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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2045

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20 August 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT
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KAPITONOV STRESSES ROLE OF BASIC ORGANIZATIONS AT PRAGUE MEETING

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 7, Jul 82 pp 39-44

[Speech by I. V. Kapitonov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the Prague meeting of Central Committee secretaries: "The Party Basic Organization Is the Political Nucleus of the Collective"]

[Text] The CPSU now has almost 18 million members in 420,000 basic organizations. In the past 15 years the number of basic organizations has increased by more than 80,000. Their number is increasing especially swiftly in the leading producing branches, in scientific and planning organizations and in crucial areas for the development of the socialist economy. The network of party organizations has spread recently in areas where large-scale regional producing complexes have come into being.

I.

The resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress form the basis for the entire activity of our party and, naturally, of the basic organizations. The November (1981) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which debated the 11th Five-Year Plan, was a direct continuation of the work of the congress.

The manifold nature of the economic, political and social life of the country is reflected in the activity of the party basic organizations, determining the broad scale of those questions with which they deal. Realization of the uniform party line always constitutes the backbone of their work amidst the concrete relationships of the various working collectives; this is still their chief task today.

Guidance of the economy is the central task of the entire activity of the party in a socialist society. The chief efforts of the CPSU are directed at ensuring, in the interest of increasing the prosperity of the people, the conversion of the socialist economy to the path of intensive development, achieving an upswing in the efficiency and quality of production.

The basic forces of our party are concentrated in the sphere of material production. There are 175,000 basic party organizations in this sphere; more than 49,000 of these worker in industry, 31,300 work in the construction industry, 23,000 in transportation and almost 48,000 in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. These are the largest party organizations, the chief supports

of party work, uniting three-quarters of the working communists. This is a gigantic force, every effort of which is directed at increasing the influence of the party on economic life as a whole.

The party organizations are participating ever more steadfastly and with ever greater understanding in the solution of basic questions connected with the development of production. Their initiatives are especially clear and widespread in organizing socialist competition into a true mass movement. New initiatives are constantly being born in the basic party organizations, in the working collectives, patriotic initiatives which are aimed at successful fulfillment of the tasks of the annual plans and of the entire Five-year plan. The most valuable of these find approval and support in the Central Committee and the local party organs.

In the present phase of our development, the requirement in first place is that "the economy must be profitable." This means that we should use the gigantic material potential of the country economically. Technical progress, investment policy, planning and the improvement of the economic mechanism are directed to this end. This activity opens a broad field for the basic party organizations in connection with these tasks.

The industrial party organizations are increasingly putting the basic questions of the development of the enterprises in the foreground. They are working out and realizing complex plans for the socioeconomic development of the collectives. A new motif is the solution of problems connected with increasing the productivity of work, with improving the quality of products and with economy measures. This approach prescribes the realization in a uniform spirit of the necessary organizational, technical and mass political measures in every section and shop and in the entire enterprise. The cooperation of production and science is becoming ever closer.

The Central Committee and the local party organs support themselves solidly on the basic organizations in the realization of the agricultural policy of the party, in solving the food question which is a central question of the present Five-year plan. In this area, naturally, the key role falls to the party organizations of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses. In the course of the struggle being waged for an upswing in agricultural production, they are strengthening their influence in the areas of management, of educating people and of the social processes taking place in the villages.

The party organizations are mobilizing the collectives to make efficient use of the land, of technology, of artificial fertilizer and of the other material resources, to use more effectively those large sums which are being invested in agriculture. The kolkhozes and sovkhoses passed a severe test this winter in animal husbandry. The role of the party organizations in organizing and educating the collectives showed itself especially here. Thousands of communists went to the animal husbandry sites and gave an example of self-sacrificing work.

Naturally, realizing the agricultural policy is not a matter for the village party organizations alone. This is a cause for the entire party, the entire people. We are trying in every way to increase the responsibility of the

party branch organizations connected with agriculture, trying to unite their efforts with the positive aspirations of the kolkhoz and sovkhos workers.

The great possibilities of the party organizations are appearing in the course of the work being done for the carrying out of the great tasks, possibilities which do not require supplementary expenditures but rather only satisfactory organizational-political work.

If the basic party organizations are to help satisfactorily in the realization of our tasks and plans, if they are to exercise suitable influence on the life and affairs of the working collectives, they must consistently realize their right to supervise administrative activity. The organizational statutes of our party start from the idea that supervision is an important political and organizing function of the basic organizations which is interdependent with the leading role of the party in society. The sense and purpose of such supervision lies in the fact that it should increase the responsibility of the economic leaders for the matters entrusted to them without violating the principle of one-person leadership, without intervening in operational functions and without taking the place of the economic leaders; it should discover and eliminate deficiencies, preserving the interests of the entire party and the entire state in all things at all times.

II.

The basic organizations must strive to weld the party's policy with the living, creative activity of the masses. They have an obligation to cultivate a healthy atmosphere in the collectives, to aid the development of the work and social activity of people with their organizing and educating activity. They should unite people closely together on the basis of their profound ideals, on the basis of comradeship, mutual aid and an awareness of responsibility for the common cause.

As for the quantitative side, the number of party members in the working collectives is not large, relatively, for us. At the national level, communists make up about 11 percent of the workers. But the strength and influence of this nucleus is determined not merely by the number of communists but rather and primarily by their organizational and ideological-political unity, their ability to influence the masses politically. The party organizations support themselves solidly on the trade unions, on the organizations of the Komsomol, on the popular control groups and on other social organizations; they guide and coordinate their activity and develop the initiative and activity of the workers through them.

Work done among the masses presumes before all else that we care concretely for the needs and requirements of people. For this reason, the Central Committee has directed the basic party organizations to deal responsibly with working, living and recreational conditions, to make very sure that the sums available for social purposes are used according to the plans and within the established time limits.

Close attention is paid to the activity of basic party organizations active in commercial and public eating enterprises and in the welfare sphere.

Increasing the cultured nature of public services is a politically very important task. Recently the party organizations have been reacting more sharply to inattentive behavior in regard to the everyday needs and desires of the workers; they are criticizing in a more principled way manifestations of bureaucratism, insensitiveness and haughtiness. The party and state guiding organs and the mass media are supporting this effort.

The influence of the party organizations in the working collectives is stronger to the extent that they ensure the unity of ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organizational and economic work. The ideological work done in the working collectives should be imbued with idealism, in close contact with life.

In the course of work done among the masses, we start from the principle that one must speak openly and honestly about both successes and errors. Comrade Brezhnev emphasizes: "It is very important that propaganda not avoid problems, not be afraid of the so-called difficult questions. The policy of our party is clear. And we are ready to answer any question which arises in Soviet men. We must undertake this more courageously, remembering that if we do not talk about these things, then the enemies of our country will try to use them to slander socialism."

The party takes into consideration that the ideological confrontation has sharpened in the international arena under present conditions, the activity of the propaganda tools of the class enemy has increased, they have strengthened their attempts to have a disintegrating effect on the Soviet people. In this connection, we are devoting unflagging attention to the questions of propaganda, we are trying to conduct it effectively and in an offensive way, firmly beating back every ideological diversion, unmaking the hostile fabrications with arguments. The party organizations are educating the workers in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, the friendship of peoples and socialist, proletarian internationalism, implacably opposing bourgeois ideology and every manifestation of nationalism and chauvinism.

III.

The striking power of the party organizations depends directly on the level of work within the party, on relationships within the party. A substantive, sparkling life is characteristic of the majority of the organizations of the CPSU. Their activity is built on the principle of democratic centralism and consistent adherence to Leninist norms. The improvement of work takes place in two main directions, inseparable from one another: One is the ever greater unfolding of democracy within the party, the other is strengthening party discipline, increasing the feeling of responsibility of every communist for his own basic organization and for the entire party. Without touching on every aspect of this great problem sphere, I would like to stress what is most essential.

Before all else, the important role of the party member meetings. Experience shows that the work of the party organizations cannot be truly effective if party member meetings are held irregularly, if party members come to the meetings only to sit through the required hours and listen to previously

designated speakers. Those speaking at the 26th CPSU Congress clearly pointed out that the party member meeting--just like any party committee plenum--is the place where one must debate, seriously and profoundly, every question which goes to the essence.

We consider it one of the key questions of intraparty tasks to increase the vanguard role of the communists, to develop their activity in production and social life. In the final analysis, this also influences to a great degree the influence of the party organizations on the masses, the situation and mood reigning in the working collectives. The CPSU Central Committee has required that action be taken, more severely and more unambiguously, against those who violate party and state discipline, whose behavior is a blot on the name of communist. In the past year, the party organizations in the CPSU have expelled a total of 70,000 people from their ranks. We regard this as a healthy process of purging and strengthening the party.

The basic party organizations exercise a crucial influence on the development of the composition of the CPSU. Selecting replacements for the party is a function of the basic organizations set down in the organizational statutes. We are trying in every way to increase the responsibility of the party organizations for this important cause, for the political tempering of young communists, for bringing them into active party work.

The vanguard representatives of the worker class constitute the chief source for party member replacements. Almost 60 percent of the new members of the CPSU come from among them. We have followed this line unalterably for years. As a result, workers now account for 43.7 percent in the social composition of the party, 56.3 percent together with the kolkhoz members.

I would like to speak separately about the elected leaderships. This is the crucial organizing force in the basic party organizations, setting the tone in work and in the realization of the Leninist principle of collective leadership. A total of 4,56 million people have been elected party officials, the most respected and the most influential.

IV.

As you know, the process of improving the economic guidance system and the entire economic mechanism has been progressing consistently for us in recent years. The ratio of producer and scientific-producer associations in industry increases year by year. They provide almost half of all the industrial products coming to realization.

This circumstance has raised a whole series of questions regarding the organization of party work. The Central Committee studied the work of the party organizations of the Gorkiy auto factory done under the conditions of producer association and propagated the appropriate initiatives. A national conference was held on the same question. The CPSU Central Committee, generalizing the experiences gathered, passed a resolution in 1977 with the title "Concerning Several Questions of the Organizational Structure and Forms

of work of Party Organizations Under the Conditions of the Producer Associations Created in Industry."

In the initial period, the greatest difficulty was caused by coordination of the activity of the party organizations. The collective experience helped to find the efficient organizational form. This form was embodied in the conferences of secretaries of basic party organizations.

In connection with the development of specialization and cooperation in agricultural production and the creation of agroindustrial and other village associations, they began to form secretaries' conferences in rural areas also--similar to those in industry. The secretaries' conference deals actively with propagation of vanguard experiences, the organization of industrial technology and technical supply to the farms, the training and retraining of experts and skilled workers and political questions connected with socialist competition. All this has a positive effect on the economic activity of the association.

The secretaries' conferences, as a form of party work, can also be used in those cases where the activity of the party organizations of enterprises belonging to different branches must be coordinated.

Concerning the improvement of the structure of party organizations, it can be said that this is a task of a permanent character. It is important that this work correspond in full measure with the concrete conditions of the working collectives. Naturally one cannot tolerate unjustified reorganizations. There have been cases where the basic party organizations of parent enterprises and institutions have been united mechanically in the area of a large city or district. This changed the status of the basic organizations, turned them into shop organizations, limited their rights, broke their contacts with the district and city party committees and, in the final analysis, weakened their work.

We faced similar problems with the party organizations of ministries and chief authorities. It turned out that here, in violation of the organizational statutes of the CPSU, the party committees often registered communists who were working in enterprises, organizations or institutions under the chief authority but which had been granted economic independence. In essence, they were artificially attaching a number of party organizations to themselves. This distracted attention and strength from the most important tasks and hindered effective influence on the activity of the apparatus. The CPSU Central Committee and the local party organs have devoted increased attention to structural questions and have drafted measures to eliminate the deficiencies.

V.

The basic organizations stand constantly in the center of the care and attention of the party organs. This helps them to perform and effectively organize work in the general political milieu, to understand those tasks which are being solved at the center and in the localities.

The city and district party committees, which stand closest to them, have the primary role in guiding the basic organizations. Recently the city and district party committees have been given new strength, their cadres have been strengthened, their influence and respect have increased. They support themselves solidly on the basis organizations, offering them manysided aid. The leading workers of the party committees are trying to seek out the party organizations ever more frequently, meeting with the communists and holding briefings for them.

Today, in general, we have cultured, well-prepared communists, willing to take initiative, at the head of the basic organizations. Most of them by far are worthy of their trust, work conscientiously and have respect in the collectives. Almost two-thirds of the party secretaries have higher education or have attended higher education. In recent years the personnel here have tangibly stabilized. About 25 percent of the secretaries are replaced in each reporting or election period, not 60 percent as before.

The education of the secretaries of basic organizations is conducted regularly, in a planned way for us. The city and district party committees hold seminars for them concerning timely questions of party work and to exchange experiences and they hold theoretical and scientific-practical conferences about the problems of party building. Many party secretaries study in the evening universities of Marxism-Leninism.

To sum up, it can be said that in our party life is sparkling, true collectivism has been solidly adopted, there is an atmosphere of demandingness and principle, following with determination the line of a manysided development of democratic principles. All this has a positive effect on the work of every link of the party and on the deeds and mood of men.

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BULGARIA

DEBATE ON UNSATISFACTORY STATE OF HEALTH SERVICES CONTINUES

Medical Cadre Salaries

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 9 Jul 82 pp 2, 7

[Article by Dr Genko Genkov, head of Health Center No 24, Inzhstroy DSO [State Economic Trust], First Consolidated Workers Hospital, For related material please see JPRS 81212 of 6 July 1982, No 2028 of this series.]

[Text] I am very pleased that your weekly has raised the important and topical problem of our health care's future in all its aspects -- material facilities, nature of medical services, and medical cadres and their salaries. Until now all of these problems were considered taboo for all of us. How did the prestige of healers decline? In the 1950s, senior health care comrades claimed that we are "nonproduction cadres," an opinion hard to eradicate to this day. In the 1970s other high-level comrades in the public health service claimed that a patient who lodges a complaint against a physician is always right. Now, thanks to the proper course charted at the 12th BCP Congress regarding health care and its problems, we can conduct a calm debate and pour our hearts out.

I have been a physician since 1952, and have practiced in the area of workers health care at the First Consolidated Workers Hospital since 1955. I have headed the health center as a shop physician (except for 1966, when I was assigned to the Ministry of Public Health as chief specialist in workers health care). I have witnessed a variety of trends and currents which have been "for" and "against" workers health care.

Medicine is not a craft or production skill, but an art. For thousands of years it has been known as "ars medica." A physician may examine only two or three patients on a given day, and thanks to his experience, ability and skill mastered through training and practical experience, save the life of a patient. Another physician may diagnose up to 35 subjective and objective conditions and, being more efficient, will be paid more.

In my view, the salaries of medical cadres must be taken out of the new economic mechanism. There are young people who know a great deal and older ones who have become senile. Let therefore, the patients choose their own physician whom they trust and let him be paid according to the rates. This is not a return to private practice, which I oppose. Such payments could be made through the hospital or the polyclinic.

Medical cadres are miserably paid. The standard salary of 155 leva earned by anyone with a higher education is not fair. I have in my unit technical managers with secondary school training who earn 250 leva monthly plus bonuses. Our enterprise's janitors received a 400 leva annual bonus. Why not award enterprise bonuses to the medical cadres as well? Does the physician or the nurse not contribute to higher output? Speaking at a meeting held in our hospital, the chief physician said that a way must be found to pay Yusuf the cook a base salary of 195 leva if we wanted to keep him. Why is it that we, the physicians, do not leave if we do not like our salary? Nowhere else in the world does such an anomaly exist -- garbage collectors to earn more than physicians. I am in touch with Czech colleagues (I took my medical training in Czechoslovakia and have worked there), who find it strange that in our country patients are forbidden to pay medical cadres, something which is legal in Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries and which does not make their health care system any worse than ours. Physicians' salaries in the other socialist countries are comparatively higher.

This is the origin of the question of "tips" offered by some patients. A well-paid person has pride. A poorly paid physician finds it difficult to refuse a fee in cash or in kind. The question is not that he should refuse, for this is the rule and nothing but a rule. The letter by our colleague Dr Ivon Kozhukharova in your newspaper, issue No 26 of 25 June 1982, is entirely accurate. She has poured her heart out. To a greater or lesser extent her fate is the same as that of all physicians in the system.

How to accept the fact that specialization entitles a physician to no more than an additional 15 leva monthly? All of us know what it takes to become a specialist: Long practical experience, one year internship in a specialized institution, more studies and finally, examinations, which today are as hard as those of the entire 6-year medical training course. Look at the latest issues of ZDRAVEN FRONT and notice the large number of openings for specialists in Sofia. What will happen 5-6 years from now, when physicians of my generation retire? Very few physicians have specialized in recent years, particularly in difficult fields (surgery, internal diseases, pediatrics). The number of even more specialized (II) physicians is even smaller. There are no incentives for the specialists, and few among us are willing to poison our lives with studies for the sake of 15 leva per month.

What about medical books and periodicals? The question was properly raised on how to organize one's budget so that there is some money left for periodicals. Not all hospitals have proper libraries. Every since I have worked in our hospital it has had neither a library nor periodicals. How can we see current medical publications? What about foreign publications? That is why the health care indicators in our country are lower than those in other advanced countries. Those who read and learn more also know more.

Comrade Pavel Vezhinov is right (in the interview he gave to Dr Fani Tsurakova in ORBITA, No 23). He is very sincere and far-sighted in his thoughts and reflections.

Another complex problem is that of the personal or "family" physician. It is proper for people to want to choose their physician. They can choose their

hairdresser, tailor or mechanic but not their physician. How to solve this problem? In a village one has no choice, for there is only one physician. In the city however, at the beginning of the year one could express a preference for a physician within the polyclinic or hospital which services him and, after being officially assigned to him, would seek medical assistance (house calls or family examinations) paid for according to the legal rate, through the health establishment. I believe that this is similar to the now lost concept of a family doctor, which is regretted by many citizens.

We average one physician per 400 people. However, how many physicians actually practice? How many are directly involved in health care? We have many administrators, chiefs and inspectors but many villages without a physician. That is why we lag behind Switzerland. Furthermore, these chiefs do not assume their positions after 20 years of practice but right after graduation. They have neither the necessary experience nor a concept of what health care is all about. There are requests for information, forms must be filled by the physicians on the slightest pretext, and transcripts of hospital entry records are demanded (numbering in the hundreds of pages, at 12 minutes copy time per page). A great deal of such unnecessary information is used by some colleagues holding important positions to write their papers. However, to the best of my knowledge, the Committee for the Unified System and Special Information alone has the right to demand and introduce accountability and report forms. That is how the physician's time is wasted.

There is much talk about reducing paper work but nothing is being done. In 1969 there were 95 different accountability and report forms. Today, in 1982, there are 325. Still on the subject reducing paper work: Is it not sufficient to enter a diagnosis, such as "acute tonsilopharyngitis" in the individual outpatient (or any other) card instead of also describe the patient's subjective and objective condition and even negative findings in order to prove that we have examined other systems and organs? Or else, why should a special form have to be filled, showing that I told the patient to come next Thursday? Is it not sufficient that I have told him to do so, instead of having to put it down so that someone may check on it? We do not trust one-another, and the less we do the more forms we introduce, the more we write and the less we treat. There are notebooks, log books, forms, reports, plans, informations, requests, all sorts of tables, as a result of which we hurry through the examination in about 3 seconds and start describing it, writing and expressing it in letters and figures....but why? So that one may be believed and be checked, for now the truth resides in the notebook and not in the treatment.

That is how the medical worker is devalued. We do this to ourselves. The physician must deal with a number of secondary problems.

We do not have a sufficient number of secondary medical personnel to relieve the physician from paper work. I have one nurse but work for three. Therefore, I have to waste my time in doing less skilled work. The phenomenon is ubiquitous. Three years ago I visited a factory physician in the GDR. My colleague had seven nurses (or other secondary medical personnel), one of whom did nothing but extract and fill physiotherapy cards. I was envious of my German colleague who enjoyed the great respect of his patients!

I hope that, although hastily, I have been able to outline some thoughts which, I can assure you, are shared by many of my colleagues. I believe that you are helping to resolve one of our health care problems, and I hope that such is indeed the case. Your initiative is praiseworthy.

Grateful to Physicians

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 9 Jul 82 pp 2, 7

[Letter by Ana Deyanova Makedonska, senior German-language teacher]

[Text] I value and respect the medical profession. I love physicians, those people who have sworn an oath to care for the most precious possession of man -- his health.

I liked very much the article by Dr Ivon Kozhukharova. It was truthful and bold and a good reflection of reality. This dear physician did not dare to accept the three fresh eggs offered by a thankful granny. When I needed an electrician he came, took 15 minutes to install a socket, asked for 3.50 leva and wrote a receipt for 2.50 (the only worker ever to give me a receipt). What all the articles reveal is that a great disparity exists between salaries for mental and manual work. A friend of mine, a pediatrician, is considered one of the best in her field. She is now retired with a pension of 110 leva. Her rent is 50 leva. She is a healthy woman of 60 and could help many sick children but does not dare to do so, for it is forbidden. How can she subsist on 60 leva, what to buy first? She is a woman of culture but cannot afford the luxury of buying herself a book or going to a concert or a movie. She does not visit others, for she is unable to reciprocate.

I remember that 14 years ago Dr Ilarion Mikhaylovski, the gynecologist, an excellent physician and a lovely person, operated on my best friend. The anesthetist was an acquaintance of mine and a friend of the patient. The surgery was very difficult. After the surgery the anesthetist told me that "Dr Mikhaylovski performed a true act of heroism. Throughout the surgery, which lasted 4 hours, he was in control of the entire team. He was sweating profusely, and he earned the admiration of us all." Dr Mikhaylovski was assigned to a developing country for the sake of friendship among the nations, to train medical cadres and help the population. He fell seriously ill and died soon afterwards, but the woman on whom he operated enjoys good health and the pleasures of life. Such physicians, and there are many of them, deserve our praise and sincere gratitude!

