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JPRS 81222

7 July 1982

19981202 127

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2029

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7 July 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT
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NEW ROMANIAN BOOK REJECTS HUNGARIAN VIEWS ON TRANSYLVANIA

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 3, Mar 82 pp 179-181

[Review by Ion Bulei of the book "The Story of Transylvania" by Ion Lancranjan, Sport-Tourism Publishing House, Bucharest, 1982, 192 pages]

[Text] Ion Lancranjan's recent book is a profession of its author's faith and perhaps the most significant one yet stated. In this book he leaves the world of fiction and writes about a real Transylvania, most often as a reporter but sometimes also with the tools of the sociologist or historian. The first part, "Transylvanian Rhapsody," glorifies Transylvania's natural beauty. The second one, "Native Regions" describes the modernization under socialism of some districts formerly untouched by innovations, and the third part, "Patriotism As a Vital Necessity," pleads for the protection of those districts and accomplishments. And finally the last part, "The Story of Transylvania," for which the book is entitled, is a veritable polemic supported by a very convincing historical report and a clear view of the mission of Transylvania and its people in Romanian national affairs.

The book is well written, fraught with pathos, and highly stimulating. It is reminiscent of Alecu Russo's expressive prose or the inspired writing of Octavian Goga. Ion Lancranjan wishes to take the destiny of his native Transylvania upon himself as an author and an intellectual, and he succeeds in doing so. He gives us a conscientious discussion by a man who knows the country and the people from within, who argues from experience, and who feels himself involved and in solidarity with the Transylvanian land and the country.

The last part of I. Lancranjan's book, written as he says in 1980-1982, is outstanding. In fact, it is very clear that the other parts are only a prelude to it. It is from start to finish a scientifically supported rebuttal that firmly rejects half-truths and outmoded historical theories and quite rightly asserts that the Romanians' national history does not need to be created and recreated but to be known, recognized and objectively investigated beyond revisionist or irredentist disputes.

Some truths are essential, namely the permanence and continuity of the Romanians in the Carpathian-Danubian-Black Sea area, the constant majority of Romanians in Transylvania, and the irreversibility of the Great Unification in 1918. The author does not accept any distortion or undermining of these great truths because that would

give rise "under the new circumstances to new forms of irredentism, and irredentism, however subtle and perfidious it may be, can cause nothing but confusion and anger and will lead back to the old quarrels," as in 1940, the author goes on to say, as in that "heavy, prolonged and terrible bloodshed," and as in that "profound and unforgettable injury" (p 128).

Upon referring to history, I. Lancranjan finds that Transylvania has been and is a "place of friendship, a land where other nations (Hungarians, Germans and Szeklers) have come or have been brought by colonization, with whom we Romanians wished to live in a good and useful understanding," but not when "we were wished no longer to exist and to disappear in favor of others" (pp 128-129). The purpose of colonizing Transylvania was "to produce a dispersion" and a "breakage" of Romanian unity that would "cut them off from the Carpathian Mountains and thus stop the natural communication between brothers." The same purpose was served by the oppressors' religious policy, also to "cut off the Romanians in Transylvania from their brothers in the other Romanian districts and to denationalize them by converting them" (p 129). The author opposes the adversaries of Romanian permanence and continuity on those lands who wish to distort the truth, by pointing out that we Romanians "have always regarded continuity as a natural matter and a permanent part of our lives" (p 140). Throughout the "millennium" of Hungarian oppression in Transylvania the Romanians were robbed of their lands, their beliefs were persecuted, and their existence was not recognized. They reacted through a Mihai Viteazul, Horea or Avram Iancu. To those who dwell upon the civilizing role of the Hungarians in Transylvania I. Lancranjan replies that it is debatable "who civilized whom, for in the period when the Hungarians went into Transylvania the Romanians had long been Christianized, which is a fact essential to the level of civilization in those times, and they were sedentary and practiced agriculture..." (p 143). It may even be said that "The Hungarian penetration of Transylvania set it back socially and kept it thereafter in an increasingly rigid and reactionary feudal stupor that became more and more unenlightened and blinded by interests and pride" (p 154).

Without denying that the Hungarians and Transylvanian Romanians had their agreements and struggles in common (the common struggle during the Bobilna uprising, the peasants war led by Gheorghe Doja, the rebellion started by Gh. Rackoczi II, etc.), the author calls attention to the "coagulation" of their solidarity at the bottom or the top, since the Hungarian "considered himself the master (or brother of the master) in a country where the Romanian was tolerated" (p 165). It explains why an Avram Iancu could not agree with Kossuth "as long as he recognized no right of the Romanian nation except the 'right' to be Hungarianized and to unite with Hungary" (p 166). Accordingly the Romanians' solidarity (unity) with the Hungarians "was no hard and fast (or final) fact but on the contrary varied with the circumstances under which it was accomplished..." For unity was also desired by the promoters of Hungarianization of all the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary as well as the other nations, upon the backs of whom and through the annihilation of whom they wished and systematically tried to finally fulfill Hungarian chauvinism's golden dream of the "millenary Hungary" (p 172).

The author recalls the year 1918 and the unanimous will of the entire Romanian people in connection with the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was no accident but a historical necessity. He writes about the years between the wars, when "Newspapers in Hungarian and the other minority languages appeared in Romania, there were schools, and freedom of religion and use of the mother tongues was entirely

unrestricted" (p 169), and he mentions the profoundly antifascist, anti-Hitlerite and anti-invader attitude of the Romanian people, which compelled even a dictatorship like Antonescu's to be "humane" to all those of other nationalities in Romania. And they endured in grief in the bloody year of 1940 with its great atrocities in North Transylvania, "as in the times of the barbarian invasions if not even worse, because now 'modern means' were used" (p 133, where he recalls Csaba Ducso's book "Without Mercy" and the terrible massacres at Ip, Treznea and other points). He also writes of the Romanians' contribution to the liberation of Hungary and discusses the life of the Hungarian nationality in Romania since 1944 (It like other nationalities was no longer called a minority "in order to remove any trace of discrimination so that there would no longer be any such problem") (p 175). That nationality was accorded all rights, "instead of the way the Romanians had been treated" so that "there would be no problems" (p 175).

But there are problems, I. Lancranjan finds, because the principles of Hungarian revisionism are being aired persistently even in our times. The author discusses the recurrence of the hallucination of the "millenary Hungary" in contemporary works or in other expressions of opinion, some of which are quite close to us. He quotes the statements made at an important forum held in Budapest in 1966 or at the Helsinki Conference (p 132) and cites examples from some writings of Hungarian colleagues in Romania who speak of "our eastern regions" not meaning those in Moldavia as any Romanian would think but those in Transylvania (p 135) or from those of another one who, in an interview published in Budapest, writes that he was born "in a community 99 percent educated in the spirit of Hungarian culture" (That author was born in Transylvania, where that spirit never existed to any such extent) (pp 175-176). Or he cites extracts from the "The Hungarian Nationality in Romania" (Kriterion Publishing House, 1981) containing historically unverified statements (pp 176-178).

Then I. Lancranjan quotes from books and articles published in Budapest in recent years: from the work "What We Know About Romania" (Kossuth Publishing House, 1979; from an article in LITERATURA (No 1, 1980) discussing the "military occupation" of Transylvania by Romanians in 1918 (p 158); from articles in MAGYAR HIRLAP (25 December 1979) or ACTA ETNOGRAFICA (April 1979) contesting the Romanian people's continuity and qualities (p 163); from another book "This History Belongs to Me" (Magveto Publishing House, Budapest); and from Gyorgy Szaraz' play "Time of Judgment."

The author does not say that all the ideas and theories published in Hungary about Transylvania in relation to Romania are revisionist, but "neither are they scientific or friendly, to say nothing of brotherly" (p 163).

I. Lancranjan firmly rejects the so-called theory of "equal guilt": i.e. in 1848 Hungarian revolutionaries erred but so did the Romanian ones, being almost "nationalists" (but defense of one vital right does not mean nationalism). In 1940-1944 there were horrors in North Transylvania but the same things happened in "South Transylvania," which is totally false. Transylvania was exploited between 1867 and 1918 but also after that, having been exploited and oppressed after its unification with Romania with the difference that it was done for the benefit of others, and that is contradicted by Romania's whole democratic development between the wars. He also rejects the assertion that Transylvania is "a national conglomerate," correctly stating that it is "a part of Romania, from which no oppression could separate it and from which no one is going to separate it from now on" (p 183).

The author's reply to the direct or implied "arguments" of the adversaries of Romanian Transylvania is clearly accompanied by his sincere and unquestionable wish to secure a friendly coexistence between Hungarians and Romanians based upon sincere collaboration and confidence.

"The Story of Transylvania" is a veritable hymn, a song of that ancient Romanian land, written by a man of the people who felt the need to express his love of his native land, his ancestors and his contemporaries. The author's attitude is that of a vigorous consciousness that knows the truth does not prevail by itself.

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CSO: 2700/292

CAPKA ON WORK OF CPCZ CONTROL COMMISSION

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 May 82 p 3

[Article by Miroslav Capka, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission: "Consistent Fulfillment of Party Resolutions; CPCZ Control and Audit Commissions Contribute Toward Developing Party Work"]

[Text] The main attention of the party and of all socialist society is focused on full implementation of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress which expressed the political unity and moral strength of the party, its Marxist-Leninist character and sound organizational and ideologically oriented maturity. The results achieved by our people under the leadership of the party in carrying out the economic and social program of the CPCZ, in spite of difficult external and internal conditions, demonstrate that we are on the right road.

The development of the national economy continues under the combined efforts of laborers, cooperative members and white collar workers. This would be impossible if our party were not united in its ideological orientation and organizationally, if it did not have a clear program, intelligible to the people, whose implementation is a point of honor to every upright and conscientious citizen of our land.

Control activities conducted by party and extra-party control bodies and organizations can, however, be influential and have the necessary effect to fulfill their mission only on condition that they point up not only positive and negative factors but also if they always and specifically lead to effective measures toward rectification wherever we have not yet fully succeeded in making use of all potential resources to accelerate our economic growth.

Consolidating our Forces--Improving Administration

Letters received by the CPCZ Central Committee and Central Control and Audit Commission on these questions uniformly indicate that in many respects we are only at the beginning of a long-term process, the intent of which is nothing more or less than full integration of all internal reserves and attaining the optimal form of economic growth. Many citizens, for example,

are surprised at the differences between the efficiency and quality of work of individuals, collectives and shops, or even entire plants and departments, often having identical production conditions. They wonder why industrial production could achieve higher than average growth rates in the first 3 months of this year, as, for example, those working in the glass, ceramics and porcelain industry, in the rubber, textile and chemical industry, in the petroleum processing industry and in other branches while, on the other hand, heavy and general engineering or the wood processing industry are performing at below 100 percent fulfillment. Why do we have, along with such good industrial organizations as, for example, Sigma Olomouc VHJ [Economic Production Unit], also often many mediocre and even backward plants.

Workers' letters and disclosures are evidence of the growing concern among laborers, cooperative members and white collar workers that consistent implementation of the policies of the 16th Congress is the only way to maintain the high living standards of our citizens. The party Central Committee deeply appreciates this attitude. It is the viewpoint of the good manager who is not and cannot be indifferent about how and where joint property is being managed, whether production resources, raw materials, materials and energy are fully utilized and what kind of work discipline is imposed.

The fact that citizens notice the prime causes of most of our difficulties, mistakes and shortcomings in lower levels of the organization and management of production processes indicates the high political and ideological involvement of the laboring class, cooperative farmers and white collar workers. Their initiative, I would say, is well placed. In many cases no profound analysis is needed to make the diagnosis that certain plants chronically lagged behind those which, as Comrade Leonid Brezhnev said at the March congress of Soviet trade unions "...carried out a battle reconnaissance and occupied the main bridgeheads."

The reconnaissance scout alone--in our case leading industrial and agricultural enterprises--cannot, however, decide the battle. So we must broaden the front of those who march in the first ranks, who show the way, who take the lead in mastering scientific-technical findings and are able to apply them in production as well as in management practices. We must join forces and throw them into the common fray for dynamic growth of labor productivity, for substantial quality improvement of final production and for gaining more positions on world markets.

This, however, presupposes orderliness in relations between suppliers and consumers, between superiors and subordinates, between laborers, foremen and managers, between plants and VHJs, between VHJs and the ministries. It presupposes orderliness in labor standards and consumption. It assumes strict adherence to work time, rules and discipline and consistency in compensating according to quantity, quality and the social significance of labor.

The living standard of every worker should correspond--as called for by the 16th CPCZ Congress--to his contribution to the development of society.

The situation, however, is often quite different. It is no secret to anyone that there are people among us who live grandly at the expense of others and get paid not for the work they do but for going to work. They are rewarded because they know how to excuse themselves often from their responsibilities in all kinds of different ways, they know how to justify everything, they refuse to worry about anything, they make carelessness a virtue and their coworkers--supervisors and technicians alike--somehow put up with this. What liberality with society's assets! In this connection the question arises: What kind of public image is created by party, trade union and youth union organizations at such places of work when they overlook antisocial activity of this kind?

The party and its Central Committee know about our deficiencies better than all the "critics" west of the Sumava forest. They are aware of the discrepancies and difficulties in the various stages of development.

The current stage is partly characterized by the greater emphasis placed on much more efficiency in the manufacturing process based on consistent utilization of domestic resources. The question is not where to get more of this or that but how to make better use of what we have available, what was produced here, what we can influence and upgrade by our own actions. A healthy, economically motivated rationalism must penetrate the thinking and acting of every individual and above all leading economic managers. That is why our development plans place such emphasis (and not by chance) on raising quality and cost-consciousness, on shifting to a growth-intensive economy, on achieving greater savings and evaluating our asset input more highly. After all, the energy demand alone of our production is still 2 to 2½ times that of industrially developed states.

A powerful and in some places still underestimated tool for achieving our prescribed goals is the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy. By fully applying the Set of Measures within the life of our plants we can help raise personal and collective responsibility in the process of economic decision-making. In fact, the Set of Measures surrounds enterprises and individual places of work with a whole system of economic conditions that form the necessary pressures and material incentives for technical and economic progress. It will keep pressing enterprises to show their ability to supply the market not only in quantity but especially with products of high quality with valuable technical, functional and esthetic standards. The Set of Measures is also directed toward better utilization of material and morale boosting stimuli for developing the initiative and activity of the people. It strives to intensify the principle of compensation according to quality and amount of work by means of income differentiation. At the same time it sets the conditions so that everything that leaves the production line of industrial and agricultural plants will serve consumption and that any nonsocial dealings of plants, individuals or collectives will be reflected in material penalties.

From this comes the responsibility of party organizations and all members and candidates of the party to look more deeply into the problems of economic

development of their plants. They must consider more conscientiously the results of the decision-making and managerial actions of economists who confidently manage work collectives but also have the responsibility of consulting with people, getting them to support the party and render account of their work.

Even here communist standards must not be only a facade with big words. It is a matter of concern. It is a matter of fulfilling the economic and social programs of the party, the conclusions formulated at the 16th Party Congress. Consequently the Central Control and Audit Commission of the CPCZ, together with commissions on all other levels of the party structure, will carry out a check this year in selected plants and enterprises to see how party organizations are exercising their rights of control with a view to meeting the goals of the economic policy of the party and state under conditions of gradual implementation of the Set of Measures. By this means, which is not just a one-time check, we want to help raise the activity of communists during this period marked by a high degree of difficulty and challenge.

Reacting with Sensitivity to Workers' Suggestions

The control and audit commissions of the CPCZ have been active agents for 20 years now in consolidating the ideological and organizational unity of the party. By extensive supervision of compliance with the resolutions of the party congress and Central Committee they contribute to consistent promotion of the leading role of the party, toward adoption of Lenin's style of party work, toward intensifying the ideological and organizational unity of party ranks. Favorable evaluation of their work by the 16th Party Congress and district and kraj conferences is encouraging to the numerous official members of the commissions' aktivs.

But not even we are fully satisfied with the results attained. Even though, for example, exercising the right of control in party organizations has improved, in some of the basic CPCZ organizations there still prevail low standards of evaluating comprehensive fulfillment of the economic plan. The CPCZ basic organizations make little use of the findings of extra-party control bodies. The activity of some supervisors lacks the communist fighting spirit, adherence to principle and greater determination.

