a bit more about the grounds for reducing the sentence. In the court's opinion, the reduced sentence corresponds to the seriousness of the crime and the degree of criminal accountability established, "and in view of the strength and security of our self-managing socialist community, it corresponds even to the degree of the defendant's danger to society."

An appeal against the judgment of the district court was also lodged by Marko Veselica's mother, Kata, which the Supreme Court took into consideration, especially the allegations in her appeal which speak of active participation of the defendant's close and distant relatives in the National Liberation Struggle and also that the defendant's father in fact gave his life in that struggle.

Further, contrary to Veselica's allegations on many occasions, the court respected the principle that suppression of the criminal activities of the enemies of our society is to be conducted as humanely as possible. Even toward

those committing such grave criminal acts as those of which Veselica has already been convicted (and much graver ones), whereby he has displayed a great obstinacy in carrying out his hostile intentions.

#### Unscientific Confrontation

This has been the briefest possible retelling of the main part of the two verdicts, each of which ran to some 30 pages of closely typed text. The careful reader of these court decisions cannot overlook several facts, especially those in the verdict of the Supreme Court, which manifest the way in which criminal trials with a political basis are conducted in our country.

That we might be quite clear about what is involved, we will quote several passages from Veselica's interview with the West German newsman Hans Joachim Bornmann, which led to the filing of charges, and portions of the facts established in the trial.

Elaborating the thesis of "Great Serbian hegemony over the Croatian people" throughout the entire interview, at one point Veselica writes in answering the foreign newsman's questions, which were put in writing: "Our aspirations (in the 'Croatian spring,' as Veselica calls the events in 1971--author's note) were noble, scientifically grounded and altogether well-intentioned both toward the Serbs in Croatia and also toward the Serbian people as a whole and toward the other nationalities of Yugoslavia." On page 11 of the verdict of the Supreme Court it says that Veselica alleged in his appeal that he is "as a free thinker opposed to criminal prosecution of anyone because of expression of his own views regardless of their content," though in a speech in the Student Center in Zagreb, later published in STUDENTSKI LIST on 20 April 1971, he "scientifically confronted" his political adversaries in words to the effect that they should be "identified," "removed," and "criminally prosecuted."

Identifying himself with the Croatian people, Veselica was to write: "If some ordinary Croat or Croat intellectual complains that he was not given his due or was discriminated against, he is immediately proclaimed an enemy and a Ustasha." Investigation of the allegations contained in the appeal against the verdict in the first instance showed that Veselica regarded the reading of the report on the hostile activity of Mirko Vidovic, Jaksa Kusan and Tihomil Radja in the trial an influence on the legal and proper rendering of a verdict. In view of the space limitation, we will only say this much: "As for Radja Tihomil, in the trial the court took evidence by examining photographs showing him in a Ustasha uniform together with numerous members of uniformed Ustasha units in which he acted against members of the National Liberation Movement, for which he was incidentally convicted, served a major portion of his sentence, and later fled abroad, whence, according to the convincing testimony of witnesses, he asked the accused (M. Veselica--author's note) for material which might harm the SFRY by being published in emigre periodicals and proposals for further guidance of the activity of the emigre community against the interests of the SFRY."

## Doubtful Channels for Informing the World

"Further, there is no basis for the appeal's assertion," states the judgment of the Supreme Court of Croatia, "that the contested verdict did not state on what grounds the court in the first instance considered proven the maliciousness and untruthfulness of the defendant's assertions in the parts of his interview published in foreign media which led to the filing of charges, as facts decisive to establishing his being guilty of the crime described in Article 133, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Criminal Code." That article and its first paragraph speak about the crime of hostile propaganda. In his interview Veselica said in part that "on the one hand protection is provided to individual Great Serbs who without provocation commit violent acts against innocent Croats, while on the other side innocent Croats are prosecuted solely because they feel themselves to be members of their homeland and their people," and that the "modern thing is to hold Croatia constantly in the criticism of fascism in order to halt the process of its democratic expansion, in order to nurture in programmed fashion its sense of its constant guilt and frustration, even when it is altogether innocent."

In the extensive material which he left behind after the trial (Veselica was sent to Lepoglava to serve his sentence) there remained traces of questions which the interviewee put and then gave answers to later on and the way he stated them. For example: "The central issue, then, is for the world to learn what forces in the Croatian people and in all the other nationalities of Yugoslavia are fighting against an integralistic-centralistic and hegemonistic Yugoslavia, against the monopoly of a unitaristic Communist Party, against totalitarian-repressive violence to innocent people, fighting in favor of respecting the moral and intellectual integrity of every individual and every ethnic group, in favor of doing away with the inhuman camps in which innocent people are tortured and tormented."

In order to "inform" the world public the interview and the appended biography of Veselica were published in West Germany in a pamphlet entitled "Yugoslavia's Fatal Disease--The Croatian Issue" in NEZAVISNI NJEMACKI NOVINSKI IZVJESTAJI O ISTOKU [INDEPENDENT GERMAN NEWS REPORTS ON THE EAST], which is published by Peter Rullmann, in HRVATSKI LIST, the monthly of the Ustasha terrorist organization, and excerpts were published in publications of known Ustasha emigre terrorist organizations--PORUKA SLOBODNE HRVATSKE and NOVA HRVATSKA.