In my view, the Ruse physicians, who hold such responsible positions and are probably worthy members of their profession, are refuting very softly and delicately some of the arguments brought forth by the author of "The Unswallowed Medicine." Let us express "warm thanks and say a warm and good word" on behalf of those who are tirelessly fighting for our health and life!

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CSO: 2200/126

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CATHOLIC JOURNAL PUBLISHES CRITIQUE OF PACIFISM

East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German Vol 22 No 5, May 82 pp 4-6

[Article by Lutz Schmidtchen and Hubertus Guske, chief editor, BEGEGNUNG:
"Pacifism: A Path to Peace?--Attempt at an Answer"]

[Text] "Your weapons are not to be used for attack but, always and everywhere, exclusively for defense, a defense which, God willing, should never make the use of weapons necessary but seeks solely and exclusively the strengthening of justice and peace."
(Pope Paul VI, 23 November 1975)

At all times wars have imposed immeasurable suffering on the peoples, and always people are looking for ways to escape such destruction. Not surprising then that the Christian Church, which adopted the peoples' old yearning for peace in a special way, has always been confronted with various ways for overcoming violence and thus also always had to come to grips with pacifist ideas. Sometimes today the Church is being reproached, precipitously and impassioned, also perhaps with a bit of self-serving, it had corrupted itself by its compact with power and turned away from its original tradition of non-violence. That reproach, however, is groundless.

When early church theologians advocated absolute non-violence, that reflected, along with a still alive expectation of a second coming soon, the experience of evident injustice by a Pax Romana, shored up by saber rattling, which in truth only brought slavery and despotism to oppressed peoples and even chased Christians like beasts. But it also contained much resigned acceptance of an imperium felt to be all too omnipotent, in the exercise of power of which Christians did not share anyway and which, on the other hand, had to make any kind of rebellion appear hopeless.

Another evaluation of the military was shown where Christianity embraced Roman citizens and soldiers, even if the loyalty to the commonwealth was disturbed by the fact that it was precisely the army which celebrated the imperial cult most prominently. But even long before the state-church had been formed, in Constantine's legions, Christians also gained victories. Subsequently there was only a tiny minority left that would advocate the idea of strict non-violence, where radical pacifism not only negated military force but, consistently, any form in the exercise of power by the state.

Only such a historic reminiscence can explain why there has never been a serious dialogue between pacifistic groups and the church in its exercise of power. More decisive, if less conspicuous, however, is the clash between opposing philosophic-moral standpoints in this matter. To pacifism, individual motivation and the personal stance are what matters almost exclusively. Thereby one expected either a change of history through the impact of the personal example, or any influence by man on history is denied, wherefore one turns away from the world so as to devote oneself to one's own beatification.

In contrast, the church, even though its arguments and clarity are not always the same, in principle rejects such individualistically foreshortened models and proceeds from a realistic view on history and on the social dimension of human action. And that also is the reason why it does not deny the states the right to morally just defense, one which protects life and freedom, however much it is seeking after peace.

The doctrine of the just war which was developed by medieval theologians must, from the historic vantage point, be understood primarily as an attempt to confine the boundless despotism in feudal power struggles at that time, committing them to the goal of a just peace. Originally then this doctrine was not meant to be a justification of war. Later interpretations of that doctrine, which undermined its actual character more and more--all the way to the mad idea of our days that would wish to justify nuclear war against socialism as a "just war"--express specific social conditions relying on the exploitation and domination of men. Such interpretations show that it is impossible to set down general doctrines that could be realized equally in different situations without any political analysis.

Peace is God's promise and a mission for men. As we pray in the "Confiteor," sin lies not only in doing evil but, first and foremost, in having failed to do good. That is why we have to ask ourselves time and time again how we are facing this mission to protect and build peace. This cannot come down to a moralizing evaluation of principles, let alone to decisions of conscience, but it comes to giving a political answer to the question whether pacificism can be a way today to make peace real. And here, there are three fundamental points then which a critique might attack.

Three Objections Against Pacifism

1. "A peace without weapons remains vulnerable to dangers; its weakness especially incites attack." One need not be a historian to substantiate this elemental truth which Pope Paul VI so formulated in 1978 with a great many examples. The colonial history of the last hundred years alone offers a terribly vivid picture of the extent to which imperialism ruthlessly used its military superiority worldwide to despoil whole continents and destroy thereby the peoples' national and cultural identity. The intention expressed by the Reagan administration in connection with setting up the RDF, to deploy military power still today to enforce selfish economic interests, and the blatant claim to world raw material supplies as the interest sphere of the United States itself, show how contemporary such considerations are.

Power politics so orchestrated does not confine itself here by any means to the official military apparatus. Where not much resistance is expected, one uses bought adventurers as in the past who, unburdened by diplomatic constraint, strike with accustomed brutality. On the Seychelles they thought recently they could do the job by just dropping an aircraft with international mercenaries. The miserable failure of the assault shows the opportunities for military adventurism dwindling. Still the most aggressive imperialist circles seek to attain their old goals by larger efforts. Mercenary armies set up and maintained by the CIA have reached already more strength than many regular armed forces.

2. Pacifism today asserts itself primarily through an individual rejection of military service and in the effort to abolish general conscription. It is being overlooked all too much in this, however, that the alternative for conscription is not the reduction of military potentials but professional armies. Thus it does not mean being polemical if we recall the historic fact that the recruiting of soldiers through general conscription was an important result of bourgeois revolutions and has been in use only for a historically brief period. Previously, for thousands of years, the ruling classes based their power directly and brutally on the privilege to bear arms while the mass of the people was prevented from doing so by the punishment of death. This, as we know, did not make wars less likely or less inhumane.

Today this connection is found in the fact that the most brutal dictatorships, e.g. in Central America, can conduct their war against their own peoples only by relying on professional killers. The military army coup in Chile, made up mainly of professional soldiers, furthermore demonstrated how much an alienation between the population and a special caste of soldiers itself jeopardizes traditional democracies.

The greater availability of professional armies for operations against the people is by no means, however, a factor of domestic policy exclusively. From the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, which in its last phase was accompanied by massive desertions that worried the U.S. military, the biggest military power in the West concluded it could bolster the fighting strength of its units if it were to do without the unreliable parts of them and solely depend on volunteers. And then there is the fact that professional soldiers are highly trained soldiers due to their long years of service, which the military experts in those countries compute directly into combat value. Nor is there any doubt that, in particular, the high unemployment rates keep supplying enough of an influx of volunteers.

Pacifism under such aspects would weaken those countries that would have to pit against such a real threat from strong and highly mechanized units of well trained professional soldiers, as put together in the RDF of the United States and other NATO partners, the vigilance and defense readiness of their peoples.

3. Pacifism detaches military violence from its political context. An abstract condemnation of any use of arms considering only the external military picture would, in a concrete conflict, put aggressors and their victims on the same level. But that is morally simply unacceptable in view of such examples as the U.S. aggression in Vietnam or Israel's, against several Arab countries. And there is yet another aspect in linking military objectives with concrete aims in practical

politics. To enforce an evident injustice, military force is used mainly where other means of coercion fail. For those other means there could hardly be a clearer illustration than the remark by a U.S. cabinet member to the effect that wheat could be more important for dominating the world than the nuclear weapon. This blackmail by hunger, known by the term "food power," is only one of the many means of coercion in an escalation that is topped by total war.

All three points lead to the realization that pacifism cannot indiscriminately be regarded as a way to peace. And then there are topical political experiences to make us wary. The question would have to be raised why ruling political circles and influential media in the FRG so vehemently advocate the spreading of pacifistic ideas in the GDR but rule out and oppose such ideas for their own country. What is behind this apparent contradiction is not hard to spot: They want to weaken the defense capacity of the socialist state but strengthen the military potency of their own capitalist state for the purpose of constant threat and political blackmail. This also again makes clear that pacifism cannot be a class-neutral concept but can under diverse social conditions cause differences, even the contrary. In the FRG or the United States, pacifists powerfully demonstrate against the NATO arms-buildup and, especially, the Reagan administration as alliance partners of other peace forces and so make an important contribution to halting the arms race. In socialist countries, however, which are engaged in a consistent peace and disarmament policy, pacifistic slogans aimed at disarming socialism would not benefit peace, but only imperialism.

How much also leading Catholic circles in the FRG are fighting against pacifism is documented by the so-called peace paper of the central committee of the FRG Catholics of November last year, which can hardly be surpassed in its anti-Soviet agitation. This leadership body of FRG Catholicism loquaciously calls for each FRG citizen's readiness for the armed defense of "our fatherland" that ensured "so much right and freedom" and "such a measure of social security"--as if increasing mass unemployment, inflation and social welfare curtailment were worth defending! But anyone who in the FRG rejects the arms-buildup course for good reasons and therefore refuses to bear arms, according to the Catholics Committee "abets ideas that come down to the destruction of political peace in freedom." The clear text of that: he "disturbs" the peace of capital.

Pacifistic ideas, thus, must always inquire into social and political contexts and cannot offer an action guideline valid for all sides from some "neutral" position.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GDR REGIME'S WARINESS OF WEST GERMAN PACIFISTS ILLUSTRATED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 27, 5 Jul 82 pp 51,54

[Unattributed article: "GDR: Still Too Little--GDR Leadership Tolerates Peace Demonstrators, But Objects to Western Influences"]

[Text] Careful checks at the Berlin-Friedrichstrasse L-station: The GDR border officials are sorting things out, on the last Sunday in June, among peace friends from the West in the long line of arrivals, and they are spotting some: author Robert Jungk, a Hamburg journalist, two West Berlin adolescents may not enter East Berlin.

There, something unheard-of happens a bit later. Around the Church of Reconciliation in Berlin-Lichtenberg, circa 3,000 young GDR citizens assemble and probe their freedom of opinion. As in Dresden on 13 February, they talk about peace and that "freedom is not just a word." They also sing publicly and frankly about their country:

"Because there still are much too few who take the time to do it people live without dreaming in this age. All the people want to dream, bread alone is not enough. Because there still are much too few who take off the shackles people are living without freedom in this state. All the people want their freedom, bread alone is not enough."

GDR author Stefan Heym demands live TV coverage of the reduction of nuclear missiles in East and West. By their signatures, conscripts ask for a "social peace service" without weapons. In a "peace workshop," the disarmament emblem, "Swords into Plowshares," is embossed by hand stamps on felt, and postcards are sold with anti-war texts on them.

State security, always wary, does not let the printers alone. Courteously, by telephone, that official authority tells the church office the production by the sewing crew, under controversy for months, is illegal. That's all.

Remarkably many GDR limousines are parked around the Church of Reconciliation, occupied each by two remarkably nondescript gentlemen, and next door, through the only two clean windows of a vocational school, cameras and lenses are protruding. Till the peacemongers take action and put a newly painted screen up over the windows with the inscription: "Fotos for Peace."

The state authority which after the Dresden peace meeting in February still had prosecuted and reprimanded the "Plowshare" emblematisers, this time did not intervene. For the time being, church demonstrations were still tolerated.

In Eisenach, the High Consistory Dietrich von Frommanshausen explained to 10,000 Protestants on a "Youth Sunday" on 13 June that he who attacked the emblem, "Swords into Plowshares," attacked the church itself. In Burg near Magdeburg, 2,000 young Christians met, a week later, 3,500 in Potsdam, to champion peace and disarmament.

In view of such large crowds at such meetings, the SED leadership switched, having learned, it seems, that confrontation does not always pay and that it may be better to join.

All over the GDR, thousands now have to espouse at demonstrations organized by the state a slogan borrowed from the West: "Against NATO weapons, create peace." To give such compulsory demonstrators a taste for this variety of pacifism, they either get a day off--as at the VEB Energy Combine, Dresden--or 10 East Mark in cash, as in Kreis Grossenhain, Saxony.

Officially, Carl Ordnung, functionary of the communist-controlled World Peace Council, was dispatched to the East Berlin peace forum. From Ordnung, member of the CDU(East) one could tell the new double strategy of the GDR leadership vis-a-vis the peace and disarmament promoters: The true peace mission, to be sure, was being met by the "socialist army," yet "the joint efforts of Marxists, Christians and pacifists" need not hurt--sounds by which Politburo member Kurt Hager had insinuated in June the SED twist toward more tolerance.

That, of course, runs into its boundaries on the border. Full of mistrust, SED members, church leaders and State Security watchdogs note all attempts by peace friends from East and West to help each other, by word or even by deed.

For the time being there are only a few individual champions who are seeking to bring the dream of a mass movement of the two Germanys into reality. At the weekend before last, e.g., 50 members of various leftist FRG groups met in West Berlin who are planning, in the all-German spirit, a "big demonstration" in East and West for 12 September.

The motto of the patriots who, still on the same day, sent their ideas by emissaries to a GDR youth club at Prenzlauer Berg: "Something has started rolling in divided Germany."

What kind of a movement it is, is explained in a 10-page "Manifesto" by wild national and socialist theses, reminding the "workers organizations" of their "power" and ending with a catalogue of demands: for the right of free travel, for the freedom for political prisoners, for independent trade unions in the GDR, and for the right of the German people to decide on its own destiny.

The initiators have not yet queried the people, only been discussing among themselves in all of Germany--through a so-called committee for the defense and realization of democratic rights and freedoms in East and West.

That association, with its home base in Duesseldorf, led by Social Democrat Carla Boulboullee and promoted by the Bochum theology professor Guenter Brakelmann, has special experiences in the defense of freedoms. In 1976, it invited GDR protest singer Wolf Biermann to a concert in Cologne; thereafter, Biermann was not allowed back into the GDR.

Committee fellow-combatant Annette Bahner got into trouble with State Security in 1979 and sat in a GDR prison for some months, and member Uwe Trieschmann, after seeking to recruit GDR peace friends in Karl-Marx-Stadt in January 1982, was sentenced to 5 1/2 years in prison but released in May after an intervention by the FRG government.

During his investigative arrest in Karl-Marx-Stadt, State Security showed itself well informed while questioning the prisoner about all of the committee's operations and leaflets. How plain the statements of faith are by which Trieschmann and his peers endanger themselves and others is indicated by a thesis in their "Berlin Manifesto" which says: "The working people in both parts of Germany place their hopes on the SPD and the DGB trade unions."

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PEACE ACTIVIST'S MALTREATMENT BY SECURITY FORCES DESCRIBED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 26, 28 Jun 82 p 31

[Unattributed article: "GDR: Man in Mourning"]

[Text] By occasionally arresting young members of the opposition, State Security is putting pressure on the peace movement in the GDR.

Slowly the black Lada rolls along the gravestones in Jena's old municipal cemetery and stops before a stone statue almost as tall as a man. Four men get out, grab the statue and its base, shove both onto a two-wheel trailer and cover them up with some checkered canvas. Then the GDR State Security commando with its loot swiftly departs from the graveyard.

When sculptor Michael Blumhagen (23) shortly thereafter searches for the whereabouts of his figure, officialdom gets entangled in contradictions. First the statue, representing a man in mourning, is said to have been "confiscated," later they announce the work had been "stolen" by persons unknown.

There is something the authorities do not suspect: Some daredevils not only watched the four State Security officials but even secretly photographed them in the act at the cemetery and then smuggled their picture documents to the West.

Since the State Security act at that sacred place circa 2 months ago, sculptor Blumhagen, son of the general music director and conductor of the Jena Philharmonic Guenter Blumhagen, has not had an easy time in the GDR. A terse inscription on the base of his work in stone had enraged the State Security: "Matthias Domaschk--12.6.57-12.4.81."

The prehistory: Domaschk, on 10 April last year, had been pulled out of a train going to Berlin by State Security officials and arrested at Jueterbog station. The secret policemen accused that young man of Jena of contacts hostile to the state and placed him under investigative arrest in Gera.

Domaschk did not last. A few hours before he was to be released on 12 April, he was dead. State Security said he had hung himself by his shirt.

Domaschk's friends do not accept that version from State Security. In Gera's cells for persons under investigative arrest there were neither hooks nor window knobs to attach a loop. Domaschk had wanted to get married; for that reason alone, suicide just before being released was inconceivable.

And now Domaschk, who had been active in the clerical peace movement and friendly with literary people critical of the GDR, became a secret symbolic figure for the young opposition in Jena--at the annoyance of the authorities. They would have flowers removed from his grave time and again.

Sculptor Blumhagen who had made the Domaschk monument was punished in a most subtle way. Recently he received, to his surprise, a summons for NVA maneuvers. Normally reservists in the GDR only have to appear on 1 November or 2 May.

Blumhagen, who had taken care of his military service at the age of 18, refused. He rather wanted to come for some "social peace service," which thousands of young people have been clamoring for in vain for a year, or at most serve, as an unarmed "construction soldier," in one of those small units into which the NVA puts its circa 400 objectors to conscription.

Even this modest form of substitute service was barred to Blumhagen: reservists in the GDR were not allowed to object in the first place. Friends wanted to assist the young sculptor and turned to prominent artists, colleagues of his.

At a conference in The Hague in May, European writers had affirmed, so they remembered: "We consider it our duty to help as best we can people persecuted for their advocacy of peace." Even the chairman of the GDR Writers Association, Hermann Kant, who is loyal to the party line, signed that declaration after pronouncing that nothing like that existed in his republic in the first place.

No help has come thus far from Kant, who was given an account of the Blumhagen case. Nor did a petition to state and party chief Erich Honecker do any good. Instead, Tuesday a week ago, State Security officials came to search Blumhagen's apartment in Graitschen near Jena. One day later the sculptor faced the authorities and was arrested.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PROBLEMS WITH 'NON-PROLETARIAN' HERITAGE EXAMINED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 88/89, 14-15 Jun 82 p 4

[Report from Berlin: Difficulties with 'Non-Proletarian Heritage.'" A translation of the East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Taking care of the claim of the GDR to being the sole "heir" to all positive achievements in German history creates considerable difficulties in practice, as was granted by the East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG (No 28, 1982). What was particularly "complicated" was the appropriation of achievements by "non-proletarian forces," let alone by those of representatives of the "exploiter classes." For there was no ignoring the fact that such political and cultural legacy had also been exploited by the bourgeoisie and its ideologues for their own ends, which had normally gone hand in hand with "most one-sided appraisals." It made it extremely tough for the workers class to cultivate such achievements because they first would have to be "purged of their abuse." The dissemination and cultivation of these traditions nonetheless were an important contribution to forming a national and historical consciousness in the GDR.

GDR Scholar's Analysis

East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG in German Vol 29 No 23, 11 Jun 82 p 7

['Cultural Policy' feature article by Prof Dr Martin Menzel: "Heritage and Tradition"]

[Text] "What from your fathers you received as heir, acquire if you would possess it." How many generations of pupils might in passed decades have written papers on that subject, which has not necessarily made them feel closer to Goethe's "Faust." If the assignment were given today, FDJ members might well recall to have read in Lenin's speech to youth that he called for a critical appropriation "so that you do not burden your mind with useless junk but enrich it through knowing all facts that are indispensable for a modern educated person."¹ Yet even Lenin leaves no doubt that one has to explore the results and insights of the past to cope with the tasks of communist construction. To us, there is this additional point that in our ideological conflict with the FRG questions of the German past are of a special place value.

The Workers Class Cannot Pick and Choose Its Heritage

What the workers class, when it starts constructing a new social order under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party, must take over from the exploiter society, what it inherits, is nothing it can pick and choose. Men make their history "not as they see fit, not under conditions they choose themselves, but under immediately given and found circumstances handed over to them."² The means of production, structures and monuments, the historic urban centers and the proletarian tenement housing, the accomplishments of science, literature, music, painting, and the people with their modes of thought and conduct, in short, the totality of social, political, economic and ideological conditions as they evolved up to the moment of the revolutionary transformation is what the working class finds given as its heritage. It has to come to grips with it; socialism has to be built with the people capitalism left behind.

Yet the working class is not duty bound to cultivate as tradition all it had to take on as its heritage. If Marx writes that the tradition of all dead generations burdens, like a nightmare, the brains of the living,³ that means right there that we have to distinguish and differentiate in traditions. It goes without saying that the working class will repudiate all traditions serving the preservation and justification of the exploiter order, propagating war and national and racial hatred, and opposing historic progress and humanism.

Workers Movement in Past and Present

The socialist line of tradition includes, first and foremost, the results, achievements and deeds accomplished during the development of the revolutionary workers movement struggling against exploitation and suppression, against fascism and war. They deserve to be held preeminent not only because the working class, led by its Marxist-Leninist party, is the creator and sponsor of the new society but also because that is the development that was, precisely, corrupted and hushed up in the exploiter society.

Familiarizing the growing generations with the work and achievements of Marx, Engels and Lenin, Bebel and Liebknecht, Thaelmann and Dimitroff, and with the deeds of the antifascists who worked closer to home, means developing the love and respect for the achievements of the past. To connect that with the lessons and suggestions for today must be the goal in the socialist preservation of tradition.

Not only the historic distance today's youth has gained from the tough beginnings of 1945 justifies including that period in our cultivating our tradition. As the bourgeoisie denied the creative role of the masses in history, so that we today, due to the lack of documents, cannot possibly uncover all those achievements, we have every good reason to reserve the proper place in our own history for the creativeness of the working people. The politician and the statesman thus is as much part of the tradition of socialism as is the activist of the first hour, the Hennecke activists as much as the pioneers in the socialist transformation of agriculture, the outstanding scientists as much as the noted artist.