It should be considered a warning when communists as well as other citizens draw attention to improper dealings and behavior of certain officials of state, economic and social bodies and organizations. Letters pointing out immodesty, moral deficiencies, the organization of all kinds of celebrations, abuse of positions of trust for personal gain, the payment of unwarranted awards as well as various forms of corruption should give rise to objective investigation and, if necessary, to drawing appropriate conclusions, even to dismissal from office. It is significant that there is a growing number of critical observations about careless discharge of official duties, disturbing working morale and wastefulness.

One such observation was checked out with authority of party agencies by the Federal Ministry of General Engineering in the Povazske Engineering Works in Povazska Bystrica. It turned out that the author of the letter was right when he had pointed out that workers who had been assigned official automobiles did not keep any records of their travel or kilometers driven.

Naturally, there are more cases where social equipment is damaged or robbed, either directly or indirectly, openly or covertly, intentionally or unknowingly and openly misused for personal gain. If we look into these cases thoroughly we ascertain--among other things--that even responsible economists contribute to this situation by their incompetent, inconsistent activity shot through with liberalism. In Povazska Bystrica punitive measures were taken against one of the deputy directors of the enterprise.

How all this affects the activity of party organizations was indicated by a check on compliance with the resolutions of the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee for cadre and personnel work for the purpose of forming cadre reserves. What we found out so far convincingly shows that:

--Working with the people has not yet become an integral part of the management activity of all responsible economists. Here and there a person's superficial knowledge of man carries over, especially his ability and qualification for further special and political growth;

--Economic managers sometimes assume that concern about people's welfare is only the province of party, union or youth organizations, or even better, the cadre and personnel unit of an enterprise;

--Basic party organizations sometimes do not adequately note how managers handle discussions and dealings with subordinates, what approaches they take in managing work collectives and how they influence ideological attitudes toward work, the factory, the party and socialism. Nor do we hide the fact that the staffs of economic managers contain individuals who approach new requirements with old methods or even refuse to consider anything new. So old mistakes are regularly repeated under new guises, a situation the party is working hard to correct.

The growing requirements for cadres also call for a new quality of work with them. It requires party agencies and organizations to evaluate systematically and give general application to experiences gained and on that basis take measures to improve work with cadres. V. I. Lenin noted the essence of this activity when he said that party organizations will "...test and discover true organizers, persons who are level-headed and have practical sense, persons who combine in themselves devotion to socialism and the ability to organize without fuss (or even in spite of confusion and fuss) firm and comradely cooperation among a large number of people within the framework of the Soviet organization. Only such persons should, after repeated and thorough testing, be taken from the most simple tasks to the most difficult and appointed to responsible positions."

Results of a sampling of over 1700 basic organizations and CV [All-Factory Committees] of the CPCZ where control and audit commissions of the CPCZ checked out fulfillment of the resolutions of the CPCZ Central Committee presidium of 6 November 1970 in cadre and personnel work with a view to forming cadre reserves indicate that there is often a lack of imagination, goal-consciousness and systematic and consistent work with people. We are encountering profound underestimation of this area of the party's work. We come across indications of a lack of understanding, of clear-cut subjectivism, of insensitivity, of opportunist approaches in evaluating the work results and ethical profiles of individuals.

Some managers forget the fact that people in every economic organism represent the most rapidly developing, fundamental and decisive component of production forces. The Set of Measures relies on this progression in the human factor as a key component of development of the whole national economy. Consequently, communists and their party organizations cannot reconcile themselves to having management narrowed down to simply organizing closed conferences, issuing all kinds of "ukases" and indulging in paper wars which lose sight of the person with all his positive and negative qualities, with all his merits and deficiencies.

Part of cadre work naturally also includes solicitude and concern about workers' daily problems and difficulties which the hurried pace of life produces. As Comrade Gustav Husak mentioned at the congress of Czechoslovak trade unionists, party and union organizations must be able to back up the legitimate demands of people and help in obtaining them. Such a course can only deepen confidence in the party, all the more so if we are prepared to appreciate positive actions on the job or at the place of residence. This does not mean, however, that we should tolerate displays of insubordination, disorder or poor work morale.

Let Us not Underestimate the Preparation of the New Generation of Workers

Control activity conducted by the CPCZ control and audit commissions with the objective of achieving proper and consistent fulfillment of resolutions of party managerial bodies offers suggestions for further development and direction of party work. Of the large number of problems that confront us I would like to make one more point, the importance of good preparation of our young people for a working career.

The social program of our party, approved by the 16th congress, calls for instituting 10-year school attendance within 2 years. One of the three basic types of educational structures will be an intermediate technical training school where today's boys and girls will get their secondary school education. It is apparent that the speed with which we will be able to carry out our bold plans will depend to a considerable extent on the political and technical preparation of the young people who will take up the jobs held by today's working generation. Technical and political training of the young working shifts, their preparation for life and work under the conditions of a developed socialist society must, therefore, even now become the center of attention of party, state and even economic bodies and

organizations. We checked out at appropriate central offices and institutions the extent of preparation for this radical change in the educational system. I must say that the Central Control and Audit Commission of the CPCZ which took up the problem together with ministers and other supervisory employees did not always ascertain only positive facts.

Some facts, for example, indicate that some of the enterprises are trying, without solid analysis, to limit the cost of equipping and remodeling intermediate technical training centers. We are seriously concerned about the simple notions held by the departments for providing the necessary facilities to educate, instruct and house the trainees. There are industrial and other organizations that still rely only on central resources instead of making efforts to make full use of their own material and cadre resources. Questions of administering the intermediate technical schools remain unresolved. The differing interests of the organizers and school officials are having especially negative effects. Certain difficulties are caused by inadequate qualifications of the pedagogic and training employees.

In this area too, we expect more active involvement by enterprises on intermediate levels of management which, as organizers, ought to be doing more than they are to strengthen the intermediate technical schools with qualified cadres from their own resources. We are also expecting a more deliberative attitude on the question of using the apprentices to perform production tasks of the state plan at the expense of their goal-oriented preparation for their future calling. Up to now there is little interest in various enterprises pooling their resources to build and operate the intermediate technical schools.

Early experiences of their operation uniformly confirm the key position of teachers, masters of technical training and instructors. They are irreplaceable in the educational training program. This is well known, understood and admitted. Certain captains of industrial organizations, however, still lack the understanding that this truth cannot be expressed only in words. Industrial management, after all, also has the responsibility to set up the proper material conditions for their demanding and socially significant work.

The development of intermediate technical training schools is also affected by the standards of work of trade union and, especially, youth union organizations. So we must also devote proper attention to these questions in the CPCZ basic organizations. All the more so since a great deal of formalism prevails in this area. The practice--such as that at Kladensko--where there is an independent party organization in the training center but the employees of the center are organized in trade unions according to departments directly in several organizations of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement], indicates that even in these matters things are not entirely clear. This fragmentation also has a practical impact on the position of individual comrades. The CPCZ Central Committee meeting in Kladno, for instance, properly criticized the case where teachers in the intermediate technical training school under the local management of Libusina pay more for meals than do other employees only because they are considered "outside" customers.

Together with building an organizational network of intermediate technical schools, the CPCZ district committees are also completing an appropriate structure of independent party organizations. Their top priority goal remains the systematic improvement of the quality of party ranks in order to ensure party influence at all levels of the educational and training process.

I believe that we should commend the great efforts of communists which act as a springboard for reaching the goals set up by the party Central Committee in the Document on Further Development of the Czechoslovak Educational Training System adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee presidium on 4 June 1976. By their own example, attitude and actions communists influence the activity of the trainees as well as the teaching staff. They are also preparing conditions so that the best girls and boys might seek membership in the CPCZ.

In spite of these successes we believe that the activity of party organizations in intermediate technical schools must be improved. Their authority would surely benefit if they were better informed about the intentions of leading economic and state bodies and if they were consulted, on a timely basis and in detail, about all important steps concerning the training centers. Likewise, better preparation for reacting to events at home and abroad would be helpful for ideological training activity as well as in persuasiveness of arguments.

Energetic participation of CPCZ control and audit commissions in development of the internal life of party organizations significantly increases their influence in enhancing the role of control in practical party operations. Involving a broad aktiv of members and officials of the commission helps create a favorable climate for resolving specific problems, raises the awareness of personal responsibility and formulates basic party procedures for communists. The findings of control and audit commissions enable party managerial officials to compare them with the results of their own observations. They can generalize them and take effective measures to correct defects. Proper, goal-oriented control activity of the commissions thus leads to overall improvement of party work. It helps consolidate the unity of party ranks and increases the capability of the CPCZ to take action as is required by the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

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CSO: 2400/246

MILITARY OFFICER DISCUSSES LASER GYROSCOPE

Prague ATOM in Czech No 4, 1982 pp 6-7

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel Eng Zdenek Zihla, CSc: "The Laser Gyroscope"]

[Text] Proper flight conditions for modern combat aircraft and precise accomplishment of their missions by pilotless aircraft and guided missiles are greatly dependent on the quality of one of the main onboard measuring devices, the gyroscope. Until the early 1960's, when rapid development, design and use of guided missiles, satellites and spacecraft began, the conventional mechanical gyroscope was the kind used in all onboard equipment. Its heavy rotor was rotated electrically or by air pressure, and both rotor and gimbals were equipped with ball bearings. The friction acting on the bearings, the relatively low rotational speed that was achievable, the long spinup time, the presence of moving parts with low reliability and poor resistance to overload, and the considerable weight, dimensions and power requirements were the main obstacles to high quality in mechanical gyroscopes.

The use of new methods of rotor suspension (e.g. in an electrostatic field), together with other modifications such as use of an electromagnetic field to spin the rotor, did produce a considerable improvement in gyroscope precision, but they also increased production quality requirements and raised prices. In addition, they did not completely eliminate all of the other deficiencies described. Gyroscopes of this generation were used, among other things, in the Apollo spacecraft.

Currently the laser gyroscope, which used to be considered a laboratory curiosity, is becoming a major candidate to replace the rotor-type gyroscope. The first successful producers of the laser gyroscope to publish some of their results were the U.S. companies Sperry and Honeywell. Subsequently a number of other corporations also began to design these gyroscopes.

The main advantage of the laser gyroscope is the fact that it has no rotating component, so that its operation is not as affected by overload, it is instantaneously ready for operation, and precision is less dependent on price. However, at the current level of technology it is still difficult to produce laser gyroscopes that meet all requirements.

The operating principle of the laser gyroscope is best described using the example of a laser angular velocity sensor with a passive interferometer.

The sensor consists of a closed circular light guide, a laser radiation source outside the light guide, a semitransparent mirror and a laser radiation detector. The energy emitted by the laser is aimed at the semitransparent mirror, from which part of it is reflected, while the rest is transmitted. This produces two beams moving around the closed light path in opposite directions. After moving around the closed path, the beams return to the mirror and pass from it, via the optical system, to a detector consisting of suitable types of photocells.

When the light guide is not rotating around axis O, both beams travel paths of the same length and return to the mirror at the same time, so that the detector registers their sum without phase shift. When the sensor is rotated around axis O with angular velocity ω in the direction indicated, in a given time interval the mirror is displaced from point A to point B. This means that the paths which the two counterrotating beams must travel differ [in length] and their times of arrival at point B differ by an amount Δt . This time delay results in a phase difference between the two beams. Since the detector consists of sensitive photocells capable of recording the intensity of the sum of the two beams (i.e. an interferometer), the amplitude of the output signal is proportional to the phase difference, which in turn is a function of the angular velocity ω .

The main disadvantage of this simple design is its low sensitivity to small angular velocities. Accordingly, most laser gyroscopes use an active interferometer which measures not the amplitude of the output signal but the displacement of the interference pattern. As can be seen from the schematic representation, when an active interferometer is used, the laser source is part of the light guide. The laser gyroscope contains the laser medium, a cavity and an optical system for interference pattern formation. The cavity consists of three mirrors forming an equilateral triangle. If the gyroscope rotates with an angular velocity ω , as in the previous case the path traveled by the beams will differ, but this will produce in the cavity a change in the frequency (and thus the wavelength) of the beams reaching the optical imaging system via the semitransparent mirror. A change in wavelength means a displacement of the pattern in the interference plane, so that we obtain from the photosensor a signal whose output frequency is proportional to the angular velocity of rotation of the gyroscope.

The Sperry Corporation used this principle to design the small-sized SLIC-7 (Sperry Laser Inertial Cluster), in which laser beams travel in three mutually perpendicular planes. Intended for use in missiles and space exploration, this device actually consists of three gyroscopes with mutually perpendicular sensing axes. The number 7 in the designation indicates the beam path in inches (i.e. 177.8 mm). The entire gyroscope can be packaged in a cylinder 114 mm in diameter and 114 mm long, weighing about 1.8 kg. One factor favoring this design is the fact that in test operation the gyroscope functioned for 20,000 hours (about 2 years) without failure or need for adjustment. This gyroscope is expected to be combined with three accelerometers and a computer in a cylinder 152 mm in diameter and 230 mm long for use. The total weight of this system will be no more than 6.5 kg.

The Honeywell Corporation has been conducting successful flight tests of the LINS (Laser Inertial Navigation System) since 1975; this system has operated for 1,300 hours without failure or adjustment and has achieved a rather high measurement precision. Honeywell has also developed the GG-1300 laser gyroscope, which it is using in the design of a flight navigation system.

Comparison of Gyroscope Characteristics

Type	Sensitivity (deg-hour)	Drift	Spinup time (sec)	Power consumption (watts)
Electromechanical	0.1-0.001	6°/day	20-30	70-100
Laser	0.001	5"/day	0.01-0.03	10-15

The table compares certain typical characteristics of electromechanical and laser gyroscopes. When making this comparison, it should be borne in mind that other modern types of gyroscopes are also being developed and used. We may cite as an example a subminiature gyroscope measuring 45 x 17 mm, containing a rotating mercury sphere in an electrical field. The development of missiles, aircraft and spacecraft is continuing, and their instrumentation must meet new, more stringent requirements. Accordingly, we may expect other, often unconventional, approaches to replacing "classical" gyroscopes in the near future.

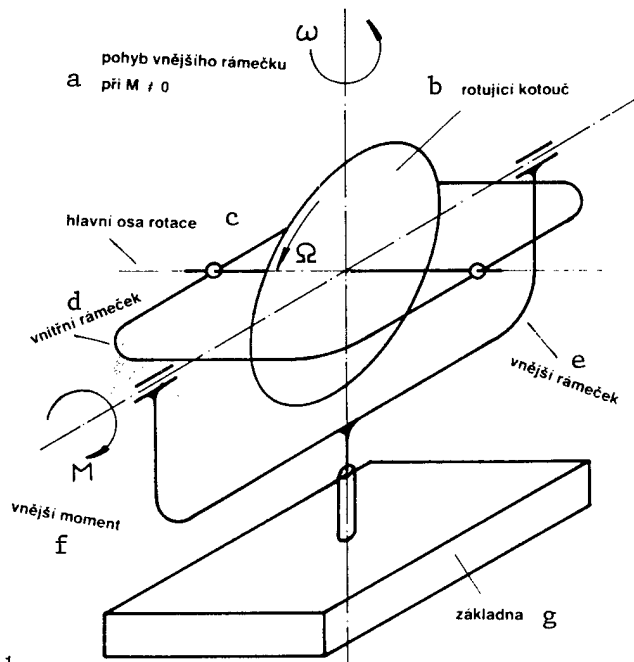


Figure 1. Kinematic diagram of classical gyroscope

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|---|--------------------|
| Key: a. Displacement of external gimbal when $M \neq 0$ | d. Inner gimbal |
| b. Rotor | e. Outer gimbal |
| c. Main axis of rotation | f. External torque |
| | g. Base |

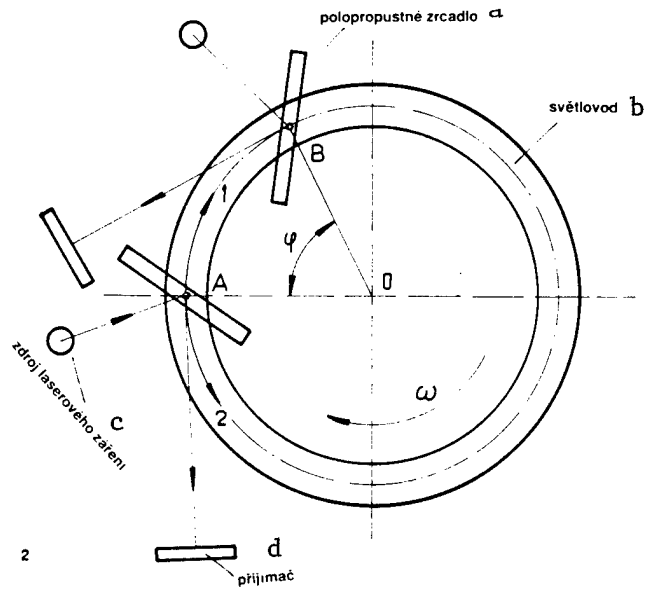


Figure 2. Laser angular velocity sensor with active interferometer

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|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Key: a. Semitransparent mirror | c. Source of laser radiation |
| b. Light guide | d. Detector |