Veselica is also inclined to proclaim his trial to have been rigged. He thus asserts in the appeal that the public was excluded from the trial before the District Court in Zagreb, though it is evident from the record that even Veselica himself addressed those present in the courtroom during the trial. And the Supreme Court deemed it necessary to summon him to the session of the panel, though at that time he was in custody and could have taken advantage of the presence of his six lawyers. Yet another detail shows what Veselica rigged, and how he did it in his desire to portray himself as a victim of persecution. Stating--again in the interview that led to the charges, as well as in the appeal--that freedom of thought and criticism does not exist in Yugoslavia, Veselica altogether forgot the fact, stated in the verdict, that in

the appeal he used as his principal argument precisely the discussions published quite recently of the most responsible people in the political and economic world. And those discussions in fact demonstrate diversity, a critical attitude toward certain solutions contained in the system, concerning implementation of those solutions, and so on.

Incidentally, Veselica was relieved of paying the costs of criminal proceedings. The grounds of the request exempting him from this payment was the grave financial situation of his family. However, Veselica was defended in the trial by six lawyers, two of them from Belgrade.

Finally, we single out a fragment in the verdict of the Supreme Court which seems to us to be an all-inclusive answer to Veselica's arguments, which puts him where he belongs: "In an evaluation of the defendant's criminal activity covered by Point 1 of the contested verdict it should be emphasized that he is exceedingly aware of the difficulties experienced in its development by our society, which until recently was altogether underdeveloped from the economic standpoint, of its inevitable social conflicts and ideological pressures from outside on our society, as an expression of a portion of the contradictions that exist in the world, and that this represents a source from which support might be derived for his new attempt to assault the foundations of our socialist social system of self-management; specifically, an attack upon the social values protected by the provisions of Article 133, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Criminal Code, and that under the transparent shield of constitutional freedoms and rights, which in fact constitutes an abuse of those freedoms."

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CSO: 2800/450

## SARAJEVO EDITORIAL SCORES PUBLICATION OF SESELJ'S VIEWS

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 29 Aug 82 p 3

[Excerpts] Yesterday we wrote about Vojislav Seselj's article published in... DANAS which was then reprinted in abridged form in NIN and POLITIKA. Shameless lies and dark intentions obviously motivated the author who uses every...occasion to report to readers his newest "findings." It becomes clear in superficially glancing at his writings that he is largely trying to prove how Bosnia-Hercegovina is being more and more engulfed in the concept of pan-Islamism, championed, according to him, by intellectuals from among the Moslem people, including again a large number of communists and that these tendencies are penetrating ever more strongly into the LC where its advocates allegedly enjoy the support and blessing of the LC organs, as well as of outstanding and responsible officials. Seselj wants to represent himself as being alone, although he is certainly not alone, and as a "fighter" who constantly warns of the danger of pan-Islamism in Bosnia-Hercegovina destabilizing the SFRY.

The real idea behind such false alarms is to evoke suspicion throughout the Yugoslav public against one nation [people], and the situation and conditions in one of our socialist republics, in this case, Bosnia-Hercegovina. One does not need much intuition to understand that these alarms can seriously strike at brotherhood and unity....

One does not wonder that there are people here and there who unscrupulously falsify reality, use the most monstrous accusations, sow hatred, that they win some adherents here and there,...and that they want to get their ideas into the media. But one wonders how they succeeded in placing their deceptions and lies in some of our most reputable publications.

One wonders why the weekly DANAS accepted Seselj's not exactly small article and printed it on 2 feature pages....This article was then reprinted in abridged form in NIN of 22 August and POLITIKA of 19 August. Caution and responsibility for printing such exceptionally serious charges which are not an everyday occurrence in our press, nevertheless, did not move the editors to check even the names Seselj mentioned. He obviously enjoys their full confidence.

...DANAS, NIN, and POLITIKA also without a bit of doubt, reservation, or effort to check the facts, carried Seselj's conclusion that..."in Sarajevo one cannot openly discuss [things], but rather anyone who even dares to say a critical word is threatened with merciless sanctions and his personal existence is endangered."

CSO: 2800/453

'DANAS' CRITICIZED FOR CALLING LOCAL ELECTION UNDEMOCRATIC

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Aug 82 p 4

[Excerpts] The following report was issued at Friday's meeting of the Petrinja Opstina LC committee in response to the article, "The Truth of Closed Lists," published in the 24 August issue of the weekly DANAS in which the procedure for nominating candidates in Petrinja Opstina as members of the Croatian LC Central Committee is discussed, as well as the election of Borislav Mikelic to the above body: "The article...[cited above] is condemned and rejected as untruthful and damaging. The...tendentious treatment of serious social questions, such as politics, society, the League of Communists, democracy, etc., in which the author makes use of untruthfulness represents a devaluing of the results achieved in this area and an attack on the entire policy of the LC and its organs.