Progressive Achievements by Non-Proletarian Forces

More intricate is a second aspect of our image of tradition, which deals with what the non-proletarian forces or representatives of the exploiter classes themselves created. The criterion can of course not be here whether such achievements and personalities supported the working class struggle, even though such instances did occur, from the ranks of the petty bourgeois movement, e.g., in the struggle against war or in the cultural field. Socialism pays tribute to such results and testimonials of the past which, in line with their own times, fostered social progress and attested to the creative abilities of people and to achievements and deeds committed to humanism, peace and international understanding.

That in these non-proletarian representatives the existing class antagonisms in society, in the political field, were more or less deliberately ignored and the statements made in the ideological-cultural field normally made the claim to be of universal validity, is something no Marxist will find astonishing. Anyway, that is no obstacle to attending to that heritage. Nor can one ignore that such political and cultural heritage for that very reason was exploited by the ruling exploiter class and its ideologues for their own ends, which normally went hand in hand with most one-sided appraisals, which cannot be blamed on the ones so appraised. But they make it extremely hard for the working class to cultivate these achievements because they first have to be purged of their abuse. As an example one may recall the Prussian reformers who, through a far-reaching distortion of their actual achievement and intent by imperialist reaction and fascism, had to do the fascists' bidding for making youth ready for war and for proving the superiority of the Germanic race, their deeds exploited by movies on holding out.

Contradictory Service to Social Progress

Finally the question would have to be raised whether among the achievements by exposed representatives of the ruling class or persons directly dependent on them there are some that could hold a place in the working class picture of tradition. This involves persons and their achievements in the political field or engaged in the development of the productive forces, the purpose of which was forming or consolidating the exploiter system, the tapping of new money sources or an increase in profits. We are quite aware of the ambiguity of such results. But that does not mean denying to them from the outset that they might objectively have advanced social progress.

The dialectics in the development was such that intentions and results were not always congruent or that a political or economic outcome overshot the original intent. To uncover the circumstances, the causes and conditions under which that is possible, and show the persons so acting with all their contradictions, is a task of Marxist-Leninist historiography disclosing that side of our tradition.

That is not the first and foremost task after the triumph of the working class. Then we first will have to elaborate and interpret our own history instead of writing a detailed biography of Frederick II of Prussia. First we work out a position of principle on the history of the exploiter society of the past which will show it in its essential features. Once the primary task is sufficiently advanced and enough cadre have been trained, then the image of history of the past is refined, supplemented and deepened on the basis of positions already elaborated,

and thereby it is being shown which historic legacy can be part of the lines of tradition of socialism and the workers class.

Disseminating and cultivating these traditions is an important contribution to forming a national and historical consciousness and to communist education. It does not only concern the teachers of history or civics. Our heritage and tradition are not reducible to political history. We also are heirs to what has been produced in the development of the productive forces, in architecture, literature, music and painting. Each special discipline has its own history. Each work of art, each invention, each political act, each insight gained is related to its era; within it stands the creator himself. In also making that clear in the natural sciences, in German instruction, in music and art education, we help deepen our image of history.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Associations," "Werke" (Works), Vol 31, Berlin, 1970, p 277.
2. K. Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 8, Berlin, 1960, p 115.
3. Ibid.

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OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON STATUS OF LEGAL SYSTEM

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Jun 82 p 5

[Interview with Dr. Gyula Borics, undersecretary in the Ministry of Justice by Dezso Pinter: "Dr. Gyula Borics, Undersecretary in the Ministry of Justice, Has the Floor: Legislation and Economy"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Born in 1927, in the village of Feled, [Dr Borics] first graduated from the Teacher's Academy and taught for two years; beginning in 1950, he was a student at the Eotvos Lorand Scientific University in the department of political science and jurisprudence. Even before receiving his diploma, he became a political worker at the national center of the Teacher's Union; in 1956 he was appointed as a judge. He was a judge for seven years. (For three of these years he was the presiding judge at the circuit court of Bicske.) In 1963 he became a political worker for the Central Committee of the Party, then section head and assistant department head. In this position, he dealt with questions of judicial and state administration. Since June 1, 1980, he is undersecretary in the Ministry of Justice. He is a member of the Academy's public administration committee, the directorship of the Hungarian Jurists' Association and president of the legal qualifying examinations committee.

/In past years, legislation played a large role in the development of public affairs, and we heard much about its results during the last parliamentary session. Our correspondent, Dezso Pinter, inquired first of all about what further stages can be expected on this road from Dr. Gyula Borics, Undersecretary in the Ministry of Justice./

--The development of public affairs and the broadening of democracy is a continuous task. In the past decade, our legislation also did a great deal in its interest. Our socialist legal system has been largely transformed; as a result, the building on modern legal foundations of a socialist society in our country came about. The increased pace of the development of our legal system was brought forth by the proper changes in the directions of our socio-economic life. That is, if we want our law to fulfill its role

effectively, legal provisions in the various stages of development--including future considerations--must be adjusted to social and economic reality and to the new and more advanced requirements for the building of a more advanced socialist society. As a result of this effort, important legal provisions such as the laws regarding councils, administrative procedures, propositions and complaints have appeared. But we must also list in this category provisions strengthening legality, law and order, and public security; the laws regarding the courts and public prosecution, and likewise the contents and procedural regulations of criminal law.

--Today, as a result of the legislative work of the last decade, the most important social and economic relationships and the fundamental rights and obligations of the citizens are organized based on modern and adequate legal provisions. However, the legislative work which serves the development of public affairs will continue in the coming years. It is founded on the government decree which was adopted pursuant to the XII Party Congress and which determined the tasks of legislation--for the near future--on the basis of scientific concepts. Among these, the revision of the law pertaining to elections directly aims at strengthening democracy, has especially great significance. We expect a significant step forward in the development of public affairs from the newly regulated civil legal procedure which modernizes, expedites and simplifies the procedure of the administration of justice in an important area. From the standpoint of our public affairs, the uniform and comprehensive regulation of land-owning rights is also not without importance--the creation of a Code of Land Ownership Rights will serve this purpose. With the modification of the legal provisions pertaining to cooperatives, we await the further development of the cooperative movement and cooperative democracy. Besides this, we also wish to take steps in the interest of improving the legality of company management. Preparation for the reregulation of the Labor Code is a very important task, as well as the revision of the legal provisions pertaining to family, child and juvenile protection.

[Question] Socialist democracy is receiving a more expanding role in economic life. What possibilities does law have in supporting this tendency?

[Answer] Successful economizing cannot be imagined without the determined and active cooperation of those involved. However, the law can provide only the framework for socialist democracy. Of this type is the forum system of democracy in the workplace (factory) with, for example, its work conferences and the other organized workplace meetings. It is very important that we made the creation of harmony between workshop democracy and management activities the requirement for socialist leadership. We determined the tasks and responsibilities of the leaders in effecting workplace democracy (taking the observations and suggestions of the workers into consideration and when possible implementing them, keeping the workers informed, etc.). However, we must clearly realize that the development of democracy is primarily a political task. Naturally, this does not mean that the law does not have an important role. This role consists of prescribing certain obligations, and on the other hand, the obstruction of violations of democratic prerequisites by its own particular methods, and stopping the disadvantages caused by violation of the law.

[Question] Because of economic changes, obviously the sphere of activity of lawyers has been notified. What tasks does this assign to the training of lawyers?

[Answer] The role of law in economic management has grown; this can be seen in the internal relationships of various economic agencies. However, the real change in the economic units--primarily in the relationships between companies and cooperatives--came about in the relationships between production and distribution. Instruments of law were also developed to serve economic organization in accordance with the needs of the economy. This was aided primarily by the modification of the Civil Code in 1977. The contracts mediating cooperation between companies are properly differentiated and flexible, and basically, their design is suited to fulfill their function. Naturally, this does not mean that we must not work on the further development of legal instruments.

--The contracts can only execute their tasks properly if the parties properly exercise their rights, i.e., they honorably fulfill their obligations. We must place increased demands on economic agencies with respect to the fulfillment of their obligations. As a result, besides the so-called traditional legal work (that of judges, prosecutors and attorneys), the importance of independent substantive legal counseling has also grown.

--I say this because tasks in the training of lawyers stem from this situation. First of all, the students must become very familiar with and understand the contents, goals and scope of the law, and must master the ability to properly interpret and apply it. Secondly, they must become familiar with economic questions in order that they may orient to them confidently and that they can perform their work in harmony with the interests of the economy.

--However, it must be noted that no university on earth can produce a totally complete person. It cannot be the task of the college to teach the student everything. It must provide the students with theoretical and basic practical knowledge. Self-education in the appropriate field of interest and organized continuing education can follow after the university. We still have much to do in this area.

[Question] At one time, many were concerned about the "aging" of the judiciary. Nowadays, we more often read about the election of young judges in the official records. Are the young judges beginning their work with sufficient practical experience? How would you evaluate the professional preparedness of the judiciary?

[Answer] In past years, a veritable "changing of generations"--as they say--has occurred. Many experienced old judges went into retirement and young ones took their places.

--The judge must command wide-ranging professional expertise and appropriate practical experience. Sentencing is an integral part of exercising state power. Therefore, only individuals who are politically reliable, who work

with a sense of vocation, and who can apply their legal training and professional expertise to practical matters can become members of this organization. The young judges are gradually initiated into the sentencing process: initially, they preside over cases which are simple from the standpoints of fact-finding and application of the law. Later they receive cases which entail difficult judgments. The scope of their vision will gradually expand, their aptitude will develop and they will gain more professional and practical experience. Besides, it is the obligation of the senior and experienced judges to aid their inexperienced colleagues by transmitting their valuable work methods and experiences.

--The overwhelming majority of the young judges are properly trained, capable and conscientious. I consider the professional training of the judiciary--in conjunction with and also independently of the other legal areas--to be good. This is supported by existing knowledge and investigation of the quality of judgments. Naturally, this does not mean that there are no unsuitable or unprecedented decisions regarding the laws, or drawn-out cases--primarily civil suits. Besides proper professional training, the young judges must gain greater experience in handling court procedure and in selecting and evaluating the facts and evidence necessary to arrive at a decision; and we must help in this more effectively. I must say that one must also have a feel and talent for passing judgment.

[Question] The work of experts contributes in large measure to a well-founded judgment. Has the role of the experts changed, and is their work satisfactory?

[Answer] Court-approved experts belong among the most effective aids in the administration of justice. The court hears expert evidence on all questions which require special expertise in bringing judgment. As a result of scientific and technical advances, the court must increasingly rely on the opinions of experts in the interest of uncovering objective truth and handing down just and lawful decisions.

--Science, our economy and social relationships are developing; and in conjunction with this, circumstances have become compounded and complicated many times over. A natural result is that civil suits become more complicated and the court increasingly encounters technical questions where the cooperation of experts is needed.

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TRAINING EXERCISES OF COASTAL DEFENSE UNITS DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 12 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Cpl Wlodzimierz Kaleta: "Soldiers of the Coastal Defense Unit Train with the Greatest Precision and Combat Mastery"]

[Text] Water, a golden beach, the soothing murmur of a seaside forest... For most people such an image is associated predominantly with a holiday, a vacation, with summer repose and relaxation after months of intensive work at production machines and conveyer belts. For soldiers of the Coastal Defense Unit the seashore is the year-round training ground on which--working together with the Navy--they perfect their martial skills in daily labor and toil.

It is dark and stuffy in the close spaces of the landing craft. The metal plates heated by the broiling sun burn to the touch. The clang of the engines working in top gear makes any kind of conversation impossible. The soldiers wipe the sweat from their faces and look longingly through the only open hatch on the bow, where Pvt Zbigniew Kowalczyk, a soldier in his second year of service, an excellent shot, one of the best in the sub-unit, is on duty by the machine gun.

The roar of bangalore torpedoes fired from the cutter drowns out everything and eases the tension of the commandos crammed below deck. For the soldiers of the "blue berets," the fence-removal and clearing group's action is an exercise which they are used to. They know their duties by heart. They know that after the firing of the torpedoes, which are to clear a passageway for them through the mine fields placed on the beach, the hatches will open, and the landing will begin.

They have been given this task: to get on the landing craft and, after crossing the sea to the place ordered, get out as quickly as possible onto the beach, seize a bridge-head, and hold it until the first wave of the main forces lands.

The unit commander familiarized the officers with the plan of the exercise. The headquarters chief discussed the different variants of foreseen and possible events in this situation. The chiefs of the various services supplied the necessary information for making the proper decisions. Thus practically speaking, nothing should surprise them.

The noise of a buzzer rings in the ears. At the violent opening of the hatchways a sharp, blinding ray of sunbursts into the hold. The sub-unit commander shouts his command over the noise of the motor: "Assault landing force--land!"

One after another the soldiers jump into the sea. The water is pleasantly cold. With their weapons above their heads, fighting each instant with the waves that wash onto their faces, they move slowly to the shore.

"Faster, faster!" shouts Lt Marek Komicz, commander of the firing group, as he urges his subordinates on.

That is nothing surprising. In spite of the Air Force's strong bombardment from the air and the fire support of the covering ships, "enemy" nests of resistance unexpectedly come to life on the dunes. And the assault landing soldiers are an easy target.

At last they have reached the shore. They surge forward, slogging heavily with their legs in the water. The rhythmical rounds of machine guns and hand weapons strike with well-aimed fire into the closest positions of the opponents, who are simulated by targets.

The thick screen facilitates the action of the assault group, which is led to the assault by Lt Przemyslaw Sterne. They run as quickly as possible and one after another surmount the passageway made with the aid of a bangalore torpedo. Their uniforms cling to their skin, their feet sink in the fine sand, and the jackets tightly binding their chests hinder their breathing.

It is most difficult for Cpl Ireneusz Chmielowski, a telegraph operator. In addition to the personal equipment on his back he carries an extra load--the radio equipment. Breathing heavily, he runs while swaying rhythmically to the left and right. Add to that the sweltering heat. The heat pours down from a cloudless sky and drenches the trainees with sweat. The sweat runs into their eyes and, mixed with the sand of the sea, abrades their backs and shoulders. Under these conditions taking just a few meters of beach becomes a difficult problem.

At last they overtake the sand dunes. They surge out and fire at the retreating enemy with long rounds. Thus the most difficult part of the exercise is behind them. They have succeeded. Everything came off according to the plan, quickly and efficiently.

The sub-unit commander looks at his watch with satisfaction. Barely three minutes have passed since they disembarked from the landing crafts.

In the meantime the soldiers from Lt Komicz's sub-unit join up with the assault group. The mortar personnel open fire from the shore. They strike with rapid fire along a lateral road farther back on the beach, hindering the opponent from calling for reserves and executing a counterattack.

On the beach there now remain only the combat engineers from the fence-removal group under the command of naval warrant officer Pawel Koziol. They

must widen the passageway by clearing away the barbed wire entanglements and the tank barriers so that heavy materiel can pass through. This takes the most time. The first landing ships are arriving at the shore.

The naval combat engineers hurriedly spread the bangalore torpedoes out, after which they carefully push them onto probable mine fields on both sides of the passageway cleared earlier.

A powerful detonation shakes the air.

The drivers of the amphibious tanks and personnel carriers start their engines. In an instant the acrid smell of gas fills the huge hold. The soldiers of the assault landing force, buttoning their jackets on the run, take their places in the vehicles. The hurriedly closed hatchways clang.

"Hatch down! Assault landing force, land!"

The scraping of engaged gears is heard. With the caterpillars clanking the armored machines crawl out from the hold. For an instant the water covered with ocean waves disappears from the surface. It re-emerges quickly, however, and "charges" to the shore.

The roar of the engines and the powerful bang of explosions break the silence of the seaside training ground. The tanks and armored personnel carriers fire from the water.

From afar, from the shore, the combat vehicles look non-threatening, like toys. But the commanders riding at the head in personnel carriers submerged almost to the turrets know that the success of the assignment depends at this instant on the rapidity of their action and the firing strength of the tank guns and deck weapons. All the more so, since the radio-telegraph operator is sending out a call for rapid support of the infantry defending the landing of the main forces.

What happened on the beach in the meantime? In spite of the barrage fire of the mortar personnel and the rapid initial retreat of the surprised enemy, he managed to recover from the first set-back, concentrated considerably infantry forces supported by tanks, and launched a counterattack, trying to drive the troops defending themselves on the beach into the sea. The enemy's pressure increased with every minute. It took an all-out effort for the assault landing troops to hold the captured positions.

The explosions from the guns and the significant clatter of deck weapons wrench the air. The powerful detonations, the firing, the smoke, and the clouds of sand blown high by the force of the explosions intensify the grimness of the seaside field of battle.

The battle vehicles come onto the shore with lightning speed, cross the mine field on the passageway made with aid of the bangalore torpedo, push the enemy from the seaside dunes, and provide fire cover for the landing of the main assault landing forces.

The group of naval combat engineers assigned to Lt Sterne and commanded by naval warrant officer Pawel Koziol, quickly managed to broaden the passageway in the mine field to such an extent that the tanks and armored personnel carriers could pass through. With great skill the group cleared away the wire entanglements spread out on the beach and tore down the concrete and wooden tank barriers.

An armored avalanche of commandos is now flowing into the passageway made by the combat engineers. With the greatest speed allowed by the conditions of the terrain and with the caterpillars grinding up the sand, the tanks take the beach, spreading out in a wide stream deep into the opponent's simulated defense.

With lightning speed the fight carries over deep inside the seaside forest. The sounds of battle are ever more distant. The beach is becoming empty.

Farther back, the initially surprised opponent puts up an ever stronger resistance. With each minute, however, the attacking sub-units force their way deeper into the enemy's defense. The attack continually moves forward. Its tempo does not slow down for a moment.

The mortar personnel commanded by Sr Cpl Officer Cadet Zbigniew Paurowicz join up with the tanks and infantry occupied with destroying the next fortifications. The concert of guns is coming to a grand finale. Speed decides the outcome of the "blue berets'" attack. An armored wedge stops the counter-attackers and then--together with the infantry--cuts deeply into the fortifications, destroying points of resistance deep within the defense.

At last the ships of the last wave efficiently execute a turn and depart from the assault landing area. The beach, ploughed up by the caterpillars, is becoming empty. The sounds of battle, ever quieter, are continually carried farther and farther away from the shore. The soldiers of the Coastal Defense Unit, working together with staff from the assault landing force team, have accomplished their task accurately according to the assignment. Correctly, and with the greatest precision and combat mastery.

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FEATURES OF POLISH FOREIGN POLICY DISCUSSED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 10, Oct 81 (signed to press March 1982)
pp 127-140

[Discussion, participated in by: Prof Dr Hab Michal Dobroczynski, editor-in-chief of SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE; Dr Janusz Stefanowicz, journalist; Dr Hab Stanislaw Somma, professor in the Faculty of Law and Administration at Jagiellonian University; Prof Dr Hab Janusz Symonides, director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs [PISM]; and Editor Karol Szyndzielorz, journalist; date and place not specified]

[Text] Michal Dobroczynski: In speaking about Polish foreign policy, about the contemporary nature of this policy, it is necessary to go back to history, for it is out of this history that the roots of the present features grow. I believe that at the beginning it would be well to concentrate on the general conceptions of the nature of Polish foreign policy. This, obviously, we cannot do without interrelation with the country's domestic situation.

In the initial considerations it would also be well to call attention to what distinguishes our policy, what gives it features that are different in comparison with the activities of other European state. On what does the specific nature of Polish foreign policy depend? There is no doubt as to its basic feature: the conformity of crucial lines with the policy of the other socialist states. But we also constantly talk about the characteristic, separate, national goals and features of our policy. This probably pertains to foreign policy also, at least to some degree. From what does this specific nature ensue and on what does it depend?

Further in the discussion we could go on to the matter of preconditions and goals. For example, to such problems as the creation of Polish foreign policy. The program documents from the PZPR Ninth Extraordinary Congress talk of the need to attract broad classes of society, social organizations of different types, to the process of shaping foreign policy and to its implementation. To what degree is this a desideratum and in what degree is it actually being practiced now? In any case, however, the Congress' approach constitutes a likelihood for the future.

I believe that in the successive portions of the discussion we will not be able to avoid the assumption of a position on matters relating to the main problems of our foreign policy. I have in mind both relations with our closest neighbors, and

especially with the Soviet Union, relations with the West, and finally, perhaps, also our relations with the developing countries. And also the crucial problems of security and cooperation. But I would propose that initially we attempt to characterize, synthetically, if possible, on what the specific nature of Poland depends from the standpoint of its overall foreign relations and the most important features of foreign policy.

Janusz Stefanowicz: Without any national megalomania, even on the contrary--with a certain sense of the troublesomeness of this phenomenon, it must be said that the specific nature of Polish foreign policy, perhaps not so much in its everyday practical implementation as in its assumptions and goals, depends on an advanced specificity and a differentiation in relationship to another countries, not only socialist, but speaking most generally, to most of the European countries. It has a feature which I would call an exceptional historical depth, the presence of a historical factor in social attitudes and motivations, which directs this policy. Naturally, this historical consciousness is most acute in the east and west direction--Russian-Soviet and German--that is, in the shaping of a relationship to the two largest neighbors and the relation of forces between Poland and them. Since the time that Poland became a modern nation and state, this relation always determined the goals of our foreign policy. I think that in the further course of our discussion we will go on to this subject, which involves many historical burdens and not just the current difficulties and dilemmas.

The second specific feature of Poland ensues from the fact that we are the only active, large European country which politically, militarily, economically and by form of government, belongs to the socialist community, but goes beyond it with its roots and traditions, and cultural and world-outlook connections. I am referring not only to culture in the narrow sense of creativity, but to the total sum of the values which make up the civilization of our nation. It is strongly reflected in Polish foreign policy and every decisionmaker must take this factor into consideration.