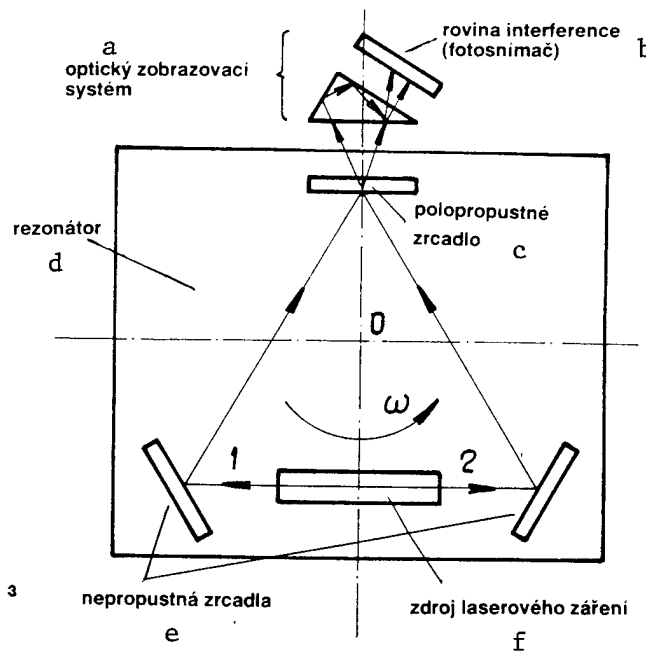


Figure 3. Laser gyroscope with active interferometer

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Key: a. Optical imaging system | d. Cavity |
| b. Interference plane (photosensor) | e. Reflective mirror |
| c. Semitransparent mirror | f. Source of laser radiation |

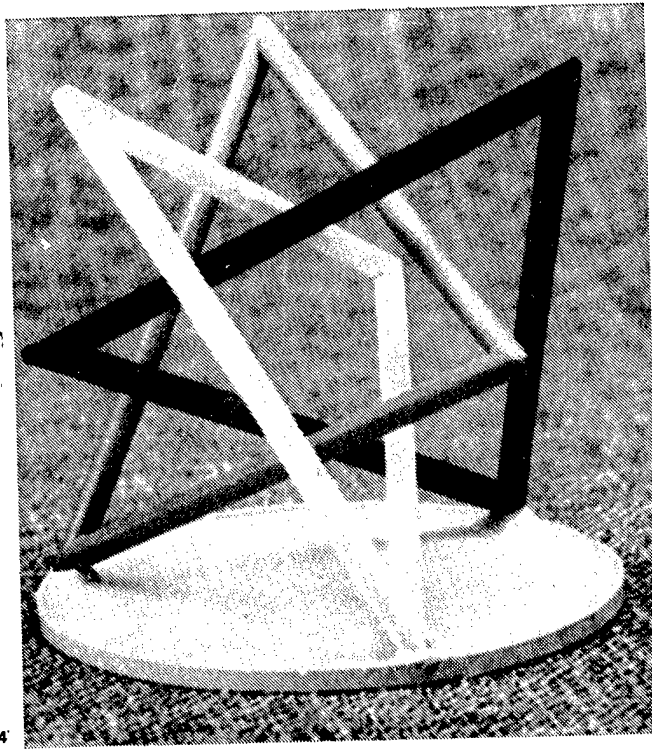


Figure 4. Path of laser beams in SLIC-7 gyroscope

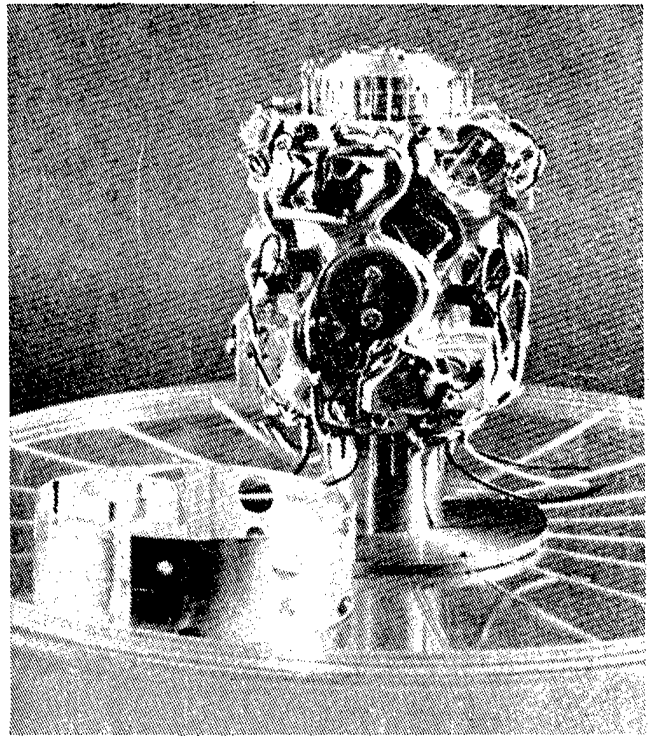


Figure 5. Combination of SLIC-7 gyroscope with accelerometers and computer

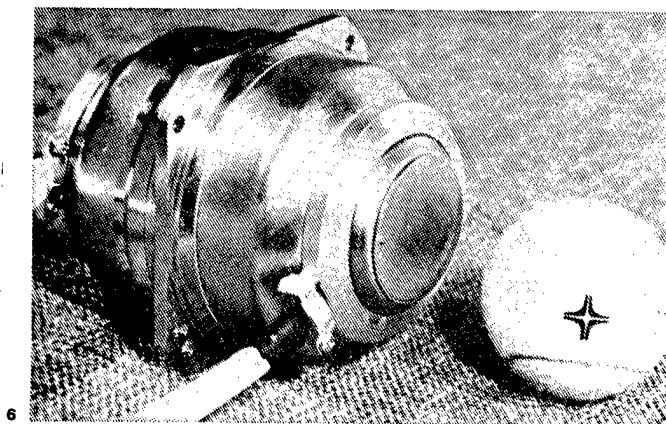


Figure 6. Complete SLIC-7 gyroscope

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DISGRACED FORMER SED FUNCTIONARIES REHABILITATED

West German Reporter's Discussion

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 18 May 82 p 3

[Article by Karl-Heinz Baum, datelined Berlin: "Very Belated Expressions of Gratitude to Former Deviationists--SED Honors Prominent Members of Former Party Opposition, Through Obituaries and Birthday Greetings." A translation of the East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND item cited follows this discussion]

[Text] As the readers of the main SED publication NEUES DEUTSCHLAND turned to page two last Friday, they suddenly encountered the name of an SED comrade who had been considered an unperson for years: Karl Schirdewan, from 1953 through 1958 member of the SED Politburo, and actual GDR leadership. The worker's son, born in 1907 in Koenigsberg (now Kaliningrad) in eastern Prussia, and KPD member since 1925, was relieved of all party functions at the beginning of February 1958 because of "group activity," and was severely reprimanded.

Of course there is not a word about that in the congratulatory address of the SED Central Committee--personally signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker --on the occasion of Schirdewan's 75th birthday. It is not even mentioned that the old communist ever belonged to the Politburo. His life story reads like this in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: "After the liberation of our people by the glorious Soviet Army you were given responsible tasks in the party. From 1953 through 1958 you belonged to the SED Central Committee. As director of the State Records Administration in Potsdam you performed meritoriously." Of course Schirdewan had not been sent off to Potsdam until after the Central Committee verdict.

Nevertheless, Schirdewan, spurned (together with Politburo members Ernst Wollweber, minister for State Security, and Fred Oelssner, head of planning --the group had mainly other ideas than Ulbricht on SED Germany policy) because of opposition to SED chief Walter Ulbricht, can be satisfied with this congratulatory address. There is again a place for him in the SED annals.

The SED leadership had already thought of Karl Schirdewan a few days before his 75th birthday when it again honored him on 1 May 1982 with the National Decoration of Merit in gold. The self-criticism by Schirdewan more than a

year after losing his party functions (he admitted "false attitudes" vis-a-vis Ulbricht and that he had underestimated the "enemy's undermining activity") had not returned him near the center of power under Ulbricht.

The case of Schirdewan can serve as an example of how the SED under Erich Honecker's leadership is trying to make peace with those who fell into disfavor under Ulbricht. It will likely remain a mystery as to whether Honecker, then a Politburo candidate who as commentator and on Ulbricht's orders made known the verdict, wants to make good past injustice.

But the current SED head made it clear just a few months after assuming office that he views a lot of things quite differently from his predecessor Ulbricht. In January 1972, the main SED publication published Honecker's "most cordial congratulations" and "most fraternal regards" on the occasion of Frank Dahlem's 80th birthday. As an Ulbricht opponent, Dahlem was excluded from the Central Committee and the Politburo in May 1953, and even a year later he received "severe criticism" for "political blindness to the activity of imperialist agents and because of an approach to his errors not appropriate to the party."

It is true that Dahlem was already publicly rehabilitated in 1956 in the course of destalinization in the GDR. In 1957, he returned to the Central Committee, and he later became deputy minister for universities and technical schools. But Honecker's congratulations on his 80th birthday expressly stated that Dahlem was "deprived of all social functions on the basis of false accusations." When he died late last year almost as a matter of course he was put to rest in the socialists' memorial place. Five Politburo members paid him the last honors.

Max Fechner, too, GDR justice minister for 4 years (from 1949 through 1953), and after the events of 17 June "unmasked for activity against the republic" (LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG), under Honecker received the highest decoration that the GDR has to offer, the Karl Marx Medal. He was arrested and sentenced to prison term because he had spoken out in favor of not punishing those who had merely called for a strike on 17 June. In 1956, GDR President Wilhelm Pieck pardoned him.

Of course when Fechner died at the end of September 1973--during Honecker's period in office--his imprisonment was glossed over in the SED Central Committee obituary: "From October 1949 through 1953 Max Fechner was minister of justice in the GDR government. In the years that followed Max Fechner worked tirelessly in building socialism in the GDR." Of course one can also represent years in prison that way. Today there is even a "Max Fechner Street" in Fechner's former place of residence Schoeneiche before the gates of East Berlin.

And Fred Oelssner, from 1950 through 1958 Politburo member, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Commission for Questions of Consumer Goods Production and Population Supply, regained his honor under Honecker. In 1973, he received the Karl Marx Medal. Together with Schirdewan

and Wollweber, Oelssner was excluded from the Central Committee "because of repeated violation of Politburo discipline and his refusal to adapt to the Politburo collective," according to the communique of the 35th session at the beginning of February 1958.

The SED under Honecker chose a special way to restore the honor of Minister for State Security Wilhelm Zaisser, who was removed from all of his offices in 1953. At the beginning of October 1976 reports appeared in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and in the SED paper BERLINER ZEITUNG on the legendary General Gomez in the Spanish Civil War. According to the BERLINER ZEITUNG, German Communist Wilhelm Zaisser fulfilled his duty as internationalist in Spain under this name. "Whether as commander of the 13th Brigade, as advisor to the valiant Fifth Regiment of the Spanish People's Army, or as chief of the basis of the interbrigadists in Albacete, he solved all assigned military tasks with precision and honor."

Of course the reports did not mention that for 3 years Zaisser was minister for State Security and SED Politburo member. Two years later the SED Central Committee published a congratulatory address for the birthday of Zaisser's wife, Elisabeth, who had lost her post as undersecretary in the Ministry for Public Education a few weeks after her husband was deprived of power. The official congratulations read: "After the liberation of our people by the glorious Soviet Army, you returned to your homeland and together with your husband you took an active part in building our new order." Zaisser himself could be honored no more by the party; he died--without having practiced self-criticism--in 1958 as an employee of the East Berlin Dietz publishers.

Of course the families of two former leading SED functionaries are still waiting for the party to find a last work of thanks: For Rudolf Herrstadt, Politburo candidate from 1950 through 1953 and NEUES DEUTSCHLAND chief editor during this time--he was fired along with Zaisser--, and for Ernst Wollweber, Zaisser's successor as minister for State Security and, together with Schirdewan excluded from the Central Committee "in relation to his violations of the party statute." Wollweber's death notice cited all of the decorations of the former head of State Security, which, however, he received while still in active service. In contrast to Schirdewan, Wollweber had never practiced self-criticism.

Rudolf Herrstadt, who, according to Western reports, had been selected by Zaisser as Ulbricht's successor, later worked in the central archives in Merseburg and published such historical works as "The Rise of Classes--the History of the Class Concept From the Beginnings Until the Eve of the Paris Revolution in July 1830." When he died on 28 August 1966, his widow--probably with top-level approval--included this sentence in the death notice: "He was an upright person."

The fact that there were no more such severe conflicts in the 1960's and 1970's, especially in regard to Germany policy in the SED Politburo, is also an indication that the GDR Unity Party has consolidated and has found its course. In addition, the demarcation course against the FRG is now no longer disputed. If there have been any recent conflicts over that in the SED Politburo, they involved questions related to "how," and not, as earlier, to "whether." This may have made the honors easier for Erich Honecker.

SED Greets Former Functionary

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 May 82 p 2

[Unsigned announcement: "SED Central Committee Greets Comrade Karl Schirdewan"]

[Text] In a letter signed by the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Karl Schirdewan is sent the most cordial greetings and congratulations on the occasion of his 75th birthday. "You can look back on a busy and militant life in the service of the working class. Organized in the Red Youth Front and the German Communist Youth Association, in your early years you had already proven yourself in political work," reads the greeting. "As a member and secretary of the central committee of the German Communist Youth Association, you put all of your energy into the struggle against capitalism and imperialist war. In the period of fascism you took part in the illegal Resistance Movement. Even in the long years of your imprisonment and in the concentration camp you maintained your faith in the victory of our righteous cause.

"After the liberation of our people by the glorious Soviet Army you were given responsible tasks in the party. From 1953 through 1958 you belonged to the SED Central Committee. As director of the State Records Administration in Potsdam you performed meritoriously.

"You are still active today as chairman of the Potsdam district committee of the GDR Antifascist Resistance Fighters. In this work you are especially helpful in communist youth education by means of your many years of experience."

In conclusion the letter gives thanks for what was done for the revolutionary cause of the working class, and it wishes him health and personal prosperity.

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ELBLAG PARTY AND TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS DISCUSSED

Party Aktiv Meeting

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 19-20-21 May 82 pp 1,2

[Article by M. D.]

[Text] Miroslaw Milewski, member of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee Political Bureau, met yesterday [18 March 1982] in Elblag with the party aktiv of the [Elblag] Voivodship. The meeting was also attended by Col Jozef Caputa, commissioner from the National Defense Committee, and the Voivode Col Ryszard Urlinski.

Initially, the first secretary of the PUWP Voivodship Committee Jerzy Prusiecki presented a briefing on the activities undertaken by the voivodship party organization and the socio-economic situation in the region. He stressed that, during the duration of the martial law, the main effort is focused on implementing the tasks specified by the Central Committee and those ensuing from the situation in the voivodship. He also declared that during January and February industrial output declined 8 percent and employment 6 percent compared with a like period last year. To be sure, average wages rose 20 percent, but they are lower than in December 1981. In construction the decline reaches 25 percent. Agriculture continues to experience shortages of fuel, tires, and certain fertilizers and seeds. Grain procurements diverge from expectations and needs.

He was followed by representatives of the aktiv, most of whom offered comments and asked questions relating to a broad range of problems of concern to not only party members but the entire public.

Taking the floor, M. Milewski stressed that the party invariably guides itself by its resolute will to implement closely the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress. It will act thus in the future as well, on allowing for the new conditions shaped by the events of the last few months.

The declaration "What We Are Fighting For, What Our Goals Are," whose draft was mentioned by some of those present at the encounter as being too lengthy and insufficiently precise and militant, must in its final shape be a document whose co-authorship should be admitted by every party member. It thus should

contain the quintessence of the opinions and thoughts voiced during the universal discussions which are just beginning now. The Central Committee secretary stated that, during the Political Bureau meeting at which the draft of the declaration was adopted in its current version, Wojciech Jaruzelski emphasized that the final draft of that document may even differ significantly from the current version, because it merely provides the impetus for the discussions.