"Such articles...accepted by the DANAS editors, are attempts by individuals to wage a factional policy based on their personal interests and inclination to settle accounts with LC organs and blatantly interfere in the internal-party life and all other life of our opstina, using the public media to this end. Having been exposed to the judgment resulting from the process of nominating and electing members of the Croatian LC Central Committee for a full 4 months since the 9th Congress of the Croatian LC, DANAS and its supporters are questioning the legality [regularnost] of this highest party gathering in our republic.

"This kind of article and the action of individuals assist all those destructive anti-socialist and anti-selfmanagement forces in Petrinja and other places which have been socially and politically judged in their party organizations and work collectives because of their nationalist, bureaucratic, techno-managerial, and factional action, so in a certain sense this represents a revival and continuation of the activity of these forces.

Failing to disclose essential matters..., DANAS deliberately stirs up passions. DANAS has misused its social position and role and made it possible also for Dragan Bozic--"a person who at the time of the elections was in one of the leading positions in the regional party leadership" (quoted from the DANAS article) and who wanted to remain anonymous--to misuse his present and former function. ...DANAS has disregarded two important matters:

[First] the nomination of candidates for the Croatian LC Central Committee was not bypassed in Petrinja but was in accord with the directives of the Croatian LC Central Committee established at the 16th meeting of this body which gives to basic LC organizations and LC bodies in the opstina the right to suggest member of LC organs. Bozic, the former members of the presidium of that LC Conference of the opstina community, and DANAS dispute this, as well as the fact that the 59 basic LC organizations in this opstina discussed the candidates for the Croatian LC and LCY, and proposed Borislav Mikelic as candidate for the Croatian LC Central Committee.

[Second] after Mikelic's candidacy was disputed by the former members of the presidium of the LC Conference..., a working group was formed to examine the arguments based on the judgment of the regional party leadership. The working group reported that there was nothing to prevent Mikelic from being a candidate for the LC Central Committee of Croatia....

The opstina committee considers it necessary that political and self-management accountability be initiated by the DANAS journalists and editors, as well as by Dragan Bozic. The opstina committee cannot but ask how these feelings of Bozic about justice and ideological purity were not expressed in the first years after 1971 when the LC of our opstina led a difficult but successful struggle against all those who wanted to eliminate it [the LC] from social and political life, and, above all, against nationalism. But perhaps this is understandable, considering that Bozic edited a periodical to which well-known Croatian nationalists contributed and which was no longer published after the 21st meeting of the LCY Central Committee. The presentation [by DANAS] of serious social subjects in such a hearsay fashion probably also requires a discussion about DANAS which is obviously not what it should be. The Petrinja opstina LC committee considers that the elections in the LC have been conducted democratically and in accord with the decisions of the Croatian LC Central Committee and does not question for a moment the capability of Borislav Mikelic as a candidate, and now as a member, of the Croatian LC Central Committee."

[Editorial Report] VJESNIK of 1 September 1982 (page 3) publishes part of DANAS' response to the Petrinja Opstina committee's criticism. Expressing wonder at the thin arguments in the opstina's report, DANAS says the report passed judgment without reservation or appeal because DANAS "had ventured to say that it did not agree with 'closed lists' in party elections, believing, like many of our outstanding party comrades, that one should favor more candidates and strengthen the democratization of cadre policy."

CSO: 2800/452

## EARLY PARTY FIGURE INTERVIEWED ON RADIO BELGRADE

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 14 Aug 82 SEDAM DANA supplement p 19

[Excerpt] Last week Radio Belgrade broadcast a discussion with Josip Kopinic about his role in the Spanish Civil War.... Today Kopinic is an enigma in the world, says Vjenceslav Cencic. As his biographer I have studied and researched his life for a long time but I do not know everything about him, and it would not even be good for me to know everything. Why did Tito warn us not to mention his real name? Because there are people living today in Austria, Germany, France, Canada, who have families, children, and to say something about them now would mean ruining their lives. But not one of them worked for money but rather for personal feelings and ideology. Kopinic had people in the Gestapo, in Vienna, in the Ustashe supervisory service; these people gave a great deal of help in World War II. The Slovenian writer Saje said that in his intelligence work Kopinic did half the work for the USSR in regard to Germany. This cannot perhaps be evaluated in this way but it is a fact that his contribution was enormous. Consider only the submarine war in the Atlantic where Kopinic in only one action destroyed scores of submarines. "No," Kopinic added, "I destroyed nothing. I only gave information on which they could be destroyed..."

Radio Belgrade asked Vjenceslav Cencic at the end of the discussion what has been the biggest problem [in writing the biography]: "Documentation," Cencic replied. "This documentation is most frequently prohibited or inaccessible. But in one most important part which was authorized by Comrade Tito, it is available; this is the chapter about Hebrang. I proposed to Kopinic that I write also about 1941 and about Kerestinac, but he always replied that he will write this himself, since this subject is very sensitive.

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END