The third specific feature depends on the fact that we feel that we are a country in the center of Europe not only because of geographic location but by awareness of the common destinies of this continent, and above all, the threats which have arisen or can arise in relation to Europe.

Finally, the fourth element of the specific nature of Polish foreign policy (of course, the sequence can be changed), depends on the very complicated, entangled transmissions between this policy and domestic relations, and also between national awareness and the requirements of foreign policy. In our country this matter is more complicated than in a number of other countries.

I will not illustrate these points at this time. I want to say only that every sudden effort by Poland or Poles towards some kind of more original, innovatory and better arrangement of domestic relations--and especially emphatically the current effort, for it is hard to say the last--must constantly anew affirm, and not undermine, the reliability of the two basic vectors of our foreign policy: security, i.e., the military-political alliance with the Soviet Union, and cooperation, partnership with it and other socialist states. This comes down to the question of whether we are a partner that can be depended upon, not just in economic matters, a partner who is serious and maintains proper continuity in his development.

Karol Szyndzielorz: I will attempt to refer to Editor Stefanowicz's statement on the subject of the specific nature of our foreign policy, its preconditions in the national consciousness. Editor Stefanowicz very delicately expressed the matter of the conflicts, to which we are witness.

The appearance in many enlightened people in Poland of an "insular" mentality, i.e., the treatment of what is happening in Poland as something totally apart from the international context, is disturbing. I am referring here to the treatment of events in Poland as a spontaneous process, talking about Poland as if it were a rudder, a sailor, an ocean, unto itself...

During the discussion that took place during the past months we were attacked as representatives, let us call it that, of the Polish reason of state, or the reason of Polish foreign policy. For, after all, there is no sovereign and independent country that does not have its own foreign policy, striving to implement its interests on the international plane. I say that the same applies to the 1980's, i.e., that Poland's foreign policy should continue to provide external conditions for the tranquil work of our nation. These slogans and tasks are unalterable, but the implementation of them is much more difficult than in the past.

I do not agree with the thesis frequently advanced by certain journalists, who like to take "short cuts" in making their case, that Poland is the sick man of Europe. Nor would I want to repeat the thesis that the crisis in Poland is weakening international detente, the socialist community, and peace. I think that this is a thesis that can be evaluated in many ways. If we believe, and I think that we do, that the process of renewal in Poland is introducing new values to the conception of the socialist platform and new values into the life of our country, if these values are being accepted by the majority of our society, and if they produce a change in how Poland is being looked at, a growth in respect for Poland--perhaps not for all of our efforts, but for making such an attempt--then it seems to me that the statement about the weakening of the socialist camp as a result of the constructive transformation taking place in Poland, changes that follow the Ninth Congress' line, is questionable.

Editor Stefanowicz spoke of the different types of connections between awareness and foreign policy. I would like to remind you of the period when we actually did not have political relations with the Federal Republic of Germany [FRG], but we maintained very good economic relations. Policy, at that time, did not aid the economy, but neither did it, in principle, interfere with it. Why then now immediately say that because we have economic troubles, a decline in production and a shortage of food, that Poland is no longer a reliable partner in an international dialogue?

Chancellor Schmidt, during the recent visit of Polish journalists in the FRG, said that after all the world also has troubles. The crisis in Poland is acute, but this does not mean that this is happening only in our country, that there are no crises in Europe, or in the world. This is a very severe crisis, but not the first and possibly not the last. Finally, to close one's eyes to crisis-producing factors does not mean that sooner or later some hot spots will not appear. I believe that in our central-European region many such examples could be found.

But we should give some thought to where this "insular" mentality in many of my journalist colleagues, many readers and listeners, comes from? I think that this is primarily a kind of escape from reality, a complicated, difficult reality. Many people declare that they are cut off from the world. In international matters this shows itself in the attitude: "Let them leave us alone and we will take care of all of our troubles ourselves." This viewpoint does not appear to be correct. There are, after all, different factors which affect us, beginning with the realities of not only the geopolitical situation but the overall political situation in Europe. Nor does it seem to me that we can examine our foreign policy only in terms of our relations with the Soviet Union, with both German states, or only in the East-West relation. It has more azimuths. Our foreign policy, in the 1960's as well as in the 1970's, from many standpoints outpaced the development of the situation. Now, of course, it is most difficult to keep up with the development of the situation. But nevertheless I would regard our foreign policy as a factor indispensable to the normal functioning of our state, the normal functioning of an independent and sovereign Poland.

Stanislaw Somma: It seems to me that Poland's foreign policy--whether it wants to or not--is standing on a certain threshold, in the face of a turning-point situation. This policy had its good and bad moments. It also had periods in which it was invisible and could not show what it could do. I do not know exactly what went on in Helsinki but it seems to me that Polish policy played a positive role there, that it was an interpreter between two camps, for example in the matter of the third basket. The large role of Polish policy is based on the fact that Poland, which politically belongs to the socialist East, is culturally very strongly tied to Western Europe and in general to the whole European world, so it has to fulfill a positive function in the sense of appearing in the role of interpreter, in facilitating contacts. At this time this role is doubtful.

At the moment our policy on the basis of old patterns can no longer be either attractive or convincing. A condition of its further creative function in the world is that it be "grounded" in Poland. Without this "grounding", without the absorption of everything that historically occurred in Poland, it will not have an adequate convincing force, it will be weak and expressionless.

Where does the crux of the matter lie? By participating in a system of alliances that benefit us, that are indispensable and essential, that guarantee us the permanence of the disposition of forces in central-eastern Europe, we pay the price of a reduction in sovereignty, and society realizes this.

Janusz Symonides: I would agree with the thesis that foreign policy is based also on certain lasting elements, on traditions, on history, and on experience. In our past pronouncements the idea keeps recurring that Poland was for centuries, in a specific way, something on the order of a bridge connecting different parts of Europe as well as different ideologies. To exemplify this, we could go back all the way to the fifteenth century, when the problem of the coexistence of christian and non-christian states appeared in a very dramatic form, when the pagan states were denied the right to exist. Our country at that time called for the recognition of the non-christian nations' right to exist as a state, and what is more, allied itself with the pagans against the Teutonic Order. Poland was thus the champion of what we today call peaceful coexistence.

The call for coexistence with the pagans was tremendously progressive. It is sufficient to point out that the famous Spanish school (Vitoria and Suarez) in issuing identical calls much later, obtained renown and praise in world science. The viewpoints of Pawel Wlodkowic, Stanislaw from Skarbimierz, and later Frycz Modrzewski and the Polish Brothers, were ahead of their time.

Passing from these historical comments to the present, I would support the thesis that the specificity of our situation is based also on the fact that by being in the community of socialist states, in the class and ideological alliance, from the standpoint of relationships and cultural traditions, we belong to a much wider European circle. In this sense, Poland today also is a specific bridge between both parts of Europe.

However, inordinate emphasis on continuity, on historical unalterability, may sometimes lead to erroneous and ahistorical evaluations, to a misunderstanding of motives of conduct in the policy of our own country and others. Class and system changes exert an important influence on foreign policy. Without the class context it is difficult to correctly assess our external relations in the twenty years between the wars and during World War II.

Replying to the question, what are the main goals of Polish foreign policy, it may be said that in the case of a country so horribly afflicted by war and destruction, the struggle for peace, international security and disarmament must be at the forefront. Poland's remarkable activity in actions to build European security and the unity of Europe, so apparent, for example, in the struggle to convoke the CSCE, can be explained by our experiences, our awareness of the fact that the security of Poland is also the function of European security.

A comment as to Poland's place in the world. Editor Szyndzielorz noted that Poland's place is dependent on the functioning of many different external preconditions. Certainly that is so. Our country functions somewhat simultaneously in the community of socialist states, in the region, and in the global system. If a certain weakness appears in a specific element of these systems, that does not have to be interpreted immediately as a total cancellation of Poland's importance. Our country is going through a very difficult period. But the state's position is not determined by economic difficulties, the fact alone that they have occurred, but rather the method and rate at which they are solved.

Michal Dobroczyński: A few more words on the subject of the specific nature of Poland, taking into account the opinions expressed here relating to the geopolitical situation. Without a doubt the matter of security lies at the base of Polish separateness. Doubtless some loudly exposed opinions on this subject are exaggerated, but if they were to be regarded seriously, Poland's situation would not have too many counterparts in the world. There may be, in addition to us, several other countries in such a threatening situation. In any case, this is not a typical case of a state which, in a world dominated by peace, is threatened by loss of independence, freedom, or at least its present borders, under the influence of processes of an internal nature. Therefore, these would be some kind of unusual conditions, some kind of particular features characteristic of our country and its policies. I would like to mention here a matter which, doubtless not accidentally, was emphasized at the very beginning in the CPSU Central Committee's letter to the PZPR

Central Committee. It speaks of a concern about Poland's fate as a free and independent state. I would also differentiate between the concepts of freedom and independence, understanding independence to be sovereignty in the external political sense, in relations with other countries, and freedom to be the unconstrained shaping of the situation inside the country in a way which fully allows for the cultivation and development of national identity, for actions that are in accord with tradition, and national needs and aspirations. The independence of a state and its security would be somewhat like the construction of frames and walls, so that in this interior a life could be shaped which would best correspond with the conceptions of the nation.

These conceptions are, of course, historically variable. They may be regarded as proper or improper, but since they are accepted and wanted by the nation, they must be treated by policy with appropriate gravity and competence. This is simply a certain objective, cultural situation, a national lifestyle. What I am getting at is that if an international situation to some degree surely may and must affect the foreign relations of every state--its foreign policy--then to that degree a part of internal freedom and cultural freedom should be separated and stressed as something that is predominantly autonomous, and not a threat to international relations or to the interests of allies. I mention this in the context of the comments made thus far. From the standpoint of external relations, it is advisable that the state rely on partners that are reliable and internally stable. That is, that the policy of the allied state be accepted and supported, if not by all of its society--for nowhere does this exist--then by a decided majority. What I am concerned with is that we give some thought to the degree of adequacy of political declarations and actions in relation to the genuine social situation. Every state would, of course, like to have as an ally a state that is well-organized, that has a policy that is supported by the nation, genuinely valued. This applies to our country also. That which we have observed in Poland in recent months is not the product of recent months. However, in recent months certain phenomena became evident, formerly concealed attitudes took on spectacular forms, tremendous frustrations were revealed, a disparity between the official line and the attitude of part of the nation. But thanks to this we can begin the serious work aimed at eliminating the cracks in the structure. Thanks to complete and actual information on the condition of the state.

It is essential that the foreign policy of every upright, peaceable state, including Poland, be a credible policy, supported by the broadest masses of the people. That is why everything which serves to integrate official policy with the feelings of society is a just matter and deserves reasonable support.

Janusz Stefanowicz: Professors Dobroczynski and Stomma brought up the important matter of our sovereignty, both from the actual side as well as from the standpoint of its feeling in the social awareness. Professor Dobroczynski said that our allies are anxious that we maintain our internal sovereignty, or identity, specificity and separateness in arranging our internal affairs, as well as our external sovereignty. Professor Stomma spoke of restricting external sovereignty. It could very easily be shown that this external sovereignty is restricted by the universally appearing, in the present day, interdependencies, alliances, etc., but I understand that we are concerned with the particular restriction of sovereignty which, in the national consciousness, ensues from the fact of our alliances with a great power.

Professor Stomma said that the alliance with the Soviet Union is advantageous and necessary to Poland. But the truth is that the advantages of this alliance are emphasized in official pronouncements and propaganda, however in the minds of some Poles it is supposedly economically disadvantageous. Why do I bring up this differentiation? Because an alliance, in order to provide equal rights, does not require, admittedly, that the participants be of equal size and equal potential, of the same rank in the world, but it requires a sense of mutual advantage, a growth of security (a state becomes more secure in the alliance than without it), and improved chances of development. If this feeling of mutual advantage is not there, and only the element of necessity remains, then in the consciousness of society something takes place that is called autosatellization, a necessary state, in which, for example, Nepal finds itself in relation to India, or in which a number of buffer states found themselves in the nineteenth century. Autosatellization leads to satellization, and not just in the social consciousness, for the response of the larger partner is a sense of freedom, or temptation to conduct policy without consideration of the national interests of the other side. In short, there should be restored, in the social consciousness, a genuine understanding of the meaning of the alliance as an important premise of Poland's security and development, and as a weighty instrument of its influence on the course of events in Europe. Poland can only have an influence on the shaping of relations in Central Europe, and above all, on the future of the two German states, when the Soviet Union treats the alliance with Poland as a partnership, i.e., it believes that this alliance is advantageous to it and when Poland regards it to be advantageous, and in view of this Poland's interest should be taken into account in the Soviet Union's power politics.

In the social consciousness the advantage feature is not yet functioning strongly enough.

Could it have been otherwise? It could have been. Had we avoided the coarse propaganda which spoke only about advantages, which provoked a natural reaction in the people, who talked and thought only about the necessity. We could have not varnished the Polish-Soviet past, we could have placed all of our animosities in an objective light and lessened the existing burden, we could have shown that we do not have to be absorbed by Russia, that we do not have to mechanically copy their systems-type models because we have our own characteristic and important cultural, economic and other values, that we will always remain Poles. All of this was neglected in order to ceremonially present the substance and merits of the Polish-Soviet alliance.

Karol Szyndzielorz: It seems to me that the shaping of relations inside the alliance is a continuous process. Actually, I do not know, either from the history of diplomacy or from the present, any alliance which was once and for all shaped as to its program assumptions, arrangement of forces inside the alliance, atmosphere prevailing in the alliance, mutual relations between leaders, which is also not unimportant, etc. We have been witness to the fall of many military groupings, which due to lack of external threat, disintegrated, e.g., CENTO and SEATO.

The treatment of alliances as a static matter is an attitude that intellectually conveys little. I want to remind you that in the hall in which our discussion is taking place we were witnesses, toward the end of the 1950's and during the first half of the 1960's, in a period of great activity of Polish foreign policy and

Polish diplomacy, to the promotion of ideas and conceptions which, from the standpoint of Poland's potential at that time were conceptions for the future, but which also contributed to the modification of the European situation in a direction which we today regard as natural. This realism in our foreign policy contributed to a basic change in the political climate in Europe. I do not know whether this is the matter of some kind of particular mission and role for Poland, for we are arrogating that particular role in Europe for ourselves. And finally in the second half of the 1970's we saw the complete atrophy of the substance of our foreign policy, in favor of an excessively expanded form. In writing and saying that Poland is the ninth industrial power in the world, we had to adapt to that not only the size of the mission built in Geneva, but also the scale of various initiatives. At the same time, the initiatives which were submitted in the second half of the 1970's (from the structural standpoint there was nothing wrong with them) were global in their nature. But if we were to evaluate our influence on what was going on in the world, and especially in the international organizations, it must be said that this was an influence, I would say, that was very moderate and that this was an activity that was, as a matter of fact, insipid. Our foreign policy was distinguished more by insipidity of conceptions than by propaganda successes. These were conceptions that did not reflect our actual role in the alliance and in Europe. Not just here at this table do we agree that Europe cannot function in a normal way as a continent of sovereign countries without an active, sovereign Poland, who implements its foreign policy assumptions consistently, with regard first of all for the national interest, but also the broader interest, that is, activity in behalf of detente in Europe as the common denominator. It seems to me, however, that our foreign policy, if we are to talk about it in relation to the 1980's, should be distinguished by much greater modesty, and not only greater realism but also honesty in formulating our intentions. And this applies not only to internal affairs within the framework of the alliance, although I believe that here, too, honesty and openness in stating matters is required, and that bluffing is not needed.

If we look at the policies of recent years and the policies during the 35 years of our existence, the motives which guided these policies, we can say--without flattering ourselves--that first, we are a nation without claustrophobia. We do not have the feeling that we are locked inside our borders. Second, that we are a nation that in the cultural and intellectual sense is open to the world and willing to absorb what it has to offer, and at the same time we are a nation which brings an incredible amount into the European intellectual and cultural achievement. I believe that this is a very important factor.

Janusz Stefanowicz: But you spoke of insularity...

Karol Szyndzielorz: I spoke of insularity in the crisis situation. Despite these crises and difficulties, despite all kinds of tensions, the people feel good in this country. We are not in a cage from which there is not outlet, we are not in a trap in which everything is arranged once and for all and there is simply nothing awaiting us. This openness to the world in our policy and in the thinking of the intellectual elite is also correlated, connected with an insular mentality, which is for me an example of an escape from reality, an escape from inconvenient facts, from situations which will unfold we know not how.

Janusz Symonides: I believe that the question of sovereignty and alliances in foreign policy has become the important fragment of our discussion. Sovereignty can be understood quite variously: formally and factually. From the purely formal point of view it can be said that a state which is not able to conduct its own foreign policy is not sovereign, for then this policy is in a literal sense being conducted by another state, another Ministry of Foreign Affairs and foreign service. A classic example of limited sovereignty are the international protectorates, which appear quite rarely today. But can we speak about a loss of sovereignty when we have our own institutions? It seems we can: in a situation where the goals, which are to be implemented by the policy of a specific state, are not selected independently, and what is more, do not ensue from the national interest and even conflict with it. Passing from this theoretical conclusion to reality, I would like to say that the goals of Polish foreign policy correspond with our national interests. What attests to the fact that these goals are in accord with the national interests? This is demonstrated by the existence of a specific identity in foreign policy.

Naturally, in the allied treaties there is mutuality of interests, a mutuality of rights and duties. The German question may be an example of the alliance's implementation of Poland's interest. All of the allies have complied with the principles established by Poland.

A few words about the concept of alliances. Various alliances may exist: between leaders, parties, classes, nations and between states. These concepts do not necessarily have to converge. It is best if the class alliance is in line with the national interest. In the various discussions which have been taking place recently in Poland, the thesis was expressed that the entire nation should stand behind the class alliance. Actually, the alliance in which we are participating is a national and state alliance, although it was determined by class premises. Some misunderstandings occur from the mixing of two things: goals in foreign policy and motivations in foreign policy. The goal of our foreign policy is to guarantee the security of Poland, to guarantee our borders. This policy was and is a correct and all-national policy. That it is also in its premises determined by class and ideology does not change this fact.

Stanislaw Stomma: A brief polemic with Editor Stefanowicz. You, sir, have proposed the creation of a certain fiction. You say: we must talk our partners into this fiction and in the name of this demand concessions from them.

Well, a reasonable and convincing policy is based on facts. I think that we can all agree that within the framework of necessity different variants for formulating necessary relations are possible. There is a certain variant under which both we will benefit and objectively also our powerful partner. I say objectively because the partner may evaluate this differently and have doubts. Just the fact of our presence inside the block of states may be positively utilized by the partner, but this fact will not add anything in other solutions. We should and must propose a variant that will also bring benefits to this powerful partner. The greater these benefits, the more obvious it will be that Poland is employing more of its own capabilities. Poland's policy should sound genuine. Its effectiveness will then be greater, which may be profitable also to the partner. This is essential.

In connection with this I ask a question which worried me even when I was concerned with foreign policy in the Sejm. A question that is very fundamental within the framework of allied policy: Within what kinds of limits should Poland have the freedom of maneuver in the international diplomacy game? For if we are to be profitable for the alliance anywhere, it is precisely in foreign policy. To what extent are we to be bound tactically and strategically in the coordination of policy? How much can we do automatically? Or, in view of our cultural ties and possibly our prestige in the western world, can there sometimes be a permissible deviation from joint tactics. I question this. A freedom of tactics corresponding to our traditions, particularly when a moral issue comes into play, appears to be very needed.

The final matter. The functioning of certain concepts, which in my mind have become totally empty, surprises me. Concepts, which maybe once had some kind of meaning, today have none, but are used as pawns on a polemical chessboard. I refer to use of class treaties. What does this mean? What kind of sense does this make? Or: how is the working class supposed to see this? For it sees this totally differently, than you, sir, would like. The most politically difficult at this moment are the workers' circles. So let us not use empty words, which mean nothing today. Unless we put under them our desires, which the working class should have. Let us remove these kinds of conceptual relics from our discussion.

Janusz Symonides: I do not want to start a polemic, although I have no doubts as to the functioning of the "class" or "large social group" concepts in international relations. Can there be situations in which a class or ideological element carries weight in contemporary international relations? Certainly there can. Some really trivial examples can be cited. Such as the relation to nationalization, to super-national corporations, to national liberation and revolutionary movements, etc.

Michal Dobroczynski: Class policy may be understood in two concepts: either as the position of a specific class or as the ideological definition of the policy of a socialist state.

Janusz Symonides: The class concept appears not only in literature but also in the international practice of socialist states, and from that standpoint, at least, it should retain an appropriate place in our considerations.

Michal Dobroczynski: The ideological factor is often earlier than the later political concretization of this state of affairs. History shows, however, that a political alliance does not always follow the acceptance of a specific ideology. The Chinese-Soviet relations are proof of this, as are disputes among many capitalist states.

Insofar as the problem of freedom of maneuver in the foreign policy of the smaller countries is concerned, including Poland, it seems that relatively the smallest space for individualism appears in the strategic-military sector, in the area of this incredibly critical matter which is the security of the state or a group of countries. But foreign policy concerns itself not just with problems relating to security, and on other planes of its functioning, the freedom of maneuver appears much more clearly. In the sphere of foreign economic policy Poland, after all, has for many years shown a tremendous amount of independence, developing

numerous contacts with the West and South. Even our large indebtedness, regardless of whether or not it was proper, is proof that this particular policy could be conducted. In the cultural sector we have conducted and continue to conduct a policy of cultural exchange so unrestrained as seen by few countries in the world. We have saturated our market with products of external culture to a degree that is limited only by the exceptionally sensitive political subjects and the ceiling of our economic-financial capabilities. The policy of scientific exchanges with countries abroad is another sphere of policy where there have been no serious restrictions for years.