It is true that the restoration of workers' self-government (samorzady robotnicze)--upon approval by the ministries--is being considered for those plants and enterprises in which the membership of that self-government displays an attitude assuring the maintenance of the proper atmosphere and activities consonant with the directions of socialist renewal. Workers' self-government should become a factor contributing to the introduction of the economic reform. This contribution is needed, because the reform is being introduced under exceptionally unfavorable conditions.

The nature and shape of the future trade unions will be decided by working people through their universal participation in the discussion of this unprecedentedly important problem. All the arguments pro and contra every concept must be considered and the best and optimal solutions selected.

In agriculture, many previously adopted solutions do not meet the past and present expectations of the countryside. The authorities are aware of this. But not everything can be attended to at once, because the backlog is truly enormous. The development of optimal solutions in this field is difficult in the country's current situation. But it must be accomplished.

Replying to a question concerning the relations between the state and the Church, the Central Committee secretary declared that the Church should employ its authority in favor of stabilizing the situation in the country, for which it has a tremendous potential. The forces which the Church represents can and should serve well the consolidation of law and public order and the unification of the nation in joint work for the country's welfare.

The question of the responsibility of former prominent individuals will be examined by the Tribunal of State, whose appointment will probably be decided by the Sejm at its next session before this month is over. The investigation of the KSS KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense, Committee for the Defense of Workers] activists is continuing. Proceedings also have been instituted against those Solidarity activists who caused losses to the economy, not to mention moral and political damage.

Speaking of the situation among teachers, the Central Committee secretary stressed that the verification of the teaching cadres will not be actively conducted. On the other hand, the Central Committee and the government intend to act consistently and systematically to eliminate from that profession individuals who lead the youth to political and ideological wastelands.

As regards the proposed visit of the Pope to Poland, M. Milewski declared that the state did not say "no" to this matter. "The Church and the

Episcopate realize that the current climate is not the best for such a visit. But as for the climate in the future, that will be decided by the evolution of the situation. Certain terms for such a visit must be met."

In conclusion, Miroslaw Milewski pointed out that the decision taken on 13 December [the martial law] should be interpreted as not only a decision that had prevented a civil war and perhaps even war on the European continent, but also as a date initiating a new direction of our country's future development. Referring to the appeal by one of the discussants for doing more for Poland instead of flooding it with talk, the Central Committee secretary said that not only deeds but also words are needed, because others have uttered so many untruths. But one should indeed strive that what is being said should be reflected and embodied in day-by-day deeds.

In the morning hours, M. Milewski met with the leading aktiv of the Voivodship Headquarters of Citizens' Militia [MO]. He thanked all the functionaries of the MO and SB [Security Service] for the efforts they invested in maintaining law and order in the Elblag Voivodship.

Miroslaw Milewski at Aktiv Meeting

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 19-20-21 Mar 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] As in other regions of this country, in the Elblag Voivodship, too, the party echelons and basic organizations as well as the socio-occupational milieux are conducting a lively discussion of the nature and achievements of the 7th Plenum of the PUWP Central Committee, and particularly of the draft of the declaration "What We Are Fighting For, What Our Goals Are." The importance of ideological and economic issues is being emphasized, and the conviction that the existing difficulties can really be surmounted and the party can be reborn and regain broad public confidence is being expressed.

Such, too, were the main topics and issues discussed at the Thursday [18 March 82] meeting between the aktiv of the Elblag Voivodship party organization and the Political Bureau member, secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, Miroslaw Milewski. The meeting was also attended by the Elblag Voivode, Col Dr Ryszard Urlinski, and the KOK [National Defense Committee] commissioner Col Pilot Jozef Caputa.

The meeting was opened by first secretary of the PUWP Voivodship Committee Jerzy Prusiecki, who briefly assessed the current activities of the party and the political, social, and economic situation in the voivodship. He recalled that a recent Voivodship Committee plenum had evaluated party work and the general situation in the voivodship before and after the introduction of the martial law, and outlined current tasks. He stated that the activities of the POP [basic party organizations] have recently become more vigorous,

though not yet sufficiently. That the PUWP is regaining the public's confidence is demonstrated by such facts as, among others, the influx of new party members from among workers and representatives of other occupations and professions. Considerable attention is being devoted to intensifying the activities of youth and public organizations, social work commissions in labor establishments. The importance of the Committees for National Rebirth [KON] which in the Elblag Voivodship number 150, is increasing. Further, J. Prusiecki stated that the course so far of the discussions of the draft of the ideological-program declaration of the PUWP and the future shape of the trade unions, points to the existence of considerable common consensus as regards fundamental issues but many divergences of opinion about details.

Speaking of the economic performance, the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee stated that it is not satisfactory, especially in construction, and that unfavorable economic relations persist, even though some improvement has already been observed in this respect. In agriculture, the plan for milk and livestock procurements is being satisfactorily fulfilled, but grain procurements are not as satisfactory. At present the main efforts in the countryside are being focused on the proper preparation for and conduct of spring field work.

The questions asked of the Central Committee secretary and the comments made during the discussions mentioned, among other things, the obstacles to the economic reform, the insufficient supply of agriculture with means of production as well as with indispensable agricultural implements, the unequal treatment of different sectors of the economy, the lack of coordination between agriculture and the agricultural processing industry, and the occasionally unjustified investments. Emphasis was placed on the need to make accountable those responsible for the crisis and to ensure a patriotic and committed teaching cadre, while the establishment of the Ministry for Prices and Pricing evoked skepticism. The initiators and organizers of the so-called balloon campaign were condemned, as was the diversionary activity of the West against Poland, in which some of the Solidarity activists remaining abroad are taking part. Speaking of the ideological-program declaration "What We Are Fighting For, What Our Goals Are," its excessive length and the faulty style of certain of its formulations were pointed out, among other things. Many comments concerned the future activity of trade unions, the relations between the State and the Church, and the need for a thorough verification [of the ideological attitude] of persons holding responsible state, economic and diplomatic posts.

Taking the floor, the secretary of the PUWP Central Committee Miroslaw Milewski discussed, among other things, the reasons for the introduction of the martial law, stressing that it was necessitated by the adventurous steps of the extremist leadership and advisers of Solidarity, as is also demonstrated by the documents seized in the offices of the regional boards and the National Commission of Solidarity. He stated that hostile centers in the West are attempting to sow confusion and anxiety in Poland and instruct and prepare the still uninterned leaders of Solidarity for some future "X-Day."

Certain circles of our youth are susceptible to illusory slogans and resort to the distribution of flyers or even to armed struggle, as evidenced by the killing of the militiaman in Warsaw. The speaker stressed the inadmissibility of the "balloon campaign" in its aspect of menace to aircraft as well.

Speaking of the economic reform, M. Milewski recalled that its need was spelled out by the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress, but the conditions for its introduction are exceptionally difficult. Additional problems in this respect have been caused by the economic restrictions by the United States and other capitalist countries, which precisely accounts for, e.g., the need to re-orient the production of many processing industries, including the food industry. In such a situation, the aid provided us by the socialist countries, and especially the Soviet Union, is becoming tremendously important. The reform exists and will be introduced. A contributing factor in the reform will be the workers' self-governments [samorzady robotnicze] which, upon decision by the concerned ministers, may be established in the plants with the appropriate atmosphere and the right people. But as for the final shape of the future trade union movement, that will be decided by the working class itself. But of a certainty, the new trade unions will have to be based on constructive principles and protect the interests of workers while at the same time supporting the socialist State. Referring to the draft of the ideological-program declaration of the PUWP, the first secretary of the Central Committee emphasized that the final text of that important party and national document will be decided by the debates now under way. He stressed further that the current version of that declaration is not perfect and needs improvement. This was, besides, the intention of the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee in submitting that draft for broad discussion.

Further, M. Milewski discussed at length matters concerning a settlement of accounts with former prominent individuals, claiming that the actual culprits will receive the punishment they deserve. But this matter requires great deliberation so as to avoid injustice to anyone, because, as known, more than one individual has been undeservedly accused of deeds which, as it now turns out, he did not commit or had committed not on the scale previously suggested. Recently, quite a few supposedly "poor people" who, to be sure, did not hold exposed positions but did incommensurately enrich themselves by illegal operations, have been identified. There is a need for an effective fiscal policy such as would, on the one hand, prevent excessive enrichment of a few and, on the other, not blunt human initiative and resourcefulness.

The Central Committee secretary discussed current activities within the party. He stressed that the new style of operation means a return to Leninist principles. The party endeavors to strengthen its ties with the working class and the nation. It is regaining [public] confidence. This is, among others, the purpose of the current [ideological] verification of personnel in state and economic agencies as well as of diplomatic personnel.

Workers on Trade-Union Movement

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 18 Mar 82 p 3

[Interviews with former Solidarity members at an Elblag Plant by G. Baranowski]

[Text] The future of the trade-union movement in our country is one of the most important topics of concern to Poles. Below are the pertinent comments by the employees of ZAMECH [Engineering Works named for General Karol Swierczewski in Elblag] belonging to Solidarity--a trade union that had associated more than 90 percent of the work force at that enterprise. They are: Mchal Wilinski, electrician, PUWP member; Ryszard Lojewski, grinding-machine operator, PUWP member; Miroslao Kraska, welder, ASMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth] member; Zbigniew Fijalkowski, senior foreman, PUWP member; Taduesz Krysiak, deputy chairman, ZSMP Trade Union; and Jan Krol, fitter, non-party.

[Question] In your opinion, which is the most important of the operating principles of the trade union movement as presented in the theses of the Committee for Trade Union Matters under the Council of Ministers?

[Answer] M. Wilinski: It appears that the trade unions should be independent and self-governing but not like what they used to be so far. After all, playing politics is hardly a task for trade unions, which should instead be concerned with working people, with the safety and hygiene of their labor, with their earnings....

R. Lojewski: In my time I took part in a strike at ZAMECH. I belonged to the strike committee, and later I founded Solidarity in my department. But I was concerned with strong, independent trade unions such as would declare "no" in cases of injustice to workers. Later something out of kilter began to happen to these trade unions; for example, the grassroots membership was not consulted on many matters. What happened instead was that Solidarity activists would come and ask us whether we wanted or did not want a strike. People would raise their hands. To protest would mean becoming isolated--such was the psychosis of those times. But I was not interested in such trade unions. Our chief slogan was democracy, and that democracy should be binding on all. I did not like it when forces of the clergy began to dominate our trade unions. Let the clergy struggle for our souls, and let us ourselves struggle for our temporal worker problems. Finally there came [the events in] Radom, then in Gdansk--and the matter became clear. Following 13 December [when martial law was declared] I resigned from the Solidarity branch, though I had founded it myself. I have not betrayed the ideas of the working class but on the contrary I pursue them further. We workers need no playing with politics. As citizens of this country, we wish to co-govern instead of taking over power with the aid of trade unions.

[Question] Thus, trade unions should deal not only with narrowly conceived affairs of workers?

[Answer] Z. Fijalkowski: I did not like it when the fates of entire regions depended on a spark [the initiation of a sparking strike action] in some one plant, when people showed solidarity in supporting actions that often were unjust. We know of such an instance happening in the Zielona Gora Voivodship. The trade union should confine its activities to the sector of industry concerned and give priority to the concerns of the people working within that sector, e.g. the problems of the metalworkers should be solved by metalworkers and not by miners. Their interests may differ, as especially demonstrated by the example of the trade unions of private farmers.

J. Krol: I would like to justify a little the excessive political involvement of certain Solidarity activists. In my opinion, when there is a strong party--although I myself am no longer a member--when the party acts in accordance with its program, in principle the trade unions should not engage in activities outside their by-laws or in political activities. Why did Solidarity become involved too much in politics? A crisis had set in in the party, so that it had begun temporarily to neglect, as it were, certain problems which [by being taken up by Solidarity] constituted an encroachment on the party's scope of activities. This concerned the problem of the economy and it turned out to concern political problems as well. In our conditions, economics could not be separated from politics.

M. Kraska: I believe that it is difficult to separate trade unions from politics. We know why Solidarity had emerged: the workingman had less and less to say. With the formation of Solidarity, all the problems swept under the rug had come home to roost. This does not necessarily mean playing politics. I believe that future trade unions should continue to protect the interests of workers but in some fields--wherever social control is missing--their perspective should be broader and they should signal about problems and obligate those responsible to solve the problems. I would like those future trade unions to bring about a situation in which the law would become not only the law but also justice.

[Question] How can trade unions be protected against falling into the trap of political commitment while at the same time bearing in mind that this need not signify lack of interest in national affairs?

J. Krol: The situation in our country was such that the trade unions had also to engage in politics. After a time, there would have arrived a moment when the unions would no longer have to do so and would cease playing politics.

M. Wilinski: I believe that the striving of certain leading activists of Solidarity to change the system of society was in itself big-game politics.

J. Krol: But I believe that Solidarity would itself purge itself of such individuals without an assist from the military and the militia.

M. Kraska: A trade union ceases to engage in politics when and only when it engages in the affairs of workers, but it shall engage in these latter affairs once the other political problems disappear--such as the vital problem of justice. A trade union should not engage in politics, but what also matters

is that politics should not transcend the state's economy! The best controller, the best criterion of a government is that force which points out in time mistakes. If there is a possibility for publicly pointing out the mistakes of the authorities--the sources of dramatic conflicts will increasingly diminish. It was precisely this role of a controller, a monitor that was taken up by the trade unions, in view of the absence of other institutions that might fulfill this task properly.

M. Wilinski: It should be fulfilled by the party!

[Question] Much is being said about the leading role of the party in society. What should this role be like as regards the trade unions?

M. Wilinski: If we are to say that trade unions should be independent and self-governing, then the party cannot impose its objectives, etc. on them. But the trade unions must acknowledge the leading role of the party, while the party must always act so that the trade unions, in their turn, would have confidence in it.

Z. Fijalkowski: Both the party and the trade unions are based on the working class; that is, their goals are common.

R. Lojewski: In justified cases the party should help the trade unions....

[Question] Should the diversity of trade unions be preserved, or would it be better to have uniform trade unions?

J. Krol: Properly speaking, this should depend on trade-union members themselves; let them decide it themselves. As to whether the trade unions will be regional or sector-oriented, that is up to us alone. This should not be forced upon anyone.

[Question] Perhaps it will help if I cite the statement of Sandor Gaspar, chairman of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) who declared at the recent WFTU Congress in Habana: "Lack of autonomy, criticism, and tolerance under socialist conditions as well--undermines the prestige and attractiveness of trade unions."

Z. Fijalkowski: What does "attractiveness" mean? Does this mean that if I belong to a trade union of electric power workers I will receive free electricity or that if I join a miners' union I will receive a free allotment of coal? The purpose of trade unions should be to protect the interests of all workers rather than of, say, tailors alone or grinding-machine operators alone.

R. Lojewski: What matters is that future trade unions should be effective rather than attractive.

Z. Fijalkowski: Experienced trade unions must have a say. I know this from my department. If a meeting with plant management or whoever else had decision-making powers in some matter was arranged, it was attended by the

local Solidarity board, the executive board, the ZMS [Union of Socialist Youth], and only 5 or 6 people [workers]. Thus, the public must be imbued with faith in the possibility of posing crucial problems and resolving these problems by the trade unions. Then trade unions will be attractive.

R. Lojewski: It is necessary for future trade unions to be realistic and not only one-sided in their demands.

J. Krol: All the time we have been speaking of future trade unions, but we already do have trade unions, except that they are suspended....

R. Lojewski: Yes, but they must be wholly reborn, inclusive of their statute. The trade unions that had existed prior to 13 December cannot be reborn in their previous shape. Workers are not interested in big-time politics. People who are ambitious to get elected to the Sejm on the worker's shoulders should look for another donkey to ride on.

J. Krol: In this place I would like to emphasize clearly that the trade unions continue to exist and their future shape will depend above all on their membership, of course, provided that they follow the statutes and the entire legal system. Some institution will have to monitor that observance--perhaps the Constitutional Tribunal, whose task it is to monitor the consonance between laws and the Constitution.

R. Lojewski: The entire work force reasons like we do in its discussions. The opinions differ, but that is why discussion is so greatly needed.

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CSO: 2600/640

DETAILS OF BYDGOSZCZ PARTY MEETINGS REPORTED

Executive Board Meeting

Bydgoszc GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 5-6-7 Mar 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] The Thursday [4 Mar 82] meeting of the executive board of the Bydgoszcz party KW [Voivodship Committee] focused on two items. First, the members examined and approved the materials for the coming plenary session in March which will deal with the sociopolitical situation among the youth and the tasks ensuing from it.

The second item on the agenda was discussed by the executive board in Jezewa, because the party and sociopolitical problems of that gmina [parish] were of interest to the comrades. The gmina party organization has a membership of 409 regular and candidate members organized in 19 POPs [basic party organizations]. But the structure of that organization is fairly specific considering its rural locale, inasmuch as it is dominated by workers (33 percent) in view of the large number of facilities in that region (PKP [Polish State Railroads] hub, forestry superintendency, SKR [Agricultural Circle Cooperatives], Las [Forestry] Processing Plant, GS [Gmina Cooperative], post office). The remainder of the local population consists 21 percent of farmers, 27 percent of white-collar workers, and 9 percent of others.

Before commencing their deliberations, the comrades split up into five teams which visited the individual plants and institutions and villages and met there with the aktiv of the POPs. The harvest of observations and conclusions was rich and provided the basis for discussions among members of the KW executive board jointly with members of the executive board of the gmina echelons. The comments made pertained in principle to two spheres--the economic and the party-social. The issues considered included the need to activize small farms as well as lands leased by forestry employees, and also to improve the supplies of means of agricultural production and building materials.

The comrades found, on familiarizing themselves with the work of the local echelon, that its methods of party action are characterized by resoluteness, pertinency of the problems considered, and a consistent introduction of the principles of socialist coexistence within the gmina.

The gmina party organization, and especially its echelon, deals with agriculture as a whole, proceeding from the simple premise that the earth must bear fruit. Hence, together with the Gmina Office, land utilization was evaluated and appropriate recommendations were adopted. Within the gmina there occurred no instances of arbitrary encroachment by farmers on PGR [State Farms] and RSP [Agricultural Producer Cooperatives] fields.

A major effect on the positively evolving social climate and the fairly satisfactory economic performance is produced by the good cooperation between the party KG [Gmina Committee] and the ZSL [United Peasants Party]--joint sessions, jointly undertaken measures.

The comrades from the executive board examined the work of party organizations following August 1980 and the martial law declaration. Within some basic party elements the work became less intense (since August [1980] 78 members and candidate members have been deleted from the rolls, including 39 who voluntarily surrendered their party cards), but on the whole the party work during the martial law period has been carried out in accordance with requirements and recommendations. Interviews with every individual party member were commenced and are being continued, and their results will be discussed at a plenary session of the KG.

This was another regular traveling session of the Bydgoszcz Executive Board in the countryside and, as declared by Comrade Henryk Bednarski, first secretary of the KW, such an operating procedure is of practical importance, since it enables the members of the board to get on-the-spot knowledge of grassroots problems, contributes to direct contacts, and serves to provide consistent assistance to the POPs in their work.

Plenary Meeting on Youth

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 12-13-14 Mar 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] Yesterday [11 March 1982] the PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] held a plenary session in Bydgoszcz. The agenda pertained to the sociopolitical situation of the youth and the resulting tasks for the party. The deliberations of the plenum were guided by the first secretary of the PZPR KW, Comrade H. Bednarski. The opening speech was delivered by Comrade J. Zemke, KW secretary. Following the discussions the KW adopted a resolution specifying the party's main directions of action and the duties of party members who belong to youth organizations in Bydgoszcz Voivodship as regards the problems and needs of the young generation.

The participants in the deliberations included a large group of the aktiv of youth organizations. The plenum was attended by representatives of the concerned departments of the PZPR Central Committee, the national leadership of young organizations, voivodship state administration authorities, and the fraternal parties.

The point of departure for the topics considered in the opening speech was an analysis of the current ideological-political situation of the young generation of Poles. It was declared that this situation is to a large extent influenced by the experiences of the 1970s, characterized by an increasingly explicit divergence between ideological assumptions and the social reality; lack of possibilities for translating into reality the awakened higher aspirations; the growing difficulties in making a start in life--owing to the deepening economic crisis and the influence of centers of ideological diversion. Other major negative consequences have been produced by various measures taken against the ideological organizations of the young generation (the consolidation of the youth movement through the formation of federations, the requirement for a mass movement, mistaken or diluted concepts of ideological-educational work).

All this influenced the attitudes of the youth during the period from August 1980 to 13 December 1981, resulting in the loss of a part of the young generation and sometimes even in a sudden unfavorable change in its views.

The introduction of the martial law produced different responses among the youth. Some young people guide themselves by emotions rather than by arguments in favor of the introduction of that law. This results in their passivity or--fortunately only for a small group--even wish to oppose or sometimes to struggle against the socialist system of society. Most of the young generation has, however, accepted the martial law and wishes to devote its strength to the future of the fatherland--as reflected in its responsible attitude toward work and study.

The speech further dealt with the problems of the main elements of the educational process for the young generation, in which the family and school play a special role. As regards the family, strong emphasis was placed on the responsibility of party members for bringing up their children and shaping their ideological personality. The continuing difficult and ideologically complicated situation among the educators does not contribute to a satisfactory course of the educational process and sometimes even causes students to stray and begin doubting. This also applies to higher schools. This imposes important tasks on the school party organizations. Party members and teachers should explain to the youth the nation's contemporary history, especially treating the current situation in a broader historical and international context.

The youth organizations in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship have lost members. The ZSMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth] had 50,345 members in 1980 and 30,500 in 1981. The Polish Scout Union [ZHP] had 100,574 members in 1980 and 61,099 members in 1981. The speech stressed that the ZSMP, the largest organization of working youth, is still in a state of crisis. Some of its elements are passive and, given the complicated situation, some members of the aktiv have been lost. Evident changes for the better have been taking place in the ZSMP after the martial law was introduced. The Union of Rural Youth [ZMW] still exists in the organizational stage and is arduously gaining influence in the countryside. The ZHP, which lost allies among some teachers and parents, is in a difficult situation. The speech suggested taking immediate measures to revive the activities of the Socialist Union of Polish [University] Students [SZSP].

Emphasis was also placed on the fundamental importance of the following issues to the activities of the youth organizations: a creative return to the supreme values of the socialist ideology and Marxist ethics; concern for the basic life and day-to-day problems of the youth; the imposition of the principle that the youth is an authentic cocreator of the whole of social and political life.

Those taking part in the discussions were: K. Gawron, first secretary of the PZPR KG [Gmina Committee] in Zlotniki Kujawskie; S. Sekiecki, deputy superintendent of education and enlightenment; J. Bulawa, teacher from Sepolna Kraj.; A. Lowicki, first secretary of the POP [basic party organization] at the District Transport Center of the Meat Industry Enterprise;; K. Borowa, member of Tuchola KMiG [City and Gmina Party Committee]; J. Graczkowski, commander of the ZHP Bydgoszcz Post; T. Mackiewicz, first secretary of PZPR plant committee in Bydgoszcz ZNTK [Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops]; J. Kromski, deputy chairman of the ZSMP Governing Board; J. Kozdra, commanding officer of the voivodship militia; M. Walkowska, ZSMP activist from Janikowskie Soda Plant; W. Debicki, farmer, member of the Presidium of the ZMW National Board; M. Bernacki, party activist from Pakoc; S. Florczak, voivodship commander of the OHP [Volunteer Labor Brigades]; R. Bethe, chairman, SZSP District Council; L. Czechowicz, physician from Bydgoszcz; J. Langowski member of founding group of the Communist Union of Polish Youth [KZMP] in Bydgoszcz; A. Glowala, first secretary of Swiecie KMiG; T. Gilwa, the Bydgoszcz deputy voivode; J. Kaczmarek, first secretary of the PZPR KG in Osielsk; S. Zielinski, teacher from Bydgoszcz; B. Lewkow, member, Voivodship Historical Commission of the Youth Movement; and W. Swirgon, chairman ZMW National Board.

The participants in the discussion supported the analyses contained in the speech by Comrade J. Zemke and strongly stressed the devastation accomplished by the antisocialist offensive of extreme Solidarity elements in the consciousness of the young generation. They mentioned repeatedly the manipulation of young people through the organization of strikes at schools and in plants. During the martial law period, too, instances of operation of conspirational groups of young people have been occurring--sporadically, to be sure. One such group was unmasked in Znin, where a local teacher cooperated with it. Events of this kind do not represent the outlook of the entire youth since an overwhelming majority of young people are looking for niches of their own and finding them in constructive action to help stabilize the country and lead it out of ideological and economic crisis. This is exemplified by the sacrificial spirit of the young people performing military service and by their attitude at work and study.

Among other things, the discussion mentioned the partnership of the youth in the party's effort to rebuild the ideological and moral values of socialism, including the prestige and dignity of work among the public. Mention was made of the problems encountered by the ZHP in securing the material facilities for scout activities among children. The ZSMP representatives, defending themselves against the reproaches that their union was turning into, so to speak, a trade union of youth, argued that in the present conditions their offensive to solve

the day-to-day problems of youth is in effect a political action integrating and rallying young people around essential and authentic issues important to the entire nation. The speakers who raised this issue demanded that in this matter the declarations should be followed up by concrete decisions by the local administrative authorities. However, some also objected to singling out the youth for special treatment, since the entire nation is experiencing difficulties and hardships should be expected by all. The problem of the youth as an organizational force in resolving the issues of the state and nation was also raised, though exclusively in the context of participation by the youth in the exercise of state and local authority and the need to implement the policy of broader appointment of young people to leadership positions.

Among the many issues discussed, special emphasis was devoted to the problem of regular and higher schools. Concern was expressed about the negative phenomena occurring among many pedagogical teams, especially during 1981. These include: the emergence of sharp political divisions among teachers and attacks by some groups of teachers against what decides the socialist nature of the schools. The deputy superintendent described the numerous measures taken to improve the educational situation. But other speakers thought it necessary to take radical measures, including dismissal of those educators who are responsible for the poor situation in the schools, and reject the obligation of carrying out educational processes in accordance with the constitution of socialist Poland. At the same time, though, the currently unusually difficult and responsible tasks of teachers were pointed out.

In the discussions another view expressed was that a very major reason for the swaying of the ideological foundations of large groups of youth is the shock experienced by young people when their imagination and ideals, including those shaped in the school, collide with the reality of the first job held--with its problems and shortcomings.

The importance of a class-oriented attitude toward the rising generation was stressed in the comment by the candidate member of the Central Committee and chairman of the ZMW National Board, Comrade W. Swirgon. Viewing the young generation as a whole and accepting the generational approach in analyses and syntheses is misleading and relatively unsuitable to the solution of practical problems and undertaking of political struggle. In that struggle, the currently most important issue is the enemy's penetration into the groups and among the young people who still represent a contested field. In this respect, concrete and organic work can and should play a tremendous role.

The KW resolution defines the following as the basic educational duties of the party with respect to youth: the struggle to restore the faith of young people in the truth and honesty of the ideas proclaimed by the party; in social justice; in word as the criterion of material position; in man and the defense of human dignity; and in the humanist values of socialism. The resolution obligates the party organizations and echelons to systematically collaborate with youth organizations upon fully respecting their autonomy. Youth issues will be the topics of meetings by party organizations and plenary sessions of the party echelons. The resolution also specifies the party's obligations to provide various forms of assistance to prepare the aktiv of youth organizations for

ideological work. It contains provisions specifically obligating local administration to take steps to concern itself with the day-to-day problems of youth, including the satisfaction of needs as regards housing and employment. The resolution also specifies the tasks for party organizations at higher schools.

Next, during its discussions, the Voivodship Committee accepted the report, presented by Comrade Z. Zmudzinski, KW secretary, about the party's activities in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship following its plenary session which determined the tasks of party work under martial law, as well as following the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The Commission for Women's Affairs has, in addition, been established under the PZPR Voivodship Committee.

The deliberations ended with the signing of the International.

Bydgoszcz City Committee Meeting

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 16 Mar 82 p 6

[Article by Mak.: "From the Deliberations of the KM PZPR Governing Board"]

[Text] Several topics were raised at the last session of the Executive Board of the PZPR Bydgoszcz City Committee [KM]. The members familiarized themselves with the issues even earlier, owing to materials transmitted by individual working teams.

A major item on the session's agenda was the evaluation of the performance of the Basic Party Organization [POP] at the Planning and Research Office for Industrial Construction [BPBBP] in Bydgoszcz. The choice fell on that particular POP because it was precisely there that, between 1 September 1980 and the present, nearly one-half of the membership had surrendered their party cards, and currently this POP consists of 34 members and candidate members. The team appointed by the KM to prepare the materials for this evaluation held interviews not only with the leadership of that POP and its current members but also with the BPBBP employees who had resigned from the party. The motives prompting them to make this decision were discussed, and the effect of this occurrence on the course and activities of the party organization as well as on the sociopolitical atmosphere of the BPBBP personnel as a whole were analyzed. The forms and methods of activity of the POP and its officers during the last 15 or so months as well as at present also were discussed.

The KM Executive Board acknowledged that the party chapter itself at BPBBP is best qualified to evaluate these activities for the period in question, which will be done at its next meeting. The representatives of the city echelon declared their intent to take part in that meeting.

Later in the session, the program of action of the PZPR KM following the Seventh Plenum of the party Central Committee was discussed. The program was divided into thematic tasks comprising the following groups of problems: aspects of intraparty and organizational work, ideological-educational work, and the

introduction of the economic reform in labor establishments. Some forms are already being introduced, while others will be introduced in the next few weeks. For example, a series of meetings between the KM leadership and the party members from among individual plant crews has already been commenced. By the end of this month, all teams and problems commissions will have held meetings on the implementation of the provisions of the resolution of the Seventh Plenum. But the most important task in this thematic plane is the development of party discussions at all POPs concerning the draft of the ideological declaration, "What We Are Fighting For, What Our Goals Are," which will last until the end of April.

During the session, the schedule for implementing the conclusions of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW], ensuing from the evaluation of the party KM by the KW secretariat, also was discussed. Organizational matters also were attended to.

Voivodship Executive Board Meeting

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 26-27-28 Mar 82 p 2

[Text] This topic hardly requires an explanation. This concerns simply effective action to protect the natural environment, and especially water resources, in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship. This was categorically declared by the executive board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] in Bydgoszcz on examining the report of the Voivodship Office on the state of environmental protection and the investments foreseen for the immediate future to save the region's ecological balance.

The development of industry, urbanization, and the intensification of agriculture, and, above all, man, require usable water that does not poison the human organism. Unfortunately, year after year, the pollution of the waters of the Brda and Wda and their tributaries is increasing. This also concerns the Vistula, the Notec and, unfortunately, a majority of the lakes, especially the Goplo, Ziolo, Rogow, and Tonow lakes as well as the Folusz, Zninsk, and Charzykowskiego lakes.

During 1976-1981 about 1.5 billion zlotys was spent in Bydgoszcz Voivodship on environmental protection facilities, of which about half a billion was for the protection of waters and atmospheric air and the neutralization of [the fallout of pollutants in] precipitation. This year plans exist to spend 264 million zlotys as well as about 200 million zlotys additionally from the water management and environmental protection funds. This is a drop in the sea of needs, because the most indispensable construction and expansion as well as modernization of the municipal and industrial-plant liquid waste treatment facilities requires spending at least 11 billion zlotys in 1978 prices.

In view of these tremendous tasks the Executive Board decided to make environmental protection a fundamental problem. Its resolution will require--this being the postulate of the Executive Board of the Bydgoszcz KW--certain measures concerning coordination and supervision at the central level. This concerns a decisionmaker who, once he is briefed about the situation, could competently determine the priorities of investment and modernization tasks and allot investment outlays on protective facilities simply because they are precisely indispensable there and not somewhere else at the present moment.

The importance of the problem prompted the KW Executive Board to adopt the postulate that it is necessary to draft a comprehensive long-range program for water and environmental protection. This should be done by the Voivodship Office with support from the appropriate elements of the Voivodship Committee. This program should be presented at a WRN [Voivodship People's Council] session upon the initiative of councilmen who are PZPR members, so that it may gain the importance of a document binding upon all.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board discussed not only issues ensuing from the present sociopolitical situation of the voivodship but also the implementation of its own resolutions of 29 October 1981 on matters of party work in education, and of August 1981 concerning the introduction of the party training system during the 1981/1982 school year.

Voivodship Control Commission Meeting

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 29 Mar 82 p 5

[Text] The deliberations of the Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP] in Bydgoszcz, which were directed by the WKKP chairman, Comrade B. Nalezty, largely dealt with ideological and political problems. The tone was set by two opening addresses: a report on the current tasks of the WKKP and a lecture on the influence of the United States on the present situation in this country. In addition, a report, based on extensive local documentation, was presented on the utilization of the findings of the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] by local party organizations and echelons.