The freedom of maneuver, on the whole, appeared more clearly thus far in the sector of bilateral policy than on the multilateral plane. Insofar as multilateral policy is concerned, the margin of freedom is quite small, and may even have decreased in the 1970's. This was confirmed at the large international conferences. Whether the West, East or South, more frequently and clearly these teams coordinated the moves of the particular states in the entire process of multilateral negotiations and decisions. Although some separate features of national interest appeared even there.

Janusz Stefanowicz: I want to refer to the question of freedom or range of maneuver. First of all, I agree with Editor Szyndzielorz that premises of an alliance are not static, nor is the understanding of the fundamental substance of the alliance static, and this is a starting point for me to a certain reasoning. Certainly the basic interest of an ally, and particularly the interest of a great power, is its own security and the security of its allies as a whole. The trouble is that the present concept of security--and along with this the solidarity of the alliance--have been stratified and extended, particularly in the understanding of both large powers. This phenomenon is due to their understanding of economic security and their understanding of the cohesiveness of the alliance as the condition of strategic-political security. Finally there was worked out--not only by the Soviet Union but also by the United States (contrary to appearances, during a certain period to a much larger degree) a concept of ideological security, i.e., a joint, in the allied team, interpretation of ideological orthodoxy and the meaning and scope of the ideological struggle. A crucial matter for consolidating and developing an alliance, giving it as much substance and function as possible, and at the same time maintaining our internal and external sovereignty, i.e., the freedom to solve our own matters, is a conviction about two things. First, that no one in today's world has an effective monopoly on precise ideological prescriptions, applicable for other nations and states. That may have been believed in the 1950's, when new ideological-political teams were in statu nascendi. It turned out with time that separateness is stronger. The other side of this coin is the conviction of the allies that that which in 1956 we called the Polish road to socialism, and today we call renewal, does not mean anti-Sovietness, but on the contrary--it constitutes a higher necessity of the alliance, which must rely on the strength (that is, the solidarity, effectiveness of activity, economic development, etc.) of the participating states.

Janusz Symonides: I think that we should agree with the general thesis that in every military-political alliance, the allies have a smaller field of maneuver in the military area, which is the consequence of the military factor in foreign policy, which is of greater importance. The militarization of foreign policy, the arms race, the desire to safeguard one's security--inevitably discipline the members

of the alliance in the military sphere. In the economic sphere, the freedom is greater, just as it is in scientific and cultural cooperation,

A difficult problem facing alliances is that of adapting to changes occurring in international relations and internal relations. Internal changes, which would surmount specific political, economic and social weaknesses, enhance the state's security, its cohesiveness and strength, may strengthen the entire alliance. The strength of the alliance also depends on the implementation of principles of sovereign equality in the alliance.

Michal Dobroczyński: Perhaps it would be well to develop the subject of the relation of society, or public opinion, to these or other aspects of Polish foreign policy. Whether this pertains to the share and role of our country in many international organizations of the allied type, or activity on other external planes, a great deal of misunderstanding remains. This is linked with the relatively low political culture or knowledge of a considerable part of Polish society of foreign relations. This is not the fault of society. As a matter of fact, it was not adequately informed and appropriately wisely educated in this area, so it had to accept certain patterns or reject them in their entirety. There was no place for weighing of reason, subtlety and nuances. And emptiness is not possible. In place of smooth pro patterns, equally smooth contra patterns appeared. This has its historical basis. As a result we find opinions today that Poland does not have its own foreign policy at all, that it is not an independent state at all, and that almost everything that is created in this country is done on the instructions of others. Perhaps there are not too many such extreme positions, but there are much more that are close to those. And here appears the problem of information on the nature of foreign policy, solid information, not slogans. For if we require that society be realistic in its evaluation of such or other state interests and international events, it must be properly prepared for this. It must have a suitable amount of materials and tools of recognition. And so this is an incredibly important matter, to inform, as objectively, convincingly and precisely as possible, how matters truly are. Avoid insinuations. Attempt to show the crux of the matter. At the right time, not in the face of a crisis, reach into the intellect, and prevent misunderstandings. Such as, for example, the distinct underestimation of the 7 December 1970 treaty, which was, after all, the great result of our independent foreign policy.

Janusz Symonides: It seems that in view of objective factors, there is a situation in which the policy of two or many states may be identical or very close. In presenting such situations, however, we should emphasize that this is determined not just by the attitude or position of another state, but by our own national interest. This is how it should be presented to the mass media.

Karol Szyndzielorz: This is a very difficult dilemma--one of the most difficult of those about which we have talked here. I agree with Professor Dobroczyński that the political culture of our society pertaining to international relations is rather low, although in comparison with other nations it is not at all that low; what had its effect here was simply, regardless of our efforts, our national experience. That is, on the one hand this is a problem of the nation's political culture, and on the other hand it is also a matter of perceiving those meanings that we present in the mass media.

Janusz Stefanowicz: Because Professor Dobroczynski mentioned the 7 December 1970 treaty, I would like to stress that just as alliances vary in their substance, premises and functioning, so also other types of international treaties are not static by dynamic. We cannot compare the situation which we thrust upon the Federal Republic in 1970 with today's circumstances. All of the parameters have changed, including the role of functioning of the treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland. This means that nothing is given once and for all. Or taken away, either. And that is why in important moments in the history of a nation, an accounting should always be taken of the state's foreign policy.

Janusz Symonides: We should give some thought to changes in foreign policy, because certain corrections, despite the unalterability of its fundamental principles, can be made nevertheless.

Karol Szyndzieliarz: We must start with the conception.

Michal Dobroczynski: Ending one of the subjects begun--the question of society's relation to our foreign policy in general, and the alliances in particular--I believe that we must take into account all of the elements of Polish historical identity. Including the very specific political culture, different from the culture of some other societies. One of its features is simply the incredible sensitivity or sensibility to even the smallest manifestations of a lack of respect from the outside. On the other hand, we must realize that other societies also, or governments, European or non-European, allied with us or not, may be very touchy as regards their prestige. This requires, on our part, appropriate sensitivity and adaptation. We cannot allow a situation to develop in which ill-feelings and prejudices could seriously complicate mutual understanding.

Foreign policy is a field that is incredibly complicated, multi-stratified and multi-directional. It requires knowledge of complex theories and frequently confidential practical movements. So it would be strange to minimize the role and rank of the specialists who create ideas or convert them into the language of actions. On the other hand, it seems obvious that society will only approve political moves when it understands their meaning, and furthermore, feels that it is a co-author of the decisions. How is this to be achieved in Polish practice? The process of shaping political consciousness and democratization of decisions requires time even in fields that are simpler and also less sensitive, than foreign policy. It is important, however, that the direction of change be as clear as possible, that it not arouse fundamental doubts, that it prevent frustration and unconsidered social reactions. That Poles attain and maintain an unalterable awareness of the sovereignty of their state and the correctness of its foreign policy.

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CSO: 2600/813

ZSMP MAIN BOARD OFFICIALS INTERVIEWED

Vice Chairman Klima

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 7 Jun 82 pp 3, 4

[Interview with Jaroslaw Klima, vice chairman, ZSMP Main Board, and ZSMP Voivodship Board in Katowice, by Halina Mamok and Josef Heblinski; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] The Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] has ambitions to represent the interests of the youth. However, the authority of this organization among the young is hardly impressive...

[Answer] ...but it gradually increases again. This can be exemplified by the fact that the organization's ranks are growing again, particularly in schools. The growth is a little bit lower in enterprises. The reason for that is that not all demands and suggestions which were prepared and submitted by us have been realized.

[Question] Perhaps because of the unavailability of economic and financial opportunities?

[Answer] What do you mean? If you are talking about, for example, socialized construction, that is an opportunity for the young to become personally involved in housing construction, then it is rather difficult to talk about the lack of opportunities. There are, however, still too many bureaucratic barriers which nobody attempts to remove. And yet we could have done that as they do it in Hungary, for we are reforming our economy along similar lines. There, 60 percent of housing construction is being accomplished in the socialized system. We have still too much bureaucracy. Although, of course, we all know that the economic crisis is the major cause of problems faced not just by the young. Yes, the economic crisis.

[Question] Where are the bureaucratic barriers particularly visible? Could you illustrate it by a specific example?

[Answer] Recently we had a talk about housing construction with one of the voivodship offices. It appeared that nothing could be done. After the meeting we were approached by a group of young employees of this office who

told us that during the meeting they were not in a position to make any suggestions. They presented their suggestions to us on a private basis. During the next meeting we presented these proposals to the representatives of the voivodship authorities. They were dazzled and our proposal was accepted.

[Question] The attitude of these young people from the Voivodship Office represents the crux of the matter: You must look for solutions on your own through your members employed in various offices and institutions. Is it in this that lies the penetrating strength of the youth?

[Answer] Exactly. But the problem lies also in the promotion system. Its erroneousness has caused a situation in which 40 percent of young people with high school and college education do not work in their own professions. There are no authentic promotion opportunities for the young, whether upward or laterally; often they are artificially blocked. I believe that the changes will occur after universal introduction of competitive selection for vacancies even for lower positions, including journeyman and group leader.

[Question] Could free competition of skills and knowledge become an authentic promotion route for the young?

[Answer] Most of all competition of competence! It does not matter if the person is old or young. The person must be competent and meet certain criteria, and this is the kind of promotion system we are demanding. We had prepared specific proposals and submitted them to the Commission for Economic Reform. They have been already approved and highly evaluated by Professor Baka, minister for economic reform. However, the promotion system must be based on an incentive system. In accordance with the premises of the economic reform its next step ought to focus on fast preparation and introduction of such a system in every enterprise.

[Question] Let us go back again to the attitudes of the young. It seems that the chance for the young depends on their activity. If they have the knowledge and enough courage they should be able to successfully present and defend their views.

[Answer] It all depends on the attitude and mentality of the management in a given enterprise.

[Question] Perhaps the pluralism in the youth movement is even a greater barrier?

[Answer] I believe that it is necessary to join hands to achieve certain goals. I do not know what the attitude of my colleagues in other unions is, but I think that they hold similar views, because we have already had meetings with the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] and the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] as well as a little bit earlier with the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] during which we jointly agreed on mutual problems to be presented to

the authorities and partners. An interpellation regarding cultural affairs in the villages is one such example. I believe that with time our cooperation will grow. In the federation period, youth organizations were artificially restricted in their spheres of influence. Now there are conditions to view more wisely the influences of youth organizations in various environments. The introduction of the ZSMP in schools does not mean an effort to drive out scouting. We establish circles where there is a need for them. Apparently there is such need in schools, because there are youth groups which want to join political activity and which are impressed by an older colleague who is already a functionary in an enterprise. I believe that this will be a good process, because it is not intended as a competition with other organizations; on the other hand, it would not be bad if it were in some situations.

[Question] What about colleges?

[Answer] There are already examples of first ZSMP groups among students. We cannot say, however, that the ZSMP is growing there. We do not want to create circles from above. It should be a natural process. Artificial divisions of spheres of influence applied to youth organization caused a situation that in the ZSMP there are few college graduates. Often a young engineer hired by an enterprise shortly after joined the party. Sometimes the party was joined by people without any experience in social activity. Some of them were motivated by hope of easier resolution of their living and professional problems. We believe that our presence in high schools will bring about growth of our organization in colleges as well, and then the graduates will be already experienced activists in enterprises. This mechanism ought to secure a natural influx of college graduates to our organization.

[Question] You charged that the young joined the party because it helped to resolve many problems in life. Isn't the situation in your organization similar today? They join because of the loans for young married couples, housing cooperatives, Youth Social Action Fund [FASM], etc.?

[Answer] Before I answer your question I wish to say that we have conducted a study which shows that among the young party members who left the party the number of those who had been recommended to membership by ZSMP circles and who were authentically active in social activities was the smallest. Most of them were those who had been accepted by the party without prior membership in a youth organization. Returning to your question, I do not believe that the young come to us only for material gain, although I have no doubt that some are motivated by that. Motivations of the ZSMP members we have studied show in the first place a desire to learn about the environment and colleagues, and only after these a hope for greater opportunities to represent individual interests in professional and social spheres. Likewise, an entirely critical attitude toward the young's consumerist goals is debatable. Is it wrong when a young person wants overtime to perform a useful job for his enterprise, and at the same time earn additional money

he needs? I think that this is the way it should be. You are young and do not earn as much as an employee with 15 years of seniority, but you want to save for an apartment and furnishings. Then we give you a chance. Hence all these Home and Apartment Building Associations, Youth Labor Cooperatives, and FASM. We have been accused of becoming an organization focusing on living conditions assistance programs. And why not, particularly in the last 2 years, when the Solidarity plant commissions, many of which were controlled by antisocialist forces, engaged in "big politics," struggle with party organizations, and our organization as well, instead of taking care of employee affairs. Filling this void by our organization--let us emphasize here that this was done under pressure from the youth--has been and still is one of the major reasons that we have a genuine 2-million-strong organization. Simply, the young feel that we take care of their affairs.

[Question] But your activity cannot focus primarily on these areas.

[Answer] It cannot, I agree. Therefore, ZSMP work strongly leads toward ideological-political activity, which, after all, was noted in the program of the Third ZSMP Congress.

[Question] Many methods used by the ZSMP in this area have met with criticisms among the young, who treated them as truths without any link to reality.

[Answer] No doubt, such clashes have taken and still take place. However, the ideological-political activity, or building of awareness on socialist bases, also constitutes a weapon against situations in which words are not followed by actions. If we teach a young person who has been recently manipulated by propaganda emanating from the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] and the Committee for the Defense of Workers [KOR] by means of various slogans and programs aiming at undermining the values of our system, we show him fundamental socialist values and thus make him aware of the aims of his activity. First of all, we must teach in schools the basics: that socialism means social justice exemplified by adherence to the socialist ideology, social activism, honesty and being himself. Simply, it is necessary to show that these are not some kind of humdrums.

[Question] But are the young really accepting that as more than humdrums?

[Answer] After attending more than a dozen meetings at schools I do not have that impression. Each of the meetings lasted for several hours, and afterwards many young participants continued to debate precisely the fundamental questions; thus, there is a need for such discussions. Furthermore, a discussion creates the need for sources, broader argumentation, and historical knowledge. The Main Board of the ZSMP publishes every 3 weeks a bulletin called "Makeup Tests in History." In it, we discuss, on the basis of sources not commonly available, those historical facts in which the young are interested the most and which create the most doubts in their minds. This brochure is becoming increasingly sought by teachers as well.

These materials cause reflections about the sources of our failures and errors, but at the same time allow a broader look and help to understand social and historical processes. We add to that internationalist activity. We try to show that we are neither the center of the world nor of Europe. We show, for example, how young people in various countries struggle against armaments. We show that the number of socialist countries in the world is growing and that there is something in socialism which attracts nations in this direction. This creates the basis for reflections among the young.

Furthermore, we consider involvement in the economic reform and the shaping of knowledge of its aims as a political activity as well. Moreover, we learn from the experiences of other countries in educating the youth.

[Question] Soon the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee, devoted to the problems of the young, will take place. What are your reflections on discussions preceding it?

[Answer] Central Committee members from our voivodship are very involved in the discussion. All of them have met more than once with various youth groups. They share our view that the plenum must be exclusively ideological. This is based on what the people are saying. Prior to that, however, it will be necessary to begin resolving problems singled out by them, but this ought to be done by the government, not by the party. Only then we will be able to talk about absolute conditions for the realization of educational goals; in other words, it is necessary to create certain realities on the basis of which it will be possible to rally the youth for concrete goals. Unfortunately, the situation today is such that it is not concrete for the young when they just hear talk: You must more adhere to the ideology and work better, because they immediately ask: What does it mean? Does the greater adherence to ideology mean that I have to compensate for the lack of raw materials by my enthusiasm? Nine demands made at the Second ZSMP Congress were later adopted by Solidarity in Gdansk. There was a similar situation with the demands presented at the Eighth Party Congress. Therefore, the plenum will serve its purpose so long as the concrete talks at the grassroots level find their reflection in the resolution passed at the end of the plenum and in the fulfillment of that resolution.

[Question] You believe, then, that the educational work can be started when the sincerity in the realization of the decisions in regard to the youth's affairs becomes visible?

[Answer] We conduct this work without interruption, however, certain actions must be more visible in life. For example, a view has been circulated that the youth does not care for ideology. I would not say that. In Chorzow, for example, during the dedication of a memorial board commemorating the history of the youth movement, several hundred young participants sang the Internationale right on the street. Without any direction from anybody. Thus, the examples and traditions linger in the young people's minds. But

certainly one has to remember that they are looking for a place for themselves. Many things are changing now. The reform advances. All of these are processes the young have to learn to participate in. And here, undoubtedly, our organization has a great opportunity to help them. Certainly, there is a lot of ideological disarray, but this is not surprising considering the fact that manipulations by various political players aiming at changing the political system in Poland found the young unprepared for critical evaluation of their views, and the economic crisis complemented the arguments of the opponents of socialism. That is why I believe that an effective solving of problems in this sphere must be the starting point for an educational activity.

Chairman Jerzy Jaskiernia

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 25-27 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman, ZSMP Main Board, by an unidentified PAP reporter; date and place not specified]

The continuing long-term preparations for the plenum of the PZPR Central Committee to be devoted to the affairs of the young generation as well as the decisions made by the Council of Ministers with regard to the living and professional start of our youth are the main reasons for our interview with Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman, Main Board, ZSMP, by a PAP reporter.

[Question] Did the new developments in our country and the period of preparation for the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee on youth affairs cause any radical modifications or changes in the programmatic directions of the ZSMP?

[Answer] In general, it is necessary to stress that the line and directions of our union's activities formulated more than a year ago at the Third Extraordinary ZSMP Congress have proven to be right, and therefore there has been no need for significant program modifications. Nor has this thesis been undermined by the conditions of martial law. Naturally, one cannot say that nothing has changed since 13 December. We are now looking differently at the ZSMP on ideological-educational and ideological matters as well as on the problems of shaping the political awareness, legal culture and law-abiding awareness of the young. This follows, among others, from conclusions and evaluations of the discussion which has been taking place in the last few months in all spheres of our activity under the slogan: "What kind of Poland, what kind of union." Similar reflections have been expressed by the participants of the First ZSMP Ideological Conference and the Sixth Main Board Plenum. We agreed that regardless of matters related to a more effective presentation of the youth's existential and professional interests we must be more carefully concerned about ideological matters. This is what we are doing now. And this is not an evasive action or escape from

complex social problems, because the realities of the present economic situation are unusually difficult. That we are consistently involved in resolving material problems is exemplified by our patronage of housing construction, establishment of a credit fund for young married couples, and involvement in the improvement of starting conditions for young workers and farmers. The essence of our present work is the harmonious combining of matters concerning both "the soul and the body" and establishment of the right proportions for each.

We believe that any excessive leaning in one direction would be improper; I have in mind a situation in which our union would primarily concentrate on satisfying the social and material needs of the young reaching us from below, or concentrate--as the older activists wish--on shaping the minds of the young and on the ideological-educational matters. Unfortunately, we are still encountering in some circles a simplified view of youth's problems: through the prism of economic affairs. A precise analysis of experiences, including the post-1980 period, shows that equally difficult problems exist in the sphere of youth's participation in government, in self-government, and in subjective treatment of the affairs of young Poles. We believe that this is a very important political sphere which we must be concerned with and we will. This is related to upgrading and giving more significance to ideological training. On the other hand, it is necessary to understand the somewhat impulsive avoidance of these matters by the young. Taught by the experience of recent years, they suspect in such situations a desire to manipulate and direct. We take actions against such sentiments and this is exemplified by the matter-of-factly and honest discussion entitled "What kind of Poland, what kind of union," in which participate not only ZSMP members. I think that the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, which was a result of the realization of the resolution passed at the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress, allowed the breaking of all kinds of resistance and prejudice among the young and it will make more concrete guarantees for consistent and subjective treatment of problems of the young generation.

[Question] How do you understand in your organization the frequently repeated thesis that the solution of problems of the young generation is not possible without its active participation?

[Answer] I think that this thesis is obvious, but I understand the question. When the 1970's were approaching, in order to win the young a sort of philosophy of promises was instituted. There was talk about the generation of great opportunities, about an apartment for every young family, and a car, and color TV set, etc. The young began to believe that the state was the source of all goods and the role of the state was solely to satisfy automatically the needs of the young. Unfortunately, this philosophy has developed strong roots. Today, when the realities speak a brutal language, when it has become clear that awakened exaggerated aspirations cannot be fulfilled, and that even in the 1970's--the alleged prosperity period--we were still trying to make it, there is a need for common realization that

only the work of the society, and the honest work of the young, who after all constitute more than one-half of the entire work force, is the source of goods.

I wish to share with you my complete belief, based on my numerous daily meetings with the young from various environments, that the thesis on the need for organic work is understood by most of the young. We hear wise and justified views: We want good conditions at work, which will be properly organized and justly evaluated; we do not want bureaucracy hampering initiative. I believe that this is a tremendous step on the way to overcoming the consumerist mentality which has been so prevalent until recently.

[Question] What is your reaction on the government program concerning actions to be taken with regard to young people starting their independent private and professional lives? Will the government decisions alone--and there were many of them in the past--be able to change the situation?

[Answer] It must be emphasized that the government program covers only the main directions of activity with regard to the problems of the young generation. Looking at it from a broader perspective and considering it as an unusually important addendum to the total program, which ought to be formulated at the PZPR Central Committee Plenum, we give it a very high mark. This program contains many of our suggestions and it is characterized by a very just philosophy of resolving painful problems not in accordance with the rule that the government gives, but that the government supports by its decisions those directions of the youth's activity which show their readiness for independent solution of certain difficulties. Here I have in mind, for example, the decisions supporting initiatives with regard to the development of housing construction, development of cooperatives for the young, settlement projects for the young, promotional opportunities for the young, and participation of the young in self-government. I also have in mind the promises in the Council of Ministers program which give a real "green light" to a comprehensive policy in regard to the young generation. These are far-reaching promises closely related to personnel matters and lateral and upward promotions, all of which are of very great concern among the young. Naturally, major decisions, announcements and tendencies alone will not suffice. There is a need for actions formulating the control system in such matters and for guarantees that the young will really have conditions for expressing their own needs as well as independent and partnership-type solution of problems. It is necessary to remember that the struggle for the affairs of the young still continues. The easiest situation is on the central level. The lower one goes, the lower is the readiness of the local administration to realize the decisions from above in regard to the problems of the young generation. This phenomenon can also be explained by the universal interest of all environments in self-government. I believe that the just and correct government program requires precise implementation. I recall that there was no control over the realization of decisions taken at the Seventh "Youth" Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in 1972. Today, we cannot

allow that. Hence our proposal to establish the Committee for Youth Affairs at the Council of Ministers. We are glad that this concept--suggested at the Ninth Party Congress--has found a reflection in the theses for discussion before the present Central Committee plenum. Such committee would create an institutionalized guarantee of proper attention to youth affairs and would allow coordination of actions undertaken today in various ministries and institutions.

[Question] What is the most that the ZSMP members expect from the PZPR Central Committee plenum on youth affairs?

[Answer] We can already talk about some fulfilled expectations. Thus, very valuable is the fact that public opinion has been awakened to the problems of the young. I believe that, after all, not everybody was sufficiently aware of the drama experienced by the young generation today. A comparison with the first years after the war--the period 1940-1950--when all of us were poor in general is not a convincing one at all. We cannot deny that we have enriched ourselves by many contrasts and divisions. People's Poland is different today, conditions are different, the world is different. Years ago everybody understood the need for sacrifice. Today--as I have already stated--the consumerist attitude developed among many young and not so young people can still be seen.

I believe that these matters must be settled in view of the experiences since August 1980, transformations undergone in that period, and frequent breakdowns and dramas of the young people. I believe that the present PZPR Central Committee Plenum must have an ideological dimension as well as encompass all kinds of "happenings" and define the strategy and policy of the party with regard to young people. The party simply must show that its attitude has changed and that there is no return to the pre-August 1980 days, and that its attitude toward young Poles is not a result of a tactical consideration and temporary endearing itself to the youth without whose activity there is no way out of the present crisis.

[Question] What is the present condition--if one can use a term like that--of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth?

[Answer] We are nearly 2-million-strong, which is quite a few if we remember that the crisis has affected us as well. Of particular value to us is the fact we have saved, despite great efforts by our opponents, the unity of the young workers, farmers, and youth from other environments. We are optimistic about more numerous exemplifications of broadening of the cooperative spirit among the young. Since the Third Extraordinary ZSMP Congress the range of our activities has extended to--without any exaggeration--all youth environments, ZSMP initiation circles have been formed in 44 colleges. We will continue to strengthen and broaden our formula of multienvironment organization. Our advantages are as follows: honest recognition of real needs of the young generation; authentic--as never before in the history of the youth movement--independence and democratic

relations; great respect for our representative bodies; and the role of the ZSMP basic elements in the enterprise, village and environment. This independence does not mean loneliness. We work in ideological unity with the PZPR and cooperate more and more effectively with the ZSL and SD, and other youth organizations. It is characteristic of our work that we do not bribe the youth. We tell the young: If you want to be involved, or if you want to quicken the realization of your civic aspirations, join ZSMP and we will create an opportunity for you. We alleviate 9-year-old deficiencies resulting from the ZSMP's lack of representation in high schools and colleges. Our inactivity in these environments weakened the meritoriousness of the union's work; without young intelligentsia and personnel turnover our union was unsuccessful in many areas.

[Question] Most young Poles remain outside socialist youth organizations....

[Answer] True. The reason for that is--I believe--the fact that our entire young generation has not overcome a sort of a moral shock. Overabundance of information, often contradictory, all kind of influence from various forces, and the economic crisis do not foster awakening of the young to activity for themselves or for the country. Many young people still wait unconvinced, unsure if the present bows in their direction are not temporary, dictated by particularist interests. I believe, however, that this attitude will gradually change. We live in a period of crisis, in critical conditions, which are experienced by the young as well. Many circles are affected by pessimism, which, among others, comes from the fact that--as the planners say--we will not be able to get out of the crisis before 1990. We, the young, can shorten this period. This is a fascinating and generational task. The idea is that everybody becomes aware that this task is possible to fulfill by a joint effort provided that proper conditions, including the legal ones, are created for that purpose by the authorities. It is frequently forgotten that we live in a period of socialist renewal, which--characteristically--honestly shows what was wrong and allows for more confidence that the errors will not be repeated, and guarantees that the effects of the joint effort will not be wasted. Therefore, we address our program to ambitious people who want to change reality for the better, united in their struggle, work, in action for themselves, and for the country.

Together with all other members of our union I hope that the PZPR Central Committee plenum on youth problems will be conducted in such a spirit and that it will become the beginning of a great national debate on the young generation; we also hope that it will formulate short- and long-term tasks which will make everybody accountable, including us--ZSMP members.

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GDANSK VOIVODSHIP PARTY MEETINGS NOTED

Preplenum Discussion on Housing

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 8 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Zbigniew Zukowski: "A Dwelling After 40?: On the Eve of the Plenum of the KW PZPR in Gdansk"]

[Text] This month [June 1982] the Voivodship Committee [KW] of the PZPR in Gdansk will hold a plenum devoted to problems of the youth. The related problems, from ideological-upbringing ones to social and subsistence ones, have multiplied tremendously. It is precisely among the rising generation, and especially in young families, that all the so-called problems of everyday life, ensuing from the persistence of the deepest political-social-economic crisis in the country's postwar history, are at their worst. Among the related issues, the crucial position is held by the unusually urgent problem of separate housing for young people.

In the postwar period, many concepts of housing policy were entertained. That policy was inconsistent and often not in accord with the basic goals of the state's economic policy. Much has been accomplished in this field, but the housing policy still demonstrates many weaknesses. Long since, too, the annual number of new dwellings released for occupancy has been below the targeted figures. In Gdansk Voivodship the housing situation is, to boot, much more difficult than in the country as a whole. For example, the indicator of households per 100 dwellings is 116 for the country as a whole, but in this voivodship it is 123.4. There are 3.10 persons per dwelling for the country as a whole, but in Gdansk Voivodship this indicator is 3.56. The voivodship plan for the 1980s postulates bringing the number of households in 1990 to the level of the nationwide average, that is, to 108 households per 100 dwellings. To achieve this goal, the plan provides for about 107,000 new dwellings during the years 1981-1990, of which 94,000 newly built dwellings (75,000 in multifamily housing plus nearly 19 percent in private housing).

To visualize the situation more fully, these statistics have to be complemented with additional figures. Thus, that 75,000 dwellings in multifamily housing is to include 58,000 cooperative dwellings, 6,000 communal dwellings and 11,000 dwellings for [the personnel of] labor establishments. According to statistics for the end of last year, 116,000 persons are awaiting these dwellings in Gdansk Voivodship; of whom 105,000 are in housing cooperatives (28,000 members and 77,000 candidates meeting the requirements for admission to cooperative membership).

If the assumptions of the plan of housing construction are implemented and the anticipated number of recovered billeted dwellings is realistic, then by 1985 a total of 7,300 families will receive dwellings from the local agencies of state administration, and a total of 21,600 members of housing cooperatives will receive dwellings as well. As for the remainder, they are to receive their dwellings of "so-many" rooms after 1985, while the nearly 50,000-strong throng of candidates will have to wait for theirs until after 1990.

To translate the language of these figures into plain language, this means that nearly 17,000 families cannot expect to receive their own dwellings after a waiting period of more than 10 years. A decisive majority of that group is represented by young families, who thus face very distant prospects of being able to start a desired "hearth" of their own.

The housing problem produces numerous further repercussions. Young people who lack their own apartments have to live "in a corner" with their parents or parents-in-law, which often leads to conflicts and represents an already proverbial cause of the breakdown of quite a few families. The alternative of renting a room or a small apartment for extremely inflated prices entails a drastic decrease in living standards. It is thus hardly surprising that such an unexaggeratedly dramatic situation engenders frustration, discontent and impulses to revolt among many young people.

Of course, efforts are being made to improve this situation. They include, e.g., the voiding of the principle, mandatory until 1980, that some cooperative apartments can also be allocated for the needs of labor establishments and local agencies of state administration. This makes it possible, despite the recession in housing, to increase the number of dwellings available for cooperative applicants, which besides meets public demands. However, measures of this kind are--though positive and praiseworthy--nevertheless a drop in the veritable sea of needs.

More hopeful are other activities of the administrative authorities of Gdansk Voivodship. They include the allocation of space for single-family construction during the 1981-1990 period. Organizing work has also been undertaken by local agencies of state administration, through the provision of preferences for small forms of construction and cooperative construction as well as through the organization of small housing cooperatives. The related initiatives so far have resulted in the recent establishment of 32

different housing cooperatives with 1,900 founding members and a program for building about 900 dwellings by 1985.

The June "Youth" Plenum of the KW PZPR will also discuss these matters. It must be clearly stated that, as ensues from discussions within various youth communities and talks with individuals, most young people are aware of the unusually difficult economic situation and do not expect a miraculous overnight improvement in their situation. Nor do they expect promises that cannot be kept, such as used to be given.

On the other hand, the youth expects broad and authentic support from the region's political-administrative authorities with respect to its initiatives intended to shorten the apartment waiting time. In this field, the goals of the authorities and the youth coincide. The authorities are interested in changing the attitude of passive waiting in a line for the allocation of a dwelling--this being the attitude preferred by the previous housing policy--to an attitude of active participation in the process of procuring one's own dwelling. Such an approach meets the needs of most youth which is interested in the broadening of forms of construction patronage, in building with its own hands modest single-family dwellings, adapting attic dwellings, and settling so-called vacant spaces, as well as in producing building materials for its own needs in, e.g., reactivated small brickworks.

Such activities cannot rapidly resolve the whole problem but, if properly implemented and complemented with such indispensable elements as expansion of the credit system, they can provide significant support to the housing program. Thus what we are dealing with is essentially not isolated "guerrilla" initiatives which cannot realistically succeed, but the development of a broad social movement based on particular initiatives to which the authorities give the green light.

Discussions of this topic include yet another motif. Young people demand clear and full information about the current state and short-term prospects of investments in housing construction, no matter how dramatic that information may be. Young people nowadays are educated and knowledgeable and will not let themselves be dazzled by slogans: They want a candid picture of the situation so as to find their place in it and perceive the actual prospects they face.

No one wants to find himself in the situation of those young families which some months ago "bought" the slogan of the green light for single-family construction and began to build their own houses. Today they are in an unenviable situation. They write letters to editors complaining that, after many months of arduous work and sacrifices, they were literally ruined by the increases in the prices of building materials. Some built their houses only as high as the first floor, and others have only laid the foundations, but they all borrowed up to the hilt, are penniless, and have no prospects for completing the investment of their lives. Their bitterness is hardly surprising.

Executive Board Meeting on Bank Credits

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 14 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by hb: "From the Deliberations of the Executive Board of the KW PZPR in Gdansk"]

[Text] Last Friday [11 June 1982] the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee [KW] of the PZPR in Gdansk held a session during which it examined the implementation of the resolution of 10 March 1982 of the plenum of the PZPR Central Committee concerning the need to organize a broad front of economy and savings in every plant in Gdansk Voivodship, which is closely linked to the introduction of the economic reform.

During the discussions attention was drawn to the responsibility--ensuing from the resolutions of the seventh and eighth plenums of the PZPR Central Committee--of all party elements and state administration agencies for a correct and consistent introduction of the reform.

As ensues from data provided by the National Polish Bank [NBP], Gdansk branch, nearly 40 of the approximately 380 Gdansk Voivodship enterprises granted loans by the bank currently lack credit eligibility. Unless these enterprises take urgent steps to break the impasse, then, under the regulations in force, the bank will cease to provide them with credits.

The KW Executive Board stressed the need to take measures to stimulate the proper operation of the principles of the reform, especially in organizations that currently lack credit eligibility, on assigning the leading role in this respect to party organizations and administrative-economic management. Emphasis here was placed on the importance of the coordinative measures of the Voivodship Administration Office and units of the socialized economy to rationalize employment--an indispensable element of the reform.

In its turn, the KW Executive Board has, jointly with the Voivodship Defense Committee [WKO], discussed the role and tasks of the organs of prosecution and administration of justice in strengthening security, order, calm and social discipline. Since martial law was introduced, the number of infractions of the law observed in Gdansk Voivodship has markedly declined. In the period from 1 January to 31 May the Province Prosecutor's Office completed preliminary proceedings in about 6,200 cases, which is a decline of more than 30 percent compared with the situation in the second half of last year.

However, despite the declining crime statistics, speculation continues to be a frequent phenomenon, especially illegal trade in alcohol. The Province Prosecutor's Office currently has filed preliminary proceedings in 35 cases of speculation. Moreover, the so-called internal inspections do not function properly in all the units of the socialized economy, and this contributes to

the upsurge of economic crimes. What is essential, however, is that the organs of the prosecution of crime and administration of justice in Gdansk Voivodship have been exerting greater efforts during the martial-law period to strengthen public order, calm, security and social discipline.

The KW Executive Board has, jointly with the WKO, expressed its appreciation to the Citizens' Militia [MO] and Security Service [SB] as well as to the personnel of the Polish People's Army [LWP] for their active and committed attitude in maintaining calm, public order, and security in Gdansk Voivodship. The need for party organizations and echelons to create an atmosphere favorable to the useful and indispensable activity of the organs for the prosecution of crime and administration of justice was pointed out.

Housing Problems of Young Generation

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 16 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by ztm: "The Party's Tasks in Solving the Problems of the Rising Generation: The KW PZPR Plenum in Gdansk Has Begun Its Deliberations--Tasks of the Party in Solving the Problems of the Young Generation"]

[Text] Today [16 June 1982] the KW [Voivodship Committee of the PZPR] commenced its deliberations in the Round Hall [Sala Okragla] of the Voivodship Administration Office. The plenum was chaired by the first secretary of the KW PZPR, Stanislaw Bejger. He welcomed the visiting member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Kazimierz Barcikowski; member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Jan Labedzki; chairman of the KW of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] Boguslaw Droszcz; chairman of the KW of the Democratic Party [SD] Andrzej Bartel; and the chairman of the Voivodship boards of the youth organizations, Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP], Dalibor Malinowski, and the commandant of the Gdansk Council of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP].

The agenda is topical: the sociopolitical situation among the youth and the party's tasks in solving the problems of the rising generation in Gdansk Voivodship.

At the session the voivodship party organization is also to express its response to the draft of the ideological-program declaration of the PZPR "What We Are Fighting For, What Our Goals Are."

The report of the KW PZPR Executive Board was presented by KW Secretary Mieczyslaw Chabowski. He discussed the main problems concerning youth. The report stated that the dissonance between the proclaimed programs and practice, between the opportunities existing under the present system of society and the actual position of youth in public life, have resulted in swaying the faith of the rising generation in the political line of the party. In our voivodship, the manifestations of this crisis occurred in a more acute form, because the disproportions between the development of the industrial sphere and that of the social infrastructure have been tremendous and especially burdensome to young people.

The surmounting of the crisis is not possible without active participation of the youth. Greater presence of young people is indispensable at all levels of party, state, and socioeconomic life. But it is not possible to formally guarantee vacancies in party echelons and self-government bodies. Young people have to earn such positions for themselves by winning public recognition and demonstrating political maturity and professional achievements. The prevalent opinions and views that young people should not advance rapidly in life must be combated. But while a favorable climate for youth should be provided, it should meet high requirements as well. Young people should be granted the credit of confidence and endowed with rights, but at the same time they should fulfill their obligations and their performance should be monitored.

Youth can most effectively represent its interests and make its own generational contribution to the shaping of reality through the mediation of an authentic and strong movement of its own that can draft its own proposals regarding the program for the development of the voivodship and country, propose initiatives, and introduce youth to adult life demonstrating all of its complexity.

Currently a most important task is to provide social services for persons existing in a difficult material situation. This concerns chiefly young people, and especially young families. These matters should be concretely reflected in the social policies of the state and economic administration of the voivodship. They include two particularly essential problems. The first problem is the assurance of absolute enforcement of the constitutional right to work with allowance for the requirements of rational employment. The second problem is housing. In Gdansk Voivodship there are more than 100,000 persons awaiting housing, mostly young people. The waiting time is about 15 years and it tends to grow longer. The current system of the construction and allocation of housing virtually deprives the housing applicants of a chance to personally contribute to shortening the waiting time. The party will support all concrete initiatives of the youth and its organizations with the object of expediting the release of dwellings for occupancy. Such initiatives already are being taken, but their scope is limited. We thus regard it as expedient to implement on a broader scale the ideas of patronage construction. This requires revisions of the legal provisions governing construction and the broadening of the powers of local administrative bodies as well as refinements in their functioning as regards the solution of housing problems.

The program activities oriented toward the youth and its discrete milieu should be adapted to its expectations. The young consumer does not respond to schematic formulas; simplified explanations do not convince him; and he refuses to listen to reports on successes, but he does expect explanations concerning shortcomings. Hence, broadly conceived propaganda activities must meet extremely high requirements.

In shaping socialistically committed attitudes of youth, the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism is indispensable. This can be accomplished solely by bringing youth closer to Marxism through its explicit and clearer exposition. But as for the conclusions ensuing from that exposition, they should be formulated and implemented so that the practice of socialist construction would be a continuing confirmation of that exposition.

Area Youth Employment Possibilities

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 16 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Zbigniew Zukowski: "The Plenum of the KW PZPR Deliberates"]

[Text] Every young person who is completing his studies desires to get a job that would, on the one hand, enable him (and his family if he already has one) to make a decent living and, on the other, enable him to properly utilize the knowledge and expertise he acquired as well as to gain professional advancement in relation to his performance. Does such a lapidary formulation of the program agree with or differ from reality in the Gdansk Voivodship? This question, among others, is facing the participants in today's [16 June 1982] plenum of the KW [Voivodship Committee] of the PZPR in Gdansk, devoted to the main problem of the region's youth.

Let us begin with statistics. In Gdansk Voivodship there are 642,000 occupationally and professionally active persons, of whom 270,000 or 42 percent are young people 15 to 34 years old. This group is complemented each year by graduates of all types of schools who start upon their first jobs. In 1981 these graduates totaled 16,000. In a breakdown by kinds of schools, 7,700 came from elementary schools; 1,300, from academic lyceums [secondary schools]; 3,700, from technicums and vocational secondary schools; 1,300, from postlyceum schools; and 2,000, from higher schools.

Not all the graduates were provided with jobs. Following a trend that had already arisen in the previous years, graduates of elementary and vocational secondary schools as well as of academic lyceums encountered problems in finding employment. In the last few days of 1981, the employment divisions of Gdansk Voivodship had registered 158 job applicants who were graduated from schools in that year. Recent [December 1981] graduates of Gdansk University and also of Gdansk Polytechnic predominated among these applicants. As for the graduates of other schools in the Tri-City [Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot], they had no special problems in finding employment. To be specific--which, we hope, will provide food for thought to those intending to select a specific area of studies--the lowest chances of finding employment for university graduates are in such fields as the law, Russian and Polish philology, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geography, history and, in the case of the Gdansk Polytechnic, architecture, civil engineering, and environmental protection.

The forecast for the current year is even more unfavorable. The "Three 'S'" of the economic reform [samodzielność, samorząd, samofinansowanie--autonomy, self-government, self-financing] do not encourage enterprises to increase

employment. Many investment projects have been suspended. And certain branches of production operate at one-half capacity. This situation also obtains in Gdansk Voivodship. A comparison of the job supply and demand for school graduates reported by the labor establishments reveals that this year no jobs will be available for 500 graduates of higher schools and 800 graduates of secondary schools, especially of academic and vocational secondary schools. Once more, the area of study majored in at Gdansk University lead on this fatal list: the humanities, law, and mathematics and physics. For the secondary schools, the fields of most affected are electrical and electronic engineering, hotel and gastronomic trades, and agricultural and transportation trades (especially drivers). On the other hand, there will be far from enough graduates to fill all the jobs available in the group of construction and mechanics' trades.

In connection with such a broad opening of the shears of the "production" of graduates compared with the opportunities for their employment, it is necessary to organize courses for training them in the trades and professions that are currently in demand. As regards the graduates of secondary schools, job opportunities exist for typists, bookkeepers, shipping clerks, teamsters, fitters, lathe operators, welders, masons, plasterers and roofers. As regards the graduates of the Tri-City's higher schools, they can--as ensues from information provided by the Voivodship Administrative Office--find substitute jobs in the ministries of education and health service, especially in medical laboratories, preschool institutions, elementary-school instruction, and school dayrooms.