The plenum identified the basic task to be action promoting a consistent observance of the PZPR statute and the strengthening of the ideological and organizational unity of the party ranks; both the WKKP and the local party control commissions should maximally support the party organizations and echelons in the implementation of this task. It was stressed during the discussion that, while the evaluations of the past and humane attitudes should not be abandoned, the focus must be oriented on the tasks of the present day, on rescuing the country from the crisis and resisting the enemies of socialism who, in our country, are not abandoning their struggle. Against them--who scorn no method of attack--the vigilance and cohesiveness of the party ranks are needed. Discussions of the question of how to cope with the tasks facing the party should supersede barren polemics which merely exacerbate ideological relaxation and weaken unity of action. It is indispensable to strengthen democratic centralism, which effectively prevents the party's transformation into a discussion club that can neither take effective decisions nor carry them out to the end.

Among the current problems of the party control commission, special emphasis was placed at the WKKP plenum on: actions to purge the party membership but without encroaching upon the decisions constituting the duty as well as the right of state organizations and echelons; concern for the observance of correct forms and procedures (formal interviews with party members [whose loyalty is being verified] so as not to offend their dignity); unfolding of a broad front of preventive-educational work. The following were included among the basic duties of comrades:

engaging in ideological-educational activity together with party echelons and organizations and providing them with help in the consistent monitoring of the adopted resolutions and conclusions. The necessity of cooperation between the control commission and the party echelons in evaluating the leadership cadres and in developing the cadre policy was also pointed out, as was the need for their participation in the struggle against manifestations of incompetence and irresponsibility in labor establishments and their obligation to show a deep concern for the formation of a well-meaning and responsible attitude of the management toward the problems of working people. These problems also were touched upon in the address delivered by the secretary of the PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee], Comrade Z. Zmudzinski.

As regards the findings of the inspection of the interventions by the NIK in the activities of party organizations and echelons, the WKKP deemed that these interventions were only minimally utilized. In this connection, it addressed to the PZPR KW the postulate that this problem be introduced into the field of view of party organizations and echelons and that the POP [basic party organization] at NIK as well as at other state control offices discuss their cooperation with party elements in introducing the control decisions. To the local party control commissions, the WKKP recommended that they continue their analysis of the party's application of the conclusions of the state control agencies and provide aid to the basic organizations and echelons in evaluating the party members with regard to whom the inspection uncovered facts representing glaring violations of the statutory norms and party ethics.

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CSO: 2600/608

RESULTS OF 1981 YOUTH SURVEY ON POLISH EVENTS DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 May 82 p 3

[Article by Bohdana Gajdeczkowa: "Youth and Polish Reality"]

[Text] The participation of youth in street incidents, which took place during the first days of May, alarmed public opinion and especially that of parents and teachers. Of particular concern is the fact that the sensitivity, emotions and credulity of youth were exploited for political purposes by opponents of socialism. This cannot be disregarded; the causes, which led to the "rebel ious" state of youth and even children must be sought out and inferences must be made from this for the practice of teaching since there were 14-year olds among those demonstrating.

Within this context, the results of a survey conducted one year ago in the Institute for Youth Research by the Department of Ideological and Moral Upbringing Team under the guidance of Dr Bozena Czyzkowska, may prove interesting.

The survey dealt with the attitude of secondary school graduates, students as well as young people already employed, towards Polish reality in 1981. Although, these results are not representative of youth as a whole and the situation in the country has undergone radical changes as well during the year, nevertheless, the material gathered in this manner reveals certain tendencies in the interpretation of significant political and social events which occur in Poland.

The authors of the aforementioned survey tried to acquaint themselves with opinions about facts, to capture stereotypes and patterns of thinking which function in the awareness of the young generation. The evaluated facts were tied in with the main problems of current social life in Poland; with the substance and causes of the crisis; responsibility for the situation in the country and the process of renewal.

As ascertained by the authors of the survey, over half of those questioned assessed the events of August 1980 as the overcoming of indifference on the part of society and its rebirth. Opinions on the necessity of settling accounts with people charged with committing offenses were dominant; the process of renewal was associated with the replacement of people in high ranking positions.

The responsibility for the crisis in the country was treated in moral categories. Dishonest people are to blame; those who became rich at society's expense. The role of social and political institutions and organizations was not remarked. The dominant view was that the essential shape of the life of our society depends not on the organization of the political system but on the officials, mainly those at the central level and on the personal integrity of leaders who belong to the narrow elite of authority.

The process of renewal was also interpreted in moral categories. The recognition of the types of people for leaders was significantly pronounced--persons who are not weighed down in public opinion. The young people considered the creation of a program for coming out of the crisis (87.9 percent of those polled) as an essential condition for the implementation of the renewal process. In their opinion, only personnel changes guarantee the working out of such a program and its implementation. The program is to serve, above all, the democratization of social relations; the stabilization of life in the country and the gradual surmounting of the economic crisis. For the purpose of achieving this goal, the following are indispensable--according to the number of votes--the attainment of market equilibrium, the reform of the economic system, openness of political life, squaring of accounts with the perpetrators of the crisis, repayment of foreign debts and the creation of effective mechanisms for control of authority.

How are civic attitudes to be expressed so that life in the country may become stabilized as soon as possible? Of those questioned, 88.3 percent felt that a responsible working attitude is the most essential. Law and order were mentioned next, as were respect for public property and sensitivity to human issues. Attitudes which should be fought against included bribery, lack of responsibility for work results, settling matters "over drinks," disregard for public opinion and inefficiency. This is the answer to the widespread depreciation of these values in public life during the 1970's.

The pollsters asked for opinions on the subject of the role of various social forces in the renewal process: that of PZPR, the Church and "Solidarity." Let us remember that this was in the spring of last year [1981]. Although, those answering charged the PZPR with responsibility for the crisis situation, 23.8 percent of those responding had no doubt in their mind that it [PZPR] should be in power in the country; 19.5 percent were for "Solidarity" and 4.9 percent for the Church.

In the opinion of young people, the existing to date institutions and organizations are weighed down with offenses committed by the leaders. Therefore, everything brought in by the wave of renewal is endowed with trust. The one exception is the Sejm. 39.2 percent of those surveyed, recognize it as having the rank of an institution endowed with great social authority. This opinion--according to the authors of the survey--is, most certainly, influenced by radio and TV broadcasts of pronouncements made by Sejm deputies which point to an authentic program of renewal.

How are the authors of the survey trying to characterize the manner of thinking of the young generation which is entering adult life at the start of the 1980's? Among other things, they maintain that the assessment of events taking place at that time was carried out by the young people from the point of view of three principal values: truth, justice and honesty. These values lie at the foundation of the concept of democracy and they also define the goals of the renewal of social life. This is how, in their opinion, youth understands true socialism. That is why, social reality--in their way of thinking--is either just or unjust, which liberates or constrains man.

This moralistic manner of interpretation, according to the authors, is undoubtedly valuable in the sphere of human interrelationships. However, it also constitutes a serious limiting factor in the understanding of the entire process of events, therefore, of objective laws and consequences of history which are independent of human will and actions. Young people absolutize only one area of history--intentional human actions. They do not notice, however, that in creating history, man is, at least to the same extent, created by it and is subject to it.

The manner of evaluating social reality, which proceeds from Catholic ethics, played and continues to play an important role in the settling of accounts with those people who are responsible for the crisis as well as in the nation's program of moral renewal. However, skill in conducting another kind of analysis is also needed--the disclosure of the hidden mechanisms of history and the logic behind errors of postwar events. This area of reflection is, in the opinion of the authors of the survey, foreign to the youth questioned. Their world outlook represents a peculiar synthesis of Catholic humanities and social knowledge with socialist postulates. This combination of elements from contradictory systems leads to the vision of socialism, nearly exclusively, in ethical categories. Meanwhile, social reality is reality of objectively existing contradictions, a conflict of interest which no individual or group morality can eliminate or overcome. Such an individualistic manner of comprehending democracy, justice or freedom may also lead to false perceptions of the situation in which, under slogans of common and respected values, private interests may come into being.

A moral direction in the evaluation of political phenomena by youth is expressed in the relation: ideal model and reality, separated from the mutual relationships of political, economic and cultural processes and, particularly, apart from social mechanisms whose activation would cause the bringing of reality closer together to the model. However, for such an analysis, at least rudimentary knowledge of the proprieties of community [social] life is indispensable which, as indicated by the survey, our youth is lacking.

It is impossible not to agree with the authors of the survey.

And a few additional reflections as a side-note to their remarks. From January of this year [1982], our social life has been undergoing systematic arrangement--this was postulated by those who expressed themselves in the survey.

When the decisions and achievements of the State authorities are summed up, there is no lack of examples, which demonstrate that social expectations in regard to the democratization of our life and the proper functioning of the State body, are being met gradually; that realistic conditions are being created so that the commitments resulting from the social agreement of August 1980 may be kept in full.

One can mention here, at least, the passage by the Sejm of as many as 26 laws pertaining to economic reform, the strengthening of agriculture and the placing in order of matters concerning education and culture. The legislative program of the government encompasses approximately another 50 drafts of laws pertaining to the functioning of the economy, of State administrative organs, social issues, the administration of justice, etc. This is a lot and even though the average citizen does not, as yet, clearly feel the effects of these activities--they are and will continue to be increasingly more apparent in every area of our economy.

However, a question arises as to what the young people, who took part in the disturbances as well as those who did not take part in them, know on this subject. It is easy to toss about an argument regarding the limiting of civil liberties, however, it is more difficult to enter into an objective discussion on the subject of a constructive program of social reform. For demagogic slogans, an incidental fact and superficial understanding are sufficient, however, an intelligent discussion requires authentic knowledge of the present. Is this knowledge provided by schools and how? How many talented teachers are there to take part in persuasive debates and how many are willing to do this?

Much discussion was provoked, at one time, by social issue programs. Gaps in the presentation of our most recent history were pointed out. However, a much more subdued tone was used to talk about the fact that Marxist social knowledge is presented in school--if it is presented--in simplified form, deprived of broader reflection.

Philosophical discussions, problems concerning man's well-being, the meaning of life--in general, there is no time for this during lessons. Don't students talk about these things? Who, then, directs their way of thinking?

More of such questions can be asked. For most teachers, they are not something new. And yet, the school mechanism, apparently, continues to be inefficient if these questions return anew.

Times are difficult; they are often not conducive to educational reflection but the youth of today is growing and it must be armed with rational thinking for the future and about the future. A program which would outline the framework of this future is also needed. It is difficult to live and function without a perspective; at age 20, one wants to have a particularly clear vision of it.

9853

CSO: 2600/638

JASKIERNIA SPEECH AT KOMSOMOL CONGRESS HIGHLIGHTED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 20-23 May 82 p 11

[Report on the speech by Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Polish youth delegation to the 19th Congress of Komsomol: "Let's Work for Our Country and Strengthen Friendship of Youth"]

[Text] On behalf of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) the Polish Scout Union (ZHP), the Rural Youth Union (ZMW), and the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP) Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of ZSMP Main Board expressed warm, brotherly greetings to the delegates to the congress.

Taking part in the 19th Congress of Lenin Komsomol we experience this historical moment together with you, said the speakers. We remain deeply affected by the words spoken from this podium by Leonid Brezhnev secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Accomplishments of recent years--presented in a speech made by the First Secretary of the Lenin Komsomol Center Committee Boris Pastukhov--bear witness to new successes of Soviet youth in the task of building communism.

An important role in the communist upbringing of youth is also played by the Lenin pioneer organization which celebrates its 60th anniversary.

Polish youth shall never forget the heroic efforts of Komsomol members performed during the struggle with our common enemy--Nazi Germany. The foundation of our friendship, Polish-Soviet brotherhood in arms was developed during battles with Nazism. There are graves of 600,000 soldiers of the victorious Red Army on Polish soil, the army which together with the people's Polish Army brought freedom to our nation.

As J. Jaskiernia emphasized, the Komsomol congress meets under conditions of worsening international tension. Recently forces of imperialism and reaction, taking advantage of the internal situation in Poland, among others, stepped up their endeavors to weaken the socialist community, workers' revolutionary movement and all the forces of social progress in the world. Well-known armament decisions of USA and NATO countries cause a significant increase in the threat to peace. Countries belonging to the socialist community consistently oppose this policy through peaceful coexistence, detente, and cooperation of countries of various sociopolitical systems.

We fully support, said the speaker, proposals, to contain and limit armaments put forward many times by the leader of the Soviet people Leonid Brezhnev. Of special importance are initiatives presented recently at a meeting in Tashkent, as well as those forwarded from the tribune of our congress.

The problem of insuring the peaceful future for the world will be addressed during sessions of the 11th Meeting of the World Federation of Democratic Youth in Prague. We appreciate the importance of this world forum of progressive youth and we are ready to do whatever it takes to insure success of this meeting.

Next, J. Jaskiernia highlighted the present sociopolitical situation in Poland. Referring to the establishment of martial law in our country, he stated that this decision was necessary in light of actions taken by antisocialist forces. Those forces took advantage of mistakes made in social and economic policy and conducted destructive activities with the support of centers of imperialist sabotage.

In spite of continuing attempts at political destabilization undertaken by counterrevolutionary forces--normalization of life in our country is in progress. In the same time the process of implementing reforms written in the program of the Ninth Special Congress and the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party continues.

In our time, stated chairman of the Polish delegation, the activities of the socialist youth unions benefit from the experience of Soviet Komsomol.

Our youth unions, said J. Jaskiernia, give active support to the leadership of the party and of the government, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish People's Republic, General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski. They mobilize members to take active part in overcoming negative phenomena and results of sociopolitical and economic crisis.

One of the most important premises of overcoming the crisis in Poland is the search for solutions to economic problems and implementation of the economic reform. In the present situation brotherly help and economic cooperation of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community are ever more important to us.

J. Jaskiernia expressed deep gratitude toward delegates to the congress for the help given our country in this difficult hour in the spirit of internationalism.

Springing out of the principle of socialist internationalism awareness of the common interests and shared concern for the stable future of the People's Poland--an important link in the socialist community--strengthens our brotherly friendship and cooperation. An expression of these ties can be found in the agreement on cooperation concluded between the commission on matters of mutual international contacts of Polish youth and student unions and the Central Committee of Lenin Komsomol, signed in April of this year in Warsaw.

The 19th Congress of Lenin Komsomol, concluded J. Jaskiernia, opens a new chapter in the history of this organization. We hope that this chapter will be full of even greater accomplishments for Soviet youth in their intense efforts on behalf of their country and the people.

'RAZEM' CORRESPONDENT MEETS WITH HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 4, 16 May 82 p 5

[Article by Marian Butrym: "Evidence of Immaturity"]

[Text] In general, the present article was not planned. We had anticipated printing the report of a discussion with a class of seniors at a famous Warsaw high school. The subject of the discussion--as we imagined it--was to be problems of young people's consciousness, their reflections as to their own future, the country's prospects, as well as their opinions on recent events on the streets of our cities, events in which young people played a major role. The discussion did not take place. More precisely, a meeting with young people did take place. It lasted three times longer than we expected, but there was no intellectual exchange of views. However, there was a sharp and, I hope, an honest exchange of statements that revealed a lot of bitterness, phobias, and going astray by 17 year olds, their fears and inclination to complain, pessimism and lack of know-how in thinking for themselves, self-evaluation, making analyses, or of drawing conclusions. I am not furnishing the name of the school because that is of no importance insofar as these observations are concerned.

First

From the beginning, the class divided itself into three unequal parts. Several students took an attitude of total negation of the system, the government and the party, and with great assurance voiced the stereotyped propaganda formulas of extremist "Solidarity" members far removed from deeper reflection, even if only of that, that the division of the world into good and evil, is possible only in a fairy story about the Snow Queen. Everything is very clear, simple and one-dimensional for the authors of such statements, and notionally, boils down to a dogma that everything "Solidarity" did was good, while everything that the government did, is doing and will do is bad. These discussants opted for self-government, although no one was able to explain in detail what was involved in the statute on self-governments and what was determined by negotiations; they were for democracy and pluralism of views, but at the same time interfered with the statements of two pupils who had somewhat different thoughts and opinions. The rest of the class constituted a so-called silent majority (there was a total of 32 young people in the classroom), a class which

reacted in a lively and collective way at certain times during the discussion. Consistent with the general declaration, no one had taken part in any of the street disturbances, though one of the pupils admitted that while returning home from his class in English, he had willy nilly found himself in the range of events.