It is not difficult to sense that to many people this is shocking and disappointing news. If, for example, a newly baked architectural engineer or theoretical physicist is, let us suppose, offered a school-dayroom job, it is difficult to expect of him enthusiasm and acceptance of his fate. Aside from the attendant stresses and the feeling of being cheated in life, this may result in rapid personnel turnover. Of course, the positive effects of a change in place of employment may be publicized, thus enabling the young employee to find a vocation adequate to his qualifications and interests. But generally speaking this is a negative phenomenon. Yet, it is reaching a considerable scale. Suffice it to say that in the category of workers, the share of young people in turnover of personnel reaches as much as 70 percent.

Speaking of this group of problems, special consideration must be given to the situation of young people having a higher educational background. Gdansk Voivodship, which provides employment to more than 47,000 persons with higher-school degrees, ranks fourth in this respect in the country as a whole, after the [Warsaw] Capital, Katowice, and Krakow City voivodships. Some 75 percent in that category are young people up to 35 years old. However, their share in the management of the economy is not commensurate with their qualifications, because they hold barely 18 percent of managerial positions.

Poor earnings at the moment of starting gainful employment, discouraging prospects for advancement, and difficulties in finding an acceptable job

adequate to one's qualifications, prompt more than 21 percent of persons with higher educational background not to work in the professions they majored in. This applies to, e.g., 90 percent (!) of library-science experts and scientific and technical information specialists and 35 percent of the graduates in the areas of the humanities, history and social sciences.

Can we afford as a society to spend hundreds of thousands of zlotys to train e.g., a Polonist or a biologist who subsequently counts paper staplers in some office or sells parsley because no proper position is available for him? This question is not, of course, rhetorical, for beside the considerable material losses there arise losses that are more difficult to measure--disappointment, illwill, and bitterness of individuals who simply were deceived by the mirage of leading a different mode of life, pursuing a different career. Thus the curriculums of the secondary and higher schools must be adapted to the current and anticipated needs of the national economy.

No less necessary appears to be the development and application of mechanisms for the promotion of highly qualified young and capable employees who link their careers and plans in life to the plants they work in. Only a clearly defined and acceptable dependence between the results of performance and remuneration and promotion has a chance to link the interests of people to the enterprises or institutions in which they serve. This also provides the motivation for good and productive work. Unfortunately, as ensues from this brief review of facts, the situation in this respect in Gdansk Voivodship is far from ideal.

NOTE: The figures presented in this article derive from the report of the Voivodship Administrative Office in Gdansk on "Problems of a Start in Life and in Gainful Employment Experienced by the Youth of the Gdansk Voivodship."

Discussions on Resolving Youth Problems

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 17 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by ztm: "Attend to Youth in a New Manner--Plenum of the KW PZPR in Gdansk"; portions within slant lines in boldface]

[Text] /As we noted previously, yesterday a plenum of the KW [Voivodship Committee] of the PZPR in Gdansk was held in the Round Hall of the Voivodship Administrative Office, with the participation of Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, and Jan Labecki, member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee. The deliberations, which dealt with the current sociopolitical situation among the youth and the party's tasks in solving the problems of the rising generation in Gdansk Voivodship were chaired by the first secretary of the KW, Stanislaw Bejger./

At the meeting, the voivodship party organization also expressed its attitude concerning the draft of the ideological-program declaration of the PZPR, "What We Are Fighting for, What Our Goals Are," and elections to the offices of chairman and deputy chairman of the Commission for the History of the Workers Movement under the KW PZPR in Gdansk were held.

A report from the KW PZPR Executive Board was presented by the secretary of the KW, Mieczyslaw Chabowski. The principal topics of that report were described yesterday [16 June 1982] in WIECZOR WYBRZEZA.

This was followed by a discussion, with the participation of 21 persons: Halina Minkowska, Jan Hawrylowicz, Lech Bednarski, Jacek Szafranski, Andrzej Cieplucha, Stefan Milewski, Kazimierz Sokolowski, Zbigniew Jarceki, Wlodzimierz Lebieczinski, Ryszard Malek, Donata Seweryn, Adam Pawlak, Zbigniew Miotk, Tadeusz Olszewski, Jozef Lacmanski, Henryk Sobczak, Adam Feldzensztain, Kazimierz Kwidzynski, Joachim Ceynowa, Miroslaw Wielki, Rajmund Kuber. The other participants provided written comments for the written record.

In their comments the participants in the discussion touched upon the crucial problems relating to the role of the rising generation in socialist Poland, the questions of its education and upbringing, and the currently most vital social and subsistence problems. The first comment made was extremely pertinent: The speaker declared that we pay attention to youth when crises arise, especially when it takes to the streets and, too noisily, informs us of its existence and problems. Then fear seizes us and we want to quiet it--but we commit a fundamental educational error by desiring to bribe it with coupons for refrigerators, washing machines, etc. To top it all, we are surprised that the youth is not ideologically minded: it takes what it is given but it does not display the expected obedience. Through such activities, we get as a byproduct the division of society into people of an age that entitles them to benefit from privileges, that is, young people, and people who are not entitled to privileges because they happen to be a month too old. /We should attend to youth, but in a manner different from the one applied previously, because it is not a sudden apparition, it has always been here. We must define the role and place of youth in socialist Poland./ We must develop and implement systems of educational and upbringing activities so that youth, upon entering adult life, would be aware of its possibilities and obligations for implementing its life's goals and career ambitions.

The discussion touched upon mistakes hitherto made in the party's policy in the context of assistance for the ideological work of youth organizations. During the 1980-1981 period the party aktiv was preoccupied with its own problems and provided no assistance to youth organizations. The party too often adopted resolutions that were not consistently implemented. This caused lack of trust and confidence in party and administrative authorities. Party organizations treated the youth movement as something to be used. The leadership of the party organizations often approached the affairs of

youth apodictically, without understanding the need to employ different methods of implementing the tasks of ideological upbringing. The goal was to increase the number of young party members at any price. Owing to the faulty civic and political education practiced until August 1980, a gap has arisen. It is thus hardly surprising that youth operates with superficial and simplified judgments concerning the development of socialism in Poland and is susceptible to the demagogical influence of the enemies.

Youth is an attentive and sensitive observer. This was especially pointed out by participants in the discussions. /Any contradiction between word and deed prompts tremendous distrust among young people. It also makes them distrustful toward the authors of slogans that do not work./ The mistakes committed by the party in the past and the fact that the rising generation will bear the consequences of the present crisis to a greater extent than the others, constitute a major barrier to winning the youth over to making intensified efforts in behalf of the building of socialism in Poland. And the party must rapidly infer from this the proper conclusions and begin the work to create political culture among the youth. /It is necessary to create a system of continuing discussion of: the party program; the program for the renewal; political, moral, and legal guarantees; the need to struggle for socialist ideals and values and against harmful stereotypes of romantic thinking and uncritical admiration of the West./

It is also necessary to maximally utilize the historical interests and patriotism of youth in order to demonstrate to it the need to preserve the continuity of the national tradition and Polish statehood.

One speaker proposed considering the moral values that should characterize the members of youth organizations. For example, should not every new member of the political youth organizations be required to swear an oath containing moral principles, and should not these principles be appended to the statutes of the organizations? /It appears that there exist considerable shortcomings in the system of moral incentives applied in youth organizations./ It is not a coherent system allowing for all elements of the organization and assuring an appropriate gradation of awards, bonuses and distinctions.

A topic that was present in every comment was the social and subsistence problems of the rising generation. Mention was made of the lack of housing, of the long waiting period for one's own "M" [i.e., apartment], which is expected to reach 15-17 years. Possible solutions to this situation also were pointed out. The need to create a broad movement for housing construction was mentioned. When everything depends on the state, young people are left in a helpless position. The few patrons sponsoring housing construction for the youth are only exceptions confirming the rule. A proposal was made for determining the priorities in housing construction, which should solve, in Gdansk Voivodship, some of the housing problems and prompt active participation of young people in building their own housing.

Following the discussion, Zenon Kuligowski, member of the KW Youth Commission, described the findings of a poll concerning the young generation that was conducted prior to the plenum of the KW PZPR.

Next, the floor was taken by Jan Labecki, member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee and first secretary of the plant party committee at the Gdansk Shipyard. He stressed that old mistakes should not be repeated by adopting resolutions that have no chance of being implemented. Resolutions should be so formulated as to specify in hierarchic order the needs of the young generation, so that the word given to youth would be kept. This concerns a most important issue--credibility. One should also struggle against the paradox that those who do not appreciate socialism usually are the ones that owe it most. Speaking of the coming Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, which is to deal with the topic of youth, the speaker declared that it should realistically appraise our chances and possibilities. /For the problems of the rising generation cannot be divorced from the problems of the entire nation. Neither should the concept of Marxism-Leninism be abused because many who proclaimed this ideology have departed far from it. This ideology should be demonstrated by good and concrete examples./

The concluding speech at the plenary session was delivered by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. He declared that the issues of youth cannot be limited to the system--party--youth, because the party should be one of the elements in the process of the upbringing of the rising generation. It is thus necessary to draft a program constituting, as it were, a social contract with the young generation. /The crisis can be surmounted not by passivity but by thorough, honest work, and here too the role of the youth has to be defined: is it to wait until it gets something, or is it to labor in order to have something?/ The speaker also pointed to the major problem of the lack of contact between generations. One can speak with the youth only in plain language based on realistic arguments, without emotions. For young people receive advice from all sides on how to live. But as for the party, it provides the youth with little advice and few examples. /But young people must feel that somebody is concerned for their better future, that someone cares for their interests./

As the next item in its deliberations, the plenum of the KW in Gdansk unanimously adopted two resolutions. The first resolution concerns the youth, and the party's tasks in solving the problems of the rising generation. It defines the tasks of party organizations as regards cooperation with the socialist youth unions and it spells out the social and career problems of the rising generation. The second resolution /presents the attitude of the voivodship party organization regarding the draft of the ideological-program declaration of the PZPR: "What We Are Fighting for, What Are Our Goals."/

During the final deliberations, KW Secretary Mieczyslaw Chabowski submitted the proposal of the KW Secretariat concerning the establishment of the

Commission on the History of the Worker Movement. The KW plenum accepted the proposal and appointed Henryk Sliwowski chairman of the commission. Marian Chlebowski was elected the deputy chairman.

The deliberations ended with the singing of "The International."

Partnership, Joint Responsibility with Youth

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 17 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by zuk--maj: "Partnership and Joint Responsibility: Problems of the Rising Generation as the Topic of the Plenum of the KW PZPR in Gdansk"; portions within slant lines in boldface]

[Text] /With the participation by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, as well as Jan Labecki, member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee, the KW [Voivodship Committee] of the PZPR in Gdansk held a plenum yesterday [16 June 1982]. The agenda contained three items: discussion of the current sociopolitical situation among the youth and the party's tasks in solving the problems of the rising generation of Gdansk Voivodship; presentation of the attitude of the voivodship party organization toward the draft of the declaration "What We Are Fighting for, What Our Goals Are"; and selection of the chairman and deputy chairman of the Commission on the History of the Worker Movement under the KW PZPR in Gdansk.

The deliberations were chaired by the first secretary of the KW, Stanislaw Bejger. They also were attended by Boguslaw Droszcz, chairman of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Voivodship Committee; Andrzej Bartel, chairman of the SD [Democratic Party] Voivodship Committee, and the chairman of the voivodship echelons of youth unions: Jan Hawrylewicz, ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth]; Andrzej Cieplucha, ZHP [Polish Scout Union]; Mirosław Wielki, ZMW [Rural Youth Union]; and Dalibor Malinowski, SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students].

The report of the Executive Board of the KW PZPR was presented by KW Secretary, Mieczysław Chabowski. He stated that an acute political struggle for the youth has been under way for many months. Following August 1980, part of the young generation has been displaying an undermined system of values along with a crisis of confidence in the authorities, accompanied by susceptibility to the arguments of the political enemy, as expressed in extreme cases in participation in demonstrations against the authorities. However, /most youth, and especially worker youth, support socialism and through its labor contributes to surmounting the crisis/.

A joint strategy of educational action must be worked out by the party, the other political parties and the youth associations. In no case should a discrepancy between the proclaimed slogans and actual action be permitted.

The KW secretary stated that the situation is at its most difficult among university students. The small membership of the SZSP limits its influence on the academic community. This is also due to the illwill of some of the students and the teaching faculty toward that organization. An equally difficult situation exists among school youth. Some young workers also are susceptible to antisocialist slogans.

/The educational process must be cohesive and consistently implemented with the cooperation of the school, the labor establishment, the family and the community./ These elements should form a united front instead of representing different and often mutually opposed orientations. A special role here is played by the teaching staff. Teachers who are incapable of implementing the socialist system of education and upbringing should have no influence on the formation of attitudes and convictions among the youth.

The speaker further stated that important tasks are to be accomplished through the cooperation of party organizations with youth associations. The participation of young people in the process of cogoverning should be expanded, and conditions should be provided for the career promotion of young workers according to the principle that honest work alone guarantees personal success and national welfare. It is indispensable to broaden the participation of the youth in the dissemination of culture and improve the conditions for the exercise of sports and recreation.

The socioeconomic crisis has struck the rising generation the hardest of all. Young families encounter difficult conditions of existence. It is a supreme duty of the state to provide them with the indispensable conditions for development, although it should be realized that not all the related needs can be met.

The /housing question/ is urgent. The disproportions between the expectations and possibilities of its resolution have been growing for years. It is indispensable to provide the conditions for the active participation of young people in the process of creating their own housing.

/It is a necessity of the times for the youth associations to arrive at a common consensus on the principal issues./ As for the party, it must convert to regular work with the youth and treat this as its fundamental duty. Of fundamental importance is the effective ideological-educational influencing of the youth. This will be facilitated by, among other things, drawing on the traditions of the Polish workers movement and the achievements of the Polish People's Republic. Lastly, the KW secretary stated that another duty of the party in its work with the youth is to assure complementing its ranks with the best representatives of the rising generation.

The report was followed by a discussion.

Halina Minkowska, secretary of the PZPR plant committee at the Gdansk Harbor Administration, declared that, while tackling the problems of the youth during the current period of crises, the party should not neglect older people and those who need help, for it is precisely these whom the national crisis affects most painfully.

Young people who enter upon adult life must know their chances and prospects. A flexible educational model as well as motivation for honest work also are needed. For it sometimes happens that career advancement is not coupled with social and material advancement. Party activists should meet more often with the youth in labor establishments. If we are honest toward the young generation, we can win it over.

Jan Hawrylewicz, chairman of the ZSMP Voivodship Committee in Gdansk, stated that the Union of Polish Socialist Youth has reorganized itself, and redefined itself as a political organization. The union has from the outset supported the WRON [Military Council of National Rebirth] and the measures intended to rescue the fatherland. Now the time has come for a joint effort and fusion of the younger generation. The ZSMP expects support for its activities from the party and other political parties. It will also draw on inspiration and assistance of the experience of the youth organizations of the socialism-building states. The speaker further stated that we have a program of action and an aktiv, but the problem is that we have not yet succeeded in implementing it at the level of the basic elements of the union--in labor establishments and schools. The strength of the ZSMP lies in the breadth of its membership, which enables it to represent the interests of the entire younger generation.

Lech Bednarski, chairman of the WRN [Voivodship People's Council] in Gdansk, stated that the problems of the rising generation will be of special concern to the people's councils at all levels. The councils will increasingly improve their social functions associated with, among other things, the youth. He declared that it is important that the youth take part in the activities of the people's councils, especially at the lowest levels, e.g., in settlement committees which are dominated by older people and often display lack of constructive initiative.

The problems accepted for discussion by the councilmen even before the current year is over will include problems of housing construction, public health, and agriculture. A report prepared by the Voivodship Administrative Office and the ZSMP will be a document enabling the councilmen to thoroughly analyze the situation in the youth community of our voivodship.

Jacek Szafranski, a worker from the Paris Commune Shipyard, pointed to the often inconsistent actions of the authorities. Young shipyard workers assess positively the efforts of the authorities to bring order into many neglected matters. But why there is no consistency in implementing the duty of work, the struggle against speculation and a credit system for

young married couples, as well as in settling once and for all with all those guilty of leading the country into the crisis? The goals are clear, after all, but their implementation is weak.

Andrzej Cieplucha, commander of the Gdansk ZHP Gdansk Council, stated that we are dealing with a dualism of attitude toward socialism. Many young people have slid into indifference and internal emigration. We have to accomplish concrete work--without high-sounding slogans, pathos and circulars.

In the past it was a mistake to claim that "the young will be the haves." Today Polish youth is regarded as lost. We should stop waiting to be "given." We tell our scouts: you'll get it if you yourself work for it.

The problems needing mention include safeguarding the health of school-children, aspects of the social pathology, and the problem of providing textbooks for every pupil. Another vital issue and necessity is an unequivocal attitude of parents. It cannot be tolerated that the views expressed in the labor establishment differ from those expressed at home in the child's presence.

Zbigniew Jarecki, a private farmer, recalled that quite a few good resolutions were proclaimed in the years past. But what of it when they were not implemented. It will suffice to look up these documents and implement their provisions at present.

He also described the causes of the flight of the youth from rural areas, where social and living conditions are much more difficult than in the cities, artists and writers do not come, and the number of clubrooms and playing fields is decreasing. What of the loans for young married couples, he asked, with which color TV sets can be purchased, when the countryside needs nails and rakes?

Kazimierz Sokolowski, chairman of the ZASPA Housing Cooperative Board stated that the key to answering the question of why the young behave thus and not otherwise is the question of the degree to which their aspirations are met. Recounting his work experiences, he spoke of the problems of housing construction, the rate of constructing dwellings for which people may in the future have to wait nearly 17 years.

A broad movement for housing construction should be established. When everything depends on the state, this makes young people feel helpless. The few patrons of housing construction for the youth only confirm the exceptions to the rule. The speaker suggested that preferences be granted to single-family housing construction, which should concretely solve part of the housing problems in Gdansk Voivodship and contribute broad participation of the youth in building its own housing.

Zbigniew Miotk, voivodship commander of the OHP [Volunteer Labor Brigades], discussed the role of volunteer labor brigades in the system of the upbringing of youth. These brigades are the gathering spot for children from the poorest families, children who are problem students. Each year every 10th child does not complete elementary school. To these young people the OHP offers the only chance for an equal start in life. Yet, now that the economic reform has been introduced, many enterprises have lost interest in these brigades. Thus it is necessary to reform the forms of activity of the OHP. If the brigades are to remain a strong element of the educational system, the state must pay for their upkeep.

The floor in the discussion was also taken by" Stefan Milewski, Ryszard Marek, Tadeusz Olszewski, Henryk Sobczak, Mirosław Wielki, Włodzimierz Lebieżński, Donata Seweryn, Adam Pawiak, Józef Łacmanski, Adam Feldzensztajn, and Joachim Ceynowa. They discussed various aspects of the process of the education and upbringing of the younger generation and pointed to the multiplicity of social and living problems requiring an urgent solution. They also discussed the problem of social and career advancement and future prospects of the younger generation. Some speakers touched upon most difficult problems of youth organizations in worker, rural, and academic communities.

Then Zenon Kuligowski, a member of the KW Youth Commission, discussed the findings of a poll conducted among the youth prior to the plenum of the KW PZPR.

In addition, some 15 or so comments were included in the minutes of the meeting.

Next to take the floor was Jan Labecki, member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee and secretary of the plant party committee at the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard. He emphasized forcefully that in no case should the repetition of old mistakes be tolerated by adopting resolutions that have no chance of being implemented. A resolution should specify the hierarchy of needs of the rising generation, and it should be worded in terms of time and reality so that it could be implemented. This is the fundamental condition for credibility.

Further, youth should be made aware that the coming Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee cannot be a panacea for all problems, contrary to current opinions and expectations. The problems of the youth should be solved consistently, but in the context of problems of the entire society and with allowance for the possibilities of the state. It is highly important, on the other hand, to provide the youth with the possibility of implementing its initiatives. The youth and its problems are a topic which should receive attention every day rather than, as before, occasionally, on special days.

Toward the end of the discussion the floor was taken by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. He declared that there are hardly any parents who are not concerned that their children might go astray. Likewise, /the party is concerned about shaping appropriate attitudes of the public, including those of the younger generation, and providing it with better living conditions/. The needs are limitless. Kazimierz Barcikowski further stated: "That is why I want to persuade you to draft a plan of action on the voivodship scale with the object of meeting the most urgent needs of the rising generation.

The numerous desiderata voiced are subjectively right. /But the point is to identify those among them that are feasible at present./ Thus, a team could be appointed to draft a plan specifying what we should accomplish this year and what only in the following years. Attention should be focused on this, and this should be the basis for action, instead of multiplying wishful thinking. This is not a novelty: similar plans are signed and realized in the GDR and Hungary. Then finally the youth would know on what to focus and become committed to.

Young people nowadays face a dilemma: should they wait to be given what they need, demand it, or work in order to get it/? The authorities have nothing to distribute except further deficits in the budget, so /needs can be met only through work/. In the beginning, not much can be gotten that way, but it will serve to make a start.

One should speak with the youth in plain language, without emotion, on the soil of realism. Young people nowadays receive advice on how to live from many sides. But we as a party provide the youth with little such advice, and few examples. It is necessary to act so that /young people would feel that someone cares for their interests and acts in behalf of their better future/.

After all, the socially destructive expression "the lost generation" cannot be accepted. /We must delete and root out this expression./ For is a young engineer starting at the threshold of his road of life a representative of the lost generation? This may be a psychological feeling, but it is not a social fact.

The Central Committee secretary said that there is one more highly important problem. /Teachers play a crucial role in upbringing the youth. All who have chosen this profession knew that they would perform it in the socialist school./ If after a time some teachers change their attitude to reality, they either must change their profession (because the schools will remain socialist) or their attitude.