A most aggressive group of 5 pupils stated that the street disturbances with their rock throwing, the setting of fires and screams are a phenomenon of spontaneous protest by young people, and that this is a form of struggle for a better tomorrow. In answer to the question as to whether a spontaneous gathering of several thousand people on a given day, at a given time and place could be possible, the answer given was that: "everybody talked about it", and someone in the class added: and "mainly Radio Free Europe." I also heard the infantile opinion that the manifestation would have been well-behaved and peaceful but for the excesses provoked by the police whom the demonstrators do not like. In response to the comment that public meetings during a time of martial law are not permitted, and that such a response could have been anticipated, I got the riposte that martial law was introduced needlessly, that the December Radom-Gdansk declarations by "Solidarity" leaders are an organized propaganda fake, and that in general, the government wanted to avoid elections to the Sejm in February 1982. Then followed a clarification of details. It was established that martial law does have legal bases, although no one is happy with its introduction, that of course, the declarations by union organization leaders were true but impossible of realization, that actually there were to be no elections to the Sejm this year because the last ones took place in 1980, and that consistent with the Constitution there was still time for them. The pupil who made the statement, and will be up for his secondary-school certificate examination next year, said that he didn't know precisely what the elections were about but that he had heard something to that effect.

Second

Clarification and identification of the real facts occupied the major portion of the class meeting. During the course of the discussion it became clear that the main quintet of the angry ones had basic gaps in its knowledge of and acquaintance with the realities of social life, not to say anything of history. Particularly so, because it believes uncritically in everything that confirms its values, and unhesitatingly rejects every fact that challenges such values. Also, that in evaluating socio-political phenomena, quintet members presented views that they had heard or been exposed to as if they were their own, or in citing somebody's texts, are unable to defend their propriety. Also, that they are helpless in polemics. A 17 year old talking about events that occurred in 1970, does not even realize that as a (then) 5 year old, he could not have formed his own view or independent opinion.

I heard said: "my parents told me", or in trying to rescue a lost point the use of the meaningless banality: "Everybody knows that". These are the answers of young people in whom bitterness and hope are contrasted with a lack of agreement as to what is happening in the country, and the lack of an elementary understanding about problems of a more general nature. How can a young person make analyses or do an honest accounting of the situation under such conditions?

In speaking of the decisions made at Yalta that do not please him, a senior high school pupil has no idea--as it quickly turned out--of when the Yalta Conference took place, or also who took part in it. Yet, he will have to take an examination on history for his secondary-school certificate. On hearing the sound of the word "socialism", a girl breathes deeply and turns her eyes heavenward but is unable to explain what socialism is, just as she is unable to define the concept of "democracy", something that in reality does not interfere with her ability to use a stereotyped chant about "full democracy" and "totalitarian regime".

The silent majority of the class listened to the ping-pong exchange of statements and reacted only to basic threads. The first reaction was applause for one of two pupils who expressed what were more their own opinions which declared that, of course, everyone was for socialism, but for the kind that results from theory. The class also reacted with a protest when one of the aggressive ones tried to justify the burning of red flags.

Later, the intransigence broke down. It became easier and easier to understand one another, and even the angry ones became less and less hostile and more susceptible to argument. The disorderly exchange of statements began to have some sense. "I've taken a fancy to you" said one pupil, "it is possible to talk to you and to even make one's self understood". Not to have it too sweet, one of the angry ones immediately countered: "But I do not believe you." It is strange that a mature person with an intellectual background who should think, because faith itself is good only at vespers, finds only the timid answer: "Well, yes, but you have to believe someone."

Thirdly

The heart of the meeting came after its conclusion. Several times during the course of the protracted talk, the teacher remarked that it was time to go home, that it was dinner time, that parents, etc... It was then decided that whoever wanted to, or was in a hurry could go. However, no one left. When we had really concluded, there began so-called off-the-cuff comments from which, however, two truths emerged: first, that youth wants talks, discussions and exchanges of views on the most difficult subjects, and secondly, that the noisy single-mindedness advanced by angry ones on the basis of "everyone knows or each one of us thinks that way" is simple utopia and a fig leaf that is supposed to cover anxiety and despair, distrust of official propaganda and helpless uneasiness.

Private conversations outside of an official class forum, without the pressure of remarks by colleagues who are judging one's answers, without fear of being ridiculed, or of someone's wise-crack, ran an entirely different course than the earlier exchange of opinions. Not one of my interlocutors approved of engaging in provocative actions on the streets of our cities. "Taken-in but good, horses asses, dregs of society..." I heard "--you know, sir, they mean will, but they just don't know how." Or, there is some kind of general hopelessness, marasm, such manifestations draw youth because it wants something, some kind of change, and martial law was

an enormous shock. Also, a basic thread: "Everything that is taking place in the country is taking place as if it was beyond us, over our heads, while it is we who actually are going to be bearing the main costs of the crisis."

I refer to the statement already cited: "One must believe in someone."

Yes, that is necessary. Actually, this one sentence illustrates the huge dose of overpowering pessimism from which young people are running away, and to whose action they do not wish to submit while seeking the antidote everywhere they can. Do they find support at school? Old upbringing measures which boil down to declarations and commonplace slogans, that are divergent in practice, with an ostentatious theory, that unlearn independent thinking, and that function according to a pattern of: "you must be polite, industrious and honest" have been discredited. And now what?

Lessons on indoctrination which do not educate anybody are not needed in school now, nor is a seeming epidermal peace which is to cover the unrests and indecisions of the young with the cap of simulated unity. The greatest educational danger will be the renunciation of action, and pretense that nothing has taken place in the country for the past dozen or more months, that everything is lovely, and let's get on with the examination. The school needs wise, politically underpinned, honest discussion, conducted by wise instructors prepared for such discussion. I will add, instructors who have credibility in the eyes of their wards, and who do not change their views depending on whose are on top, oscillating their opinions from one side to the other. As a matter of fact, I am ashamed of writing truisms, but sometimes the mention of real truths has the value of a glass of spring water in the desert.

A negative frame of mind is also manifested on the part of some teachers, all the attainments of earlier years are questioned as if nothing positive had taken place in the country during those years. I believe that the tutors of young people must themselves take account of their consciences in order not to sever the threads of mutual communication with young people, because a young person who is left to himself, and angry at the whole world in his helpless rage, naively seeks the causes of the crises and is thus more susceptible to the manipulations of political enemies. Educational opportunism, keeping certain problems secret, and the avoidance of so-called difficult subjects leads to an escalation of tensions at a rapid rate, wilful contrary behavior, protests, psychic panic and to senseless, extremist and rebellious activities.

Fourth

Honestly speaking, I was frightened when I learned that the pupils of a well-known Warsaw high school were anticipating a serious political discussion. This means that no one even tried to have a serious discussion with them, however, I do not wish to draw any far-reaching conclusions as to why. And if someone uses another dripping-of-banality stereotype about the lost generation, I hasten to ask why is this generation losing itself. Because surely it is losing itself, if the only thing that it knows and that reaches it is what is handed to it in pills of truths, half-truths and falsehoods

such as those the oppositionists do not skimp. If in answer to a difficult question, a young person can get a ready, simple--or rather common answer, it is no wonder that he regards it as his own, as real and beyond discussion, especially because he does not find an alternative.

The diagnosis presented by the opposition operates consciously through exaggerations, simplifications and falsehoods, a simple balck-white draft that youth readily believes in, the more so because it wants to believe. Likewise, young people do not willingly subject that diagnosis to critical analysis. It would quickly show the shallowness and political cynicism of the authors of those values in pill form. On the other hand, young people do readily yield to emotions, and frequently to projecting their own dreams, romantic impulses, ambitions and inclinations and to that same self-fulfilling wishing, or so-called craving.

The delicate problem of forming characters and the contest over values cannot be handed over as an uncontested victory because an unwillingness to exercise efforts, or--let me finally state it clearly--lack of educator preparation and know-how, or rather educational failures.

'It is necessary to believe someone' a pupil says, and in his way he has a point, because he knows too little and no one prompts him with anything more so that he can form his own view, own criticism, and independence in expressing opinions. Educational goals will never be achieved if they will be only passing empty talk at indoctrinational lessons. Without honest discussion of political problems it is impossible for one to imagine a revival.

In summary then, we agreed, after the lesson, to be sure, that the rejection in the post-August current of everything that was anarchial, at odds with the nation's interests, and the promotion of the worker movement's stream of changes merits the designation of renewal and that no one wants the recidivism of pre-August conditions. We also agreed that street brawls are senseless and that they conflict with the goals expressed by their participants of the events, among others, the reactions of "Solidarity", because no one, and in any event, very few persons want a renewal of the disturbances, strikes called for any and all cause or without cause, extremist intolerance and anarchy. Also, that the ghrowing of rocks in the course of appeals by the Sejm for national unity is a denial of the great idea.

Only that for young people who want change there has to be a sympathetic, honest and reasonable assistance to enable them to find their own view, their place in a mature society, proper categories of social values and an understanding of the meaning of events. They need discussion, talk, and to discharge their anger and psychic frustrations.

I believe that we would then attain a state in which the young generation would come to their elders with the news that they do indeed, like socialism. That they know how to make it better and propose retirement for their elders.

And then it would be possible to begin quite a sensible conversation.

10433

CSO: 2600/659

POLISH SCOUT UNION COMMANDER INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 28-30 May 82 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Ornat, commander-in-chief, Polish Scout Union [ZNP], by Magda Rulska; date and place not given]

[Question] During your last congress, in March 1981, you devised, or rather, returned to such assumptions as a positivistic program, grassroots-level work and the troop as the center of interest. In spite of this, this year some scouts have refused you obedience. How do you sum up the past 14 months?

[Answer] The congress was one of the most important ones in the life of the organization and in the history of the Polish scout movement. The reason that it aroused so much controversy was that we tried to resolve many problems of crucial importance to the union, and we did resolve these problems. The period during which the congress was held was a period of change, a period of reckoning with the past. It was an attempt not only to analyze the mistakes that have been made within the organization but also to cast off faulty training methods in general. From this viewpoint it was certainly a historical Congress, and will be so judged objectively by history.

[Question] What were the concrete results of the congress for the union?

[Answer] We answered the questions--what is scout ideology and what is our upbringing ideal?--without losing sight of our progressive scouting tradition and attempting to link up the experience of the many currents of this movement.

We were explicit in noting our basic principles in a statute, i.e., the patriotic, ideological-upbringing and sociopolitical character of the organization.

At the same time we recognized that our union is to be open to all young people: it is to be secular, honoring the principle of voluntarism and being guided by tolerance.

[Question] Despite the tolerance and openness you speak of, there have been some clashes.

[Answer] Some instructors rejected our upbringing ideal. Meanwhile, we emphasized clearly that this is the socialist ideal emanating from and inspired by the social thought of socialism.

However, let us return once again to the program you have aptly called positivistic. It is truly a program that does not violate the independence of troops, but does point out to scouts how they are to act. An important achievement of the congress was that it created conditions for action, that is, it set up the very organization of the union. We approved the existence of program-methodological movements within the ZHP framework. We wanted these to be communities of instructors, creative individuals, who would consider how the scouting program and method could be enriched.

The congress was criticized, but I believe that as a result of it we have chosen the right path. We did not make a mistake; on the contrary, we have emerged from this difficult year in good shape, having made concrete achievements.

[Question] You say "we have emerged." Forty percent of your people left. Less than 70 percent of the senior scouts remain.

[Answer] Yes, this is true, if you look only at numbers, at statistics. However, it is superficial, sham way of looking at things. Those who left were a fiction. Those who stayed were the real scouts.

[Question] Before last December the Independent Scouting Movement [NRH] was active, the "Malkowski-ites" rejected some of the proposals of the congress and a stormy discussion broke out on the subject of the Scout Oath. I do not know, maybe I am exaggerating, but a split was in the air.

[Answer] The NRH was a minor issue. When less than 1,000 children and instructors break off from a union of 2 million, one cannot speak of a split. I would like very much to believe in the sincerity of intent of the young instructors who created the NRH, but I know full well that Solidarity was the patron of this movement, and that it was promoted by activists who had political ambitions and tried to create a series of adjuncts to this organization, that included the youth organizations. Today it has become clear that this movement arose and developed primarily in Lublin Voivodship, in the region where the first and only school strikes in the country erupted.

Regarding the Scout Oath and the ensuing discussion, this is a normal phenomenon during a time of synthesis. There will always be those whom the result of the discussion does not suit. On the other hand, it is important for us to be able to respect one another. We adopted a text that may be changed by the next congress. And we will certainly return to the issue of the oath at the next congress. Thus, while we entirely approve of discussion, we reject action taken as though what is merely being discussed were already a fait accompli. So far, there is one Scout Oath, accepted by delegates from all communities, and it is this oath that should be taken and accepted by instructors.

[Question] You said that the last congress will be tested by history. I think that this is true, but that it will take place on an ideological level. However, a concrete program has arisen. How is it materializing in troops and tribes?

[Answer] A year has passed. Let us add, a year that has not favored the implementation of the program. We have made a major shift in the manner in which the union operates. Meanwhile, changes in the mentality of instructors are being made somewhat more slowly. Until recently what troops were to do was written down for them from A to Z. Now we tell instructors to do things their own way, as long as what they do complies with our upbringing ideal. We offer them inspiration and methodological materials. This is why many troop leaders have left. Many troops, instead of being independent, are alone.

However, here I must call attention to a positive phenomenon that is occurring on a larger scale than formerly--real work, activity emanating from passion and desire. New scout communities are cropping up. While the number of troops is much smaller today, we have many more good troops. During last year's summer campaign, which was more modest than those of previous years, weak, formless camps were hard to find.

[Question] Until recently it was said that the real Scout movement was merely a return to scouting. It seemed that contact with nature and the glorification of the past are at the height of the dreams of the young people in traditional scout uniforms.

[Answer] If previous generations had also professed this, there would not have been a tradition in general. All of the great scouts were reformers who, beginning with Andrzej Malkowski, introduced something new. The ZHP today serves to animate the student cultural and academic movement, and whether those who are active in it are scouts is not important. The organization is open to all sorts of initiatives; it is in a position to assist those with ideas.

There are those boy and girl scouts who think that our specific character is comprised of working with the Pioneers, knowing topography and the traditional scouting skills and nothing more. Until recently it was popular to call for the creation of forest troops. Today we know that that suffices for only 1 season, 1 year. After that, the young person needs something more. He needs an intellectual adventure; he needs to be tested in various areas of specialization, to show his expertise.

[Question] Hence the extensive development of specializing troops today?

[Answer] Yes, and these are troops created by the young people themselves. It is a fact that among the specialized troops, sightseeing and defense troops which are associated with polytechnical skills, still predominate. However, a new trend is emerging. Today, young people are looking for answers to the questions that are plaguing them. They want to understand what is happening in the country, to discuss issues connected with society, politics and world views.

[Question] Proof of this is the participation of 250,000 students in this year's voluntary Olympiad of Knowledge of Poland and the Contemporary World.

[Answer] Yes. Students in vocational schools played a significant part in this competition. I emphasize this fact because these nonacademic types are really interested in sociopolitical issues.

The difficult Youth Philosophical Knowledge Competition was equally significant. We are the coorganizers of this competition, which is also a contest for those who are well read, ambitious and thinkers.

[Question] Is the stereotype of the scout dying?

[Answer] Yes, when it means a scout who is honest but naive, who worries about physical brawn but does not think very much, who is apolitical and therefore does not discuss what is happening around him. The course taken by the recent, Second National Senior Scout Jamboree showed that this is no longer the case. Young people discussed scout service, the advocacy of youth interests and democracy. The results of this discussion, which was reported in SZTANDAR MŁODYCH, attest to the great social commitment and political maturity of scouts, who are secondary school students.

The sense of civic responsibility, difficult national problems and the future of the homeland are the questions being discussed in troops and instructor's circles. Many instructors are participating in the civil labors of national rebirth committees.

At the last meeting of the Senior Scout Council, there was a lively discussion of events that took place in the early part of May. Not only were participants critical of the irresponsible behavior of students, but council members tried to determine the causes of such attitudes held among their contemporaries.

[Question] The date of the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee is approaching. It is to be dedicated to youth issues. What do you expect the results of this discussion to be?

[Answer] At the next meeting of the ZHP Supreme Council, to be held at the end of May, we want to answer this question for ourselves: How should the union seek to resolve the problems of school-age youth? We are now diagnosing the situation and the psychic condition of young people. We know that it is a difficult situation, caused by the difficult sociopolitical and economic conditions in Poland.

We know that the scouts can stand as an authority for school age youth to a greater extent than formerly. We want to gain young people for Poland, for socialism. We want to do this in a manner that is appropriate for the scout union, that is, through teamwork, by aiming toward the socialist ideal, which is also the scouting ideal and by demonstrating such concrete values as truth, equality and social justice.

We are awaiting our party's confidence in our method of gaining the youth for the homeland. We await this trust not only from the party central organization but mainly from the primary party organizations, which work daily in cooperation with scout groups. We are counting on the fact that the plenum will be attentive to our experiences. Scouting is 70 years old and it has always brought up good patriots, people of commitment and citizens who are aware.

[Question] Does the positive past history of scouting earn for it a credit balance of trust?

[Answer] We do not await a new program of premises with no real backing. On the other hand, we do expect that conditions will be created for liberating the social activism of young people, including scouts. Often these are still children, but they are also citizens who should know the prospects of our people's state. Our task, the task of scouting instructors, is not only to give them a vision of the future but also to create the motivation for the young people to join in to create this vision themselves out of a sense of conviction. This is how I understand the subjectivity of the generation and also the role we are to play.

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CSO: 2600/662

FURTHER INFORMATION, FIGURES ON ENTRANCE EXAMS GIVEN

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 May 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by rem: "Entrance Exams to Institutions of Higher Learning in July"]

[Text] A total of 54,500 places are available. There will be no more changes in decisions concerning enrollment and no more "school president's places." Student ID's for Veterans.

A total of 54,560 places have been made available, with probably less than 100,000 youths competing. Therefore, those who get good grades on their entrance exams will have every chance to be admitted.

Of course, the conditions will vary depending on the chosen field of study. As usual, some schools, especially the universities, will be besieged. Other schools, including technical schools, arrange for additional admissions in September.

Universities will admit 16,000 freshmen, pedagogical schools--5,800, business schools--3,700 technical schools--13,500, agricultural schools--6,500, medical schools--almost 5,400, physical education schools--1,800, art schools--over 1,200, and maritime schools--630 freshmen.

In comparison with last year, the number of admissions to technical and agricultural schools will decrease. It will increase, however, at universities and pedagogical schools. This is dictated by the need for an increase in the educational cadre.

This year the separation in educating future teachers and other students in the fields in which major subjects taught are also required for teaching in high schools will be abolished.

Another important piece of information for the youths is that there will be no more so called "school president's places" and "minister level places." Although 15 percent of places awarded in each school by the authorities are left to dispose of by the school's president and the school's enrollment commission, those places will be given to individual faculties and departments depending on the number of applications, results of exams, cadre needs in the field, and availability of both teaching cadre and space. If then, for example, only 120 persons pass the entrance exam to the pedagogical school and for only two of

them there will be no place, those two places will be added from the pool of 15 percent of places.

The entrance exams are waived for this year's winners of olympics in mathematics, physics, chemistry, technical knowledge, as well as in agricultural knowledge and farming skills who want to enroll in these specific departments.

The entrance exams are also waived for Polish People's Army veterans who completed extended basic service. According to the Main Political Board of the Polish Army, of 3,300 persons who qualified, almost 1,600 chose full-time studies.

This number includes those veterans who before completing basic army service passed an entrance exam but were not admitted due to the lack of place. They may be admitted to the same faculty and in the same school to which they had applied, if they received an honorable discharge from their unit.

Those youths who come from the country and want to enroll in an agricultural school will be admitted without any additional requirements except for passing entrance exams.

All others are bound by the same requirements as in previous years. It is certain, however, that those who get a high passing grade on the entrance exam will receive student ID's. The average grade for major subjects--4.25 (in previous years it was 4.1) guarantees admission to the chosen or related field of study.

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CSO: 2600/654

SURVEY ADDRESSES LEVEL OF INFORMATION BY REGIONS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1637, 16 May 82
pp 20-22

[Article by Milan Milosevic]

[Text] Is it true that frequently we do not know even the most elementary facts about one another? Has the collective consciousness about the whole Yugoslav entity given way to local particularism to a point that causes concern?

At times a single fact, like an X-ray, illuminates the social situation, the state of the spirit and of consciousness. Last week, a passing comment in the Belgrade Television Diary awakened a series of associations on the theme of how we are drifting apart in our ignorance of one another.

The Diary MC mentioned the results of a survey of public opinion at the Center for Political Research and Public Opinion of the Institute of Social Sciences in Belgrade. Only every fifth person (21 percent of those questioned) in Kosovo knew, for example, where "Sipad," the large Bosnia-Hercegovina collective, was located. Only 25 percent of Slovenes knew that "Obodin" was located in Cetinje, Montenegro, and only 17 percent of those questioned in Croatia could tell where the "Ibolic" manufacturing complex was located.

As the investigators themselves conclude, perhaps recognizing the large economic organizations that typify the economy of individual republics and provinces is not the most dependable indicator of the level of information possessed by the Yugoslav public on important social questions, for such recognition depends on many things, such as the nature of production, marketing, etc. Nevertheless, it is an indicator of some meaning.

Njegos, Gubec, Karadjordje

The collaborators at the Center for Political Research were studying just how well Yugoslavs are informed about important social questions. The sample included 2,500 people. Five categories of citizens between 18 and 65 years of age were question workers, farmers, unemployed, students and housewives. In every republic and province a suitable sample was selected. The testing lasted from 30 March to 20 May 1980, and it was performed by a team consisting of Dr Vladimir Goati, Dr Petar Klinar, Dr Vojislav Kostunica, Dr Zdenko Roter, Dr Slavko Splihal, Dr Niko Tos, Ranka Stanojevic-Rajkovic, Vera Markovic, Mirjana Vasovic and 60 surveyors.

The team tested what is really the most elementary level of knowledge of essential facts and data concerning self-management rights and international politics, but also other peoples and nationalities in the realms of economics, demography, history and culture. The questions aimed at, so to speak, the "symbolic" level.

For example, the participants in one question were asked to name a historical personality from the time before the National Liberation War from each republic and province. The answers from the Yugoslav sample concentrated on personalities through which are reflected the history of individual peoples or republics, for Bosnia and Hercegovina, it is Gavriilo Princić, for Montenegro, Njegos, for Croatia, (Matija) Gubec, for Kosovo, Tsar Lazar and Milos Obilic, for Macedonia, Goce Delcev, for Serbia, Karadjorje, for Vojvodina, Svetozar Miletic.

The researchers conclude that the "lack of information quotient" is relatively high, 55-60 percent. More than half those questioned knew nothing about historical personalities from Montenegro, Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia and Hercegovina. Fully three quarters of the Yugoslav sample were uninformed about historical personalities from Macedonia and Slovenia.

The lowest percentage of positive answers came when personalities from Vojvodina or Kosovo were cited. For example, only 4 percent of Slovenes knew anything about Vojvodina's historical personalities. On the other hand, the level of information about historical personalities from other regions of Yugoslavia is the lowest in Kosovo and Macedonia.

When they knew anything, they generally knew about their own people. The only surprise came among Montenegrins, who in larger percentages knew historical personalities from Serbia than did those questioned in Serbia itself. This situation was repeated with certain other questions. For example, Montenegrins had more knowledge of National Liberation War personalities from Serbia than the Serbs themselves, and the same conclusion can be made when the topic is modern personalities in culture and learning. The Montenegrins in general were the best informed about their own historical personalities, with the percentage of correct answers approaching 91 for "classical" figures, and as high as 96 percent when outstanding National Liberation War participants were involved. Knowledge of wartime figures in general was relatively high, but there again the respondents knew more about their own heroes than about others' heroes. The respondents in Kosovo again had the least knowledge about others.

The level of information was better in the Serbo-Croatian language area than where language barriers were encountered. Nevertheless, those questioned from Croatia had a less than average knowledge about personalities from Serbia, and the reverse. The same relationships are found between Serbia and Bosnia and Hercegovina, and between Slovenia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Serbia and Vojvodina.

Even lower levels of knowledge about personalities from Macedonia and Kosovo were found in Croatia and Slovenia.

Half of the Yugoslavs questioned knew the date when the Serbian uprising began, but they knew less about other (uprisings). The least correct answers came about events in Slovenia and Macedonia during the National Liberation War.

Among Montenegrins, 91 percent knew the date of the uprising in their republic, but only 38 percent knew the corresponding date in Kosovo. A somewhat lower percentage of correct answers was obtained in Slovenia (49 percent) and Macedonia (52 percent). [Translator's note: There is an apparent error in the above text regarding percentages.]

Large levels of ignorance about Yugoslav personalities in learning and culture were recorded in Kosovo (88 percent), Macedonia (73 percent) and Slovenia (60 percent).

Vuk, Presern, Zmaj

In the answers of those questioned the most frequent names were Andric (Bosnia and Hercegovina), Njegos (Montenegro), Krleza (Croatia), Mekuli (Kosovo), Racin (Macedonia), Presern and Cankar (Slovenia), Desanka Maksimovic and Vuk Karadzic (Serbia), and Zmaj (Vojvodina). As you see these are mostly literary figures, and the respondents showed that they were minimally, even indifferently informed about figures in other categories. As the researchers say, they also mentioned a sculptor and several scholars in Croatia (they don't say whom), and stage artists from Bosnia and Hercegovina, Kosovo, Serbia and Macedonia. It may sound ironic, but the political implications of that indication should not be ignored: it appears that the stage, which operates according to market laws, crosses cultural boundaries more readily than "high culture."

The conclusion about the poor level of information among Yugoslavs is strengthened by the fact that the "level of lack of information" in individual republics and provinces climbs in some instances to as high as 89 percent. That must sound like a warning, when we keep in mind that Kosovo is often at the bottom of those curves of mutual knowledge. All of us have difficulty in crossing language barriers and cultural borders. Kosovo "doesn't know" just a little more than the other regions fail to know about Kosovo.

A somewhat more favorable impression comes from the responses of the younger population, which indicates that the schools at least are carrying out some integrative function.

Dr Peter Klinar, a professor at the Department of Political Science in Ljubljana, who processed this culturological segment of the study, points out the necessity to expand the amount of mutual information "at the popular level," but he stresses that it is necessary to transmit deeper information about national histories and contemporary events. He particularly points out the need for informed syntheses about the cultural and political perspectives of numerically smaller peoples. That level of information is weak in all areas, but there is a characteristically poor degree of information between the Slovenes, Macedonians and the people of Kosovo. He remarks that variously developed national consciousness affected the level of informed knowledge, and pointed to examples such as those above to show that according to some data, the best informed citizens regarding their fellow Yugoslav nationalities are in Montenegro, where they know the most facts about other republics and provinces. With some other questions, a somewhat higher degree of public information is found between Slovenia and Croatia.

As an explanation of what happened, but also as a warning, we would cite the fact that the lowest level of international informed knowledge was found in Kosovo.

Dr Petar Klinar noted that the information possessed by people with the least education is critically low.

In its basic message, and also in details, this study has truly turned on the red light to point out the need for more effectively informing people in all Yugoslav republics and provinces, both at a popular level and at a deeper, more serious one. This need is also seen at the economic and culturological levels. The results of this study suggest the conclusion that we are not developing sufficient awareness in all parts of our community, as if our lamp was lighting only narrow circles that do not cross republic borders.

Perhaps this dramatic differentiation is seen better in the segment that studies the level of information about socioeconomic questions. Niko Tos from the Department of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism in Ljubljana concludes, having processed this part of the study, that a large number of those questioned were not informed about the national income by republics and provinces. The question asked precisely whether the national income in the indicated republics and provinces was smaller or larger than the Yugoslav average.

The easiest determination came when Slovenia and Kosovo were in question. Serbia proper caused the most difficulty. Fully 54 percent failed to answer this question, and among those who did there were many who answered that they didn't know, and others who were wrong. In Serbia and Vojvodina there was a high degree of ignorance about the position of the respondents' own republic or province.

Among Slovenes consciousness of their own economic development is well developed, and Montenegrins similarly know of their own backwardness, but for example only a third of those questioned in Croatia gave a correct response about the Croatian national income. In the total sample, only 53 percent of the respondents correctly indicated that Croatia was a republic with a relatively high national product.

In this omnibus study there was no opportunity for more fundamental research about what people regard as the causes for varying economic development, even though such information could be important to assess the political mood. For that reason, in commenting on the study Niko Tos recalled an earlier study of Yugoslav public opinion by the Center for the Study of Public Opinion of the Institute of Social Sciences in Belgrade and the Department of Sociology, Political Sciences and Journalism in Ljubljana, conducted in 1971.

The question was "What is the basis for Slovenia's higher standard?" The answers given had the following frequency: more efficient work and better organization, 32 percent more industrious people, 25 percent, more modern machinery, 23.8 percent, exploitation of others, 1.5 percent.

The answers obviously revealed something of the collective consciousness, but also of collective delusions. The respondents from Croatia indicated the most important factor to be the organization of labor, while those from Bosnia

and Hercegovina, Macedonia and Vojvodina asserted that the Slovenian standard had leaped forward because they had more modern technology. At that time the Slovenes in fact had older technology than the Yugoslav average.

Nikos Tos also recalled a study of Slovenian public opinion by the Ljubljana department in 1980 using adult citizens of Slovenia as the sample. About 43 percent of those questioned considered that the insufficiently developed republics and provinces should take care of themselves, with the entire Yugoslav community helping them. About 41 percent of the respondents regarded the undeveloped regions to be primarily the concern of the developed republics, while only 3.8 percent circled the answer "let them worry about their own development alone."

Such attitudes suggest that at the time of the poll, there was a high degree of solidarity on this strategically important point. The imperative for the survival of our community certainly calls for nurturing such joint consciousness in those "soaring" spheres where joint consciousness is formed. It is formed in such a way that the values, personalities and history of others are assimilated as our own.

Level of Informed Opinion and Self-Management

A crucial part of the picture on the level of informed public opinion in Yugoslavia concerning important social questions is certainly contained in the segment about information on self-management rights. The respondents declared that they were better informed about self-management decision-making in labor organizations than in local (governmental) organizations, and knew basic organizations better than complex organizations of associated labor, according to the conclusions of Dr Vojislav Kostunica of the Institute of Social Sciences in Belgrade.

In such questionnaires, individuals try to put themselves in the best light, to show that they are better informed than in fact they are. Thus, for example, the number who considered themselves to be completely informed about self-management decisions ranged from 80 percent in Slovenia to 46 percent in Montenegro and Macedonia.

Verification questions dealt with knowledge of basic principles of the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, and touched upon practical matters, such as the introduction of self-contributions, decisions on distribution of net profit, protection of self-management rights, determination of labor contributions, minimum wages, etc. There were 11 such questions. Only one of them received 60 percent correct answers, while 2 had 50 percent, 5, 40 percent, and 3, 25 percent. In sum, there were 40 percent incorrect answers, 41 percent correct and 19 percent no answers, presenting a less satisfactory picture. The best results were in Slovenia, where on 5 of the 11 questions the highest number of correct answers was received. The poorest results were received in Montenegro and Macedonia.

A step better level of information was noted concerning government: about 38 percent of those questioned stated that they were informed about decisions of

the opstina assemblies right after those decisions were approved, while 29 percent said they were not at all informed and only 16 percent considered that they received information in good time.

The largest number of respondents, about 34 percent, considered that the best way for them to get information about these decisions is through meetings, while half as many expected information from the press, and a minimum number got it from television and local organs.

To the surveyors' question as to whether they attended local community meetings, 40 percent answered that they did not. On a question as to why, the great majority said they could not because of work and personal obligations; there were also other, pessimistic answers of the type "I cannot change anything" or "they will not carry out our decisions."

Many questions are provoked by these statistical questionnaire indications. The investigator can count them himself. Were not at some points the expectations for involvement and the notion of "homo politicus" inadequate for the development of consciousness, material position and complexity of the society?

We should hope that the interests of people and the self-management energy that come from them would open channels for information. On the levels where the degree of informed public opinion is a tool for the ideology of mutuality, there is obviously a need for more collective responsibility and collective consciousness.

As Ranka Stanojevic-Rajkovic, a worker at the Institute of Social Sciences in Belgrade, concludes, world events are a matter of interest for 87 percent of the adult Yugoslav population. About 45 percent of those questioned said that they were very interested in political events in the world, while only 10 percent showed no interest at all in those occurrences.

For historical reasons and frequently as a matter of fate, we obviously belong to those peoples whose interests are open toward the world. In the same way, fateful reasons exist for much greater interest in the peoples with whom we live in the same community. We know that, but apparently we do not show it.

The best way to become closer friends is to learn to know each other better, in the words of an Italian proverb. Its message obviously deserves more contemplation in our Yugoslav lands.

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