Stefan Milewski, the Gdansk vice governor, presented a draft of the resolution on the party's tasks in solving the problems of the rising generation in the voivodship. The resolution was unanimously accepted. It specifies in detail the tasks of the party organizations in cooperating with the

socialist youth unions and defines a number of important issues associated with the social, career, and life situation of the rising generation.

Concerning the next item on the agenda, Zbigniew Kowalski, member of the KW Executive Board and first secretary of the [University] KZ [Plant Committee] of the Technical University of Gdansk, presented a concise description of the course and conditions of the discussion of the party's ideological-program declaration "What We Are Fighting or, What Our Goals Are" at the party echelons and organizations. The contributions of that discussion transcend greatly the framework of that declaration itself and will be utilized as a factor in preparing the long-range plan for the party's development.

The plenum unanimously adopted a resolution on this issue. (It is being published below.)

As the final item on the agenda, the KW plenum appointed the chairman and deputy chairman of the Commission on the History of the Workers Movement under the KW.

The well-known party activist Henryk Sliwowski became the chairman, while Marian Chlebowski became the deputy chairman.

The deliberations ended with the singing of "The International."

16 June 1982 Plenum Resolution

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 17 Jun 82 p 2

["Resolution of the KW PZPR in Gdansk Concerning the Position of the Voivodship Party Organization Toward the Discussion of the Draft of the PZPR Ideological-Program Declaration 'What We Are or, What Our Goals Are'"]

[Text] The PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] in Gdansk, at its meeting on 16 June 1982, has, upon examining the course of the discussion within Gdansk Voivodship party organization concerning the draft of the ideological-program declaration of the PZPR Central Committee "What We Are Fighting or, What Our Goals Are," resolved as follows:

Those taking part in the discussion of the declaration included the branch and basic party organizations active in the seacoast labor establishments, institutions, and administrative offices. Gmina, city-quarter, and urban party echelons devoted special meetings to this topic, discussing the recommendations ensuing from the discussion of the ideological-program declaration of the PZPR Central Committee.

The discussion of the declaration led to a lively response from some party organizations, prompting broad and profound consideration by party members,

as well as by nonparty members, of the role and tasks of the PZPR. The draft of the declaration has become an important document in the life of the Gdansk Voivodship party organization, with discussions that lasted more than 3 months being centered on it.

The Voivodship Committee is critical of those party organizations and communities within which meetings devoted to discussing the declaration were improperly prepared--both organizationally and substantively.

Irrespective of the various critical comments and opinions voiced concerning the form and content of the declaration, it has served to consolidate the party's ranks, precisely define the attitude of party members toward the line of socialist renewal of our sociopolitical life, and focus attention on the efforts and activities being undertaken by the party and its Central Committee to lead the country out of the current crisis. The discussion touched upon the Resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress, stressing the importance of its decisions and the need to implement them consistently.

A decisive majority of the party organizations supported the necessity of revising the document submitted for discussion, so that it would define the party's main objectives and tasks in a manner that is comprehensive, clear and understandable to the whole of the party's membership as well as to non-party members. At the same time, emphasis was placed on the tremendous importance of the thus edited declaration to the further consolidation of the party's ranks and to rallying the public round the party and its program for surmounting the crisis and further socialistically developing the country.

The plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Gdansk expresses its acknowledgments and gratitude to all the party organizations and their members that offered recommendations and comments during the discussion of the draft of the declaration. Their list, which is an integral part of the present resolution, will be transmitted to the Central Committee so that these recommendations and proposals could be utilized when editing the final version of the declaration as well as in the work on the long-range program of the PZPR. At the same time, the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Gdansk declares its readiness to take part in the work on formulating the final version of the document meeting the needs specified in the recommendations and proposals submitted with the Gdansk Voivodship party organization in the course of the discussions of the draft of the declaration.

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PZPR VOIVODSHIP FIRST SECRETARIES INTERVIEWED

Kielce First Secretary Lubczynski

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Jun 82 p 3

[Interview with Maciej Lubczynski, Central Committee member, first secretary of Kielce Voivodship Committee PZPR, by staff writer Tadeusz Wiacek: "We Are Preparing the Youth for Self-Determination"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Secretary, several years ago you were still a lecturer at the Swietokrzyska [Holy Cross] Technical University...

[Answer] I still have connections with that seat of learning by ties which were initiated in 1968. The Technical University's Basic Party Organization [POP] is my parent party organization.

[Question] It follows then that you were very close to the youth over a period of many years and that you still maintain almost daily contact with them.

[Answer] I like to talk to them on many subjects, quite often not as a member of the Central Committee of a party secretary, but as a senior colleague.

[Question] The mistakes which were made in the 1970's resulted in a crisis of moral, social and ideological attitudes among the youth. What is your opinion in this matter?

[Answer] In the 1970's the youth lived under the influence of two sets of opposing truths: assumptions and realities, theory and practice, official and private attitudes by some parents, educators and activists. High aspirations were developed, possibilities were shown which did not find the final, realistic conditions for fulfillment. Additionally, a lack of clear criteria and proper cadre-selection mechanisms were responsible for closing the avenues of social and professional advancement. There was a failure to achieve the basic program task: strengthening of the rational and honest ties between the young generation and the socialist system. A portion of the youth did not adopt respect for work and the readiness to treat the public good as the highest duty. The young generation became deeply

divided: those whose parents, in their eagerness to achieve great prosperity were losing all moral fiber, and were trying to achieve this prosperity by all available means, and those who by working hard managed to overcome, with great effort, the difficulties of everyday life. Later, between August 1980 and December 1981, other people cheated the youth by a different method. Those very same "political bankrupts" had once again let it be known that they exist, during May, by trying deceptively, masked, to exploit the emotions of some of the young people toward the destruction of all that is Polish and socialist.

[Question] At the Ninth Party Congress, the party affirmed that its fundamental educational duty toward the young generation was the struggle to restore in youth the faith in the straightforwardness of the Marxist-Leninist idea.

[Answer] The party must favor active participation of youth movements in political life by recognizing the fact that the youth movement is the most basic form of the youth's participation in social life. To the party belongs the political inspiration in undertaking, by administrative and authoritative organs, a systematic and comprehensive set of activities aimed at solving the problems of the young generation. This pertains in particular to an equalization of the start of life for rural and urban youth, to open for them the opportunities for education and culture, for a professional start, for the creation of a feeling of shared responsibility for the fate of the nation. Those ideoeducational programs which aim at the future and the understanding of the problems of the youth cannot be the subject of any transitory changes.

[Question] In your opinion, what is the decisive factor in the youth's attitude toward the party?

[Answer] I believe that most young people have an appreciation of the good intentions of the state and political leadership. However, those intentions must be presented in a clear and acceptable form and their implementation must progress in a firm manner.

To a great degree, this is being influenced by the text of the press, radio and television releases which are, today, negatively rated by the youth as being not fully readable. Currently, among the youth, we are dealing with an ignorance of the history of our nation, the state, the workers movement and also the most recent events. Everyone deplores this state of affairs but they hardly do anything about it which would result in a change. The same can be said of the general direction of current party policy. Propaganda slogans do not find a reflection in the actual activities of the basic [party] echelons or the economic-administrative authorities. One may still see many cases where solid work is replaced by an expression of lofty ideas. One may still observe the functioning of a dualism of truths and fundamentals: the theoretical one and the one for private use. There is still a lack of candor in teachers' educational work, and I

do not mean only those who teach history. The youth and its organizations do not wish to become organs which function at the side of the state and political powers, the youth should be naturally integrated with the authorities based on the principles of mutual fusion and partnership and not by virtue of tolerance and tutelage.

These definitions must show a respective relationship: party--state--youth movement--youth. The young generation should be able to effect control over those socioeconomic policies which pertain to it by utilizing groups of young deputies, councilmen and youth affairs commissions. We should have the courage to allow the youth to become active at all levels of management, to participate in representative organ, not according to some sort of formula, but according to actual possibilities, ideology and a desire to become socially involved.

We must formulate a new, realistic, clear and permanent cadre policy. One of its elements could be the introduction of a statutory rule which would require a 5-year mandatory rotation on each level of economic management. A general system of conflict-free cadre transfers should be instituted. As an example, a system already in existence in other countries would be rather advantageous under our conditions: Simply stated, every 2 years 10 best workers are promoted one step higher--10 worst workers are demoted one step lower. It would behoove us to support talented, ideological people.

[Question] More and more frequently one hears of the need to formulate a grand idea, a program capable engaging the entire youth...

[Answer] The finding of a formula for a mission for the youth generation is regarded by me as a problem superior to all the subjects discussed here. We must present to the youth a solid, realistic and understandable concept of the current economic and sociopolitical situation in the nation. It is only on this basis that we may specify the task ahead for the young generation. It seems to me that these tasks cannot be formulated only on a "macro" scale but that they should also pertain to specific centers and activities of the national economy and basic economic units. We must create conditions by which the youth will come to realize that the country, voivodship, gmina and the workplace will only be what they themselves can make it.

Zamosc First Secretary Kaminski

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Jun 82 p 3

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Kaminski, first secretary of Zamosc Voivodship Committee PZPR, by staff writer Oskar Bramski: "Trust Must Come From Both Sides; Before the Plenary Session of the Central Committee PZPR on the Subject of Youth Affairs"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The party must gain trust among the youth.

[Answer] Yes, but this must be desired by both sides. This is a basic condition. There must be an understanding of the goals and common effort. This means a trust based on a full partnership. In this the youth must accept one fundamental requisite: The leading role in the society is fulfilled by the party.

There is a second condition, with an equally basic meaning, particularly today, this is an understanding on the socioeconomic level: The party does not hand out anything, it only fulfills a political function. Therefore, if one wants something one must work for it. Let us take a look at the employment picture: 40 percent of those who produce the national income are young people who have not passed the 30-year-old mark. This is a very important observation, to the point. It follows that the youth cannot demand any material goods from the party--they must produce those goods themselves. However, what the youth should demand from the party is that the distribution is just, not according to a merit list, but according to the amount of invested work.

[Question] To demand, that is easily said, but how do you implement it? It is true that the party has been proclaiming social justice for years, however, it has been quite different in reality.

[Answer] The creation of such mechanisms is relatively simple. The young generation should be more active and insure that it is more represented everywhere. I shall use the housing situation as an example: It is currently fashionable to form new youth housing cooperatives. There is even a new publication--SZTANDAR MŁODZIERZY [Youth's Flag]. Question: Will this result in any more construction materials, prepared land and, therefore, more apartments? I am afraid it will not. It is, therefore, my belief that the already existing cooperatives should be utilized--and that the youth should be visible from this context. They must act, they must become members of representative organs and thus insure that the allocation of housing will not take place behind their backs. Another example: The Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth [OKON]. One does not see in them, at least not in our territory, a representation of the young generation in proportion which would reflect the numbers by which they should be represented. Because the real field of activity for the OKON is to work for the social environment, the immediate surroundings--to take down those barriers which have been growing for years and which have such a frustrating capacity to make life difficult.

[Question] I agree, however, how do you actually get the youth to do anything, to become more active?

[Answer] It is not easy. One way is to use facts and the power of argumentation. This, of course, is all the fault of the policies of the last decade. There were too many promises but few results. The youth adopted a consumer life style. The easiest was to "go West," earn some dollars, and then--back in the country--one could live comfortably for some time. It even looks

good--at first glance. But, let us consider what effect all this will have on Poland over a period of time--we shall be enriching others with our work, not ourselves.

[Question] But such a life style was not originated by the youth.

[Answer] Certainly, but because of this the party must speak in a different way to today's youth. In the first place, the language must be clear and unequivocal. One must speak openly, without concealing facts which may be not too pleasant for us. Sooner or later these facts will out, and this will not gain us any adherents. Therefore, I am for open and courageous propaganda, based on realities, but also a fighting propaganda. After all, our political opponents are not showering us with good deeds, they move forward their heaviest caliber weapons. Thus we must also adopt a decisive and unequivocal stance.

[Question] The party must also create life styles which are completely different from those in practice today.

[Answer] That is another problem with key significance. The ideals of socialism, although they are proclaimed from many pulpits, have faded completely in everyday usage. Especially where they pertain to educational and moral standards. In the party, we have made a choice as to quantity and we forgot all about quality. During the past years, we had admitted some very casual people who cared mostly about themselves, their own interests. It was that very group of people who, while making plans and petty schemes, were responsible in great measure for the loss of the basic values of our system. And now it is because of this that the youth, experiencing social injustice in every form, have become distrustful of us. We must simply begin with ourselves. I say that we do not know how to select people for party membership. Earlier, when the PZPR party card was handed to someone this marked an important day in his life, it also brought with it obligations. That person had to have a wide extent of ideological knowledge and had to accept and observe our norms as his own. There was a sense of responsibility among the comrades who sponsored someone to party ranks. Party members received respect and recognition from their peers. Usually they were good workers and respected colleagues. Later this all began to fade, we were losing our values.

Then came 13 December [1981], which decisively cut those destructive processes which were destroying us, not only our party but the entire society.

[Question] People who enter party ranks are mature people, they already have set views, however, many young and valuable persons are left outside the party.

[Answer] This is principally a field of action for the youth organizations. Every party must have its support base, we--for example--do not have the sort of base that they have in the Soviet Union. There, the educational process

begins very early, there are also certain prerequisites which act to strengthen it. Thus, every Komsomol member must first become a member of the Pioneer organization, and every member of the CPSU first had to be a Komsomol member. They have created there a society educational mechanism which brings them up in the spirit of socialist ideals--very simply and very efficiently. We, to this time, have not been able to create such a cohesive system, we were satisfied with intermediate results. Some circles of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP] can recommend their best activists to the PZPR, however, this is not a frequent occurrence. Often, good ZSMP activists, having attained a certain age, leave the organization and do not become PZPR members. On the other hand, we admit to our ranks those who earlier would not "dirty their hands" with any socialist activity or by belonging to any socialist youth organization.

[Question] Would such a formalization of structures be really beneficial to the party? After all, party organizations can maintain daily intercourse with ZSMP circles.

[Answer] Yes, they can and they ought to. However, this depends a lot on people. It is fine if they can come to a mutual understanding, become partners in the work place, in their own milieu, nevertheless, in real life this is quite different. Some party echelons busy themselves only very sporadically with youth organization affairs, just enough to have--as the saying goes--a good looking set of statistics. Also, the party echelons want to manage a given circle or authority of the ZSMP. The youth will not accept this and the ties, in such cases, become strictly nominal.

It is good, therefore, that the preparations for the plenary session are being conducted from so many sides. I expect this body to adopt directive decisions which will lead to a strategy of action. Whether or not this ever becomes reality, this will depend entirely on the youth.

9511

CSO: 2600/738

LACK OF YOUTH IN CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY DECRIED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 16-18 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Jan Jezierski: "Youth and Housing"]

[Text] The discussion at the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee continues. The real problems of youth are talked about candidly, openly and without reservations. Young people are also talking about themselves.

One of the real problems is the matter of housing and housing construction whose complexity in our country primarily concerns young people.

Much has been said and written about construction, most often in generalized terms and through the prism of technology, organization, supply of materials, enterprise structure or Ministry of Construction and Construction Materials [MBiPMB]. In addition, however, a huge slab has hung and is hanging over this like the proverbial apocalypse.

Housing construction is now spoken of in the context of an enormous social problem which must be resolved better than has been the case up to now. And it can be resolved effectively by the interested parties themselves--by young people.

It is with tearful eye that one now recalls the times when young people decided the nature and quality of Polish construction. Where are the days when, for example, the construction of Nowa Huta was entrusted to youth and was an honor for that youth?

Currently, the situation in construction is different and other customs reign in it. As shown by experience, this bad state of affairs must be altered for the good of the economy and the social interest.

A commentary was delivered over Polish Radio at 0650 on the day deliberations began at the 9th Plenum, in which there was talk about these matters. It was suggested that those who were interested should become involved in housing construction. In short--young people. A suggestion was made during this broadcast that there should be somebody representative of young people in the MPiPMB management.

In following the course of discussions at the 9th Plenum and the ideas of the Polish Radio broadcast, it is necessary to support the proposed suggestions and in expanding them to add: Who better than young people feel, understand and recommend an effective resolution of the housing problem in Poland?

While we are about it, can we not ask why, for example, there is no council on youth problems in the MPiPMB as yet, at a time when such a variety of councils, advisory bodies and scientific institutes are operating in it?

Why has no one to this date said more widely and loudly that our construction industry--insofar as cadre and crews are concerned--is growing old! We have the courage to say that our agriculture is aging but somehow we do not notice that in the construction industry. Examples? Herewith a couple of them: The construction industry got rid of vocational schools, and the average age of its management cadre are people who are 45 to 60 years old! Young people are to be found only at construction sites and not in key positions. There is practically no [ZSMP] group in the MBiPMB itself. The inflow of new cadres to its top department--the Building Trades Department is already...history. And the management of the enterprise? The same thing--its age is above the average.

Does this mean that older people with experience should not be seen in this field of the economy? No, but there should be more "young and fresh blood" in the construction industry beginning with MBiPMB management down to journeyman and construction supervisor positions inclusive.

Nothing bad and thus good can happen if party authorities will accept young people's proposals for change and entrust them with solving the housing problem.

Let the well thought out proposals in this field expressed by youth organizations be accepted with good grace by the government, by voivodes, by managements in construction enterprises, by local party elements and other levels and elements of authority.

During this year's summer activity at one of the ZSMP training camps the following kinds of ideas came up:

"...The complicated ideological-political matters with which our country lives are of secondary importance to us young people. Yes, we see them but we see our lives more practically. We want to live in a common home, in Poland. But in order to live we must have a roof overhead and be able to participate more fully in solving everyday problems. We want to cooperate in earnest, and practically just as did our fathers who were responsible for the country in the first years of the Polish People's Republic.

This evermore common proposal by young people, together with what has already been said at the 9th Central Committee Plenum can, as a starter, be directed toward concrete decisions at the point of youth and housing construction.

And that can only turn out for the good of all of us...

RURAL YOUTH UNION NATIONAL SECRETARY INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 21 Jun 82 p 3

[Interview with National Board Secretary of Rural Youth Union [ZMW], Leszek Lesniak, by Zofia Zdrojowska: "Restore Forgotten Values"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] After a hiatus of 6 years the ZMW was reactivated last year. It at once started to take part in the country's difficult problems, which require sensible solutions and deliberate decisions. The scope of the ZMW's activities comprises primarily the countryside, and one of the basic problems on which it will work is the quality of cultural life there, and especially the participation of the youth in that life. Thus would you please describe to us the ideas, forms, and methods of action in that field?

[Answer] In principle, as an organization, so far we have not presented a coherent and broad program as regards cultural activities, but nevertheless we have set ourselves certain goals which we shall strive to attain, aware of the great omissions that have been tolerated in the organization of cultural life in the countryside, and also aware of the difficulties we will have to surmount in that respect.

[Question] Do these omissions include, in your opinion, the absence of a cultural infrastructure in the countryside?

[Answer] Not only and not primarily that. It is a fact that the countryside lacks such an infrastructure and we cannot expect to change this situation rapidly. Hence we believe that the countryside must progress toward self-sufficiency and self-service as regards cultural life. This means that the countryside will have only as much cultural life as it can attend to and organize on its own, through its own ideas, with its own resources and labor based on its own heritage and traditions.

[Question] When you speak of "its own heritage and traditions," do you mean that the cultural policies so far could be reproached with excessive standardization and loss of certain authentic values inherent in different social milieux and groups?

[Answer] Of course. This could be exemplified by the spread of clubrooms (offering television, often color television, and black coffee) in the countryside, with the idea of making it like the cities in this respect and so supposedly raising its cultural level. I would say that we were given such facilities so as to get rid of us and our bother. But the existence of such clubrooms is not any testimony to cultural life in the countryside.

[Question] All mistakes are now customarily ascribed to the last 10 years. Do you share this opinion?

[Answer] The roots of the negative phenomena now present in the countryside --the processes of the bureaucratization of culture and cultural regimentation are to be traced much farther back than to the last decade. But since they reach so far back into the past, one must realize the unpleasant truth that they caused a shift in the values of the rural community and a rise in its negative attitudes toward certain issues and especially toward any public activities. Our union is tackling a difficult task--that of changing attitudes, e.g., creating a new view of the past, new emotional associations and proper understanding of various issues. If this succeeds, even partially, it will be a cause for great rejoicing.

[Question] Have you already encountered a proof of this change in mentality?

[Answer] Recently I was in Wroclaw at the meeting of the ZMW with Minister Wojtecki. I noticed that, despite the difficult situation of our country, the young people reasoned in a businesslike manner, properly appreciating the situation. For example, one boy arose and declared that all decisions concerning the countryside are made outside it, that persons whom these decisions affect have no say in them. And so these young people are beginning to understand something. They want to be present at the birth of decisions which concern them. They want to influence the pertinent documents and resolutions. That is to say, they want to participate in actual life, to be its cocreators.

[Question] In your opinion, what is the essence of the cultural life of the rural youth?

[Answer] Of a certainty it does not consist in a percentile increase of financial outlays on that life, nor in the establishment of new gmina cultural centers and the construction of houses of culture. Because they may be built, but what of it if they remain empty? The point is that the rising generation should believe in the worth of organizing a cultural life for themselves, that that life should become an authentic need and not dead statistics of the existing cultural ensembles, clubrooms and entertainment shows.

[Question] It is worth noting that the generation of our grandfathers participated in such an authentic rural cultural life, without relying on any structures and not needing any clubrooms and houses of culture.

[Answer] Exactly. And interestingly enough, from my observations I conclude that the younger people--who after all represent the core of the union's membership--are looking for examples to follow, looking up to the oldest generation, often even the prewar generation. Hence I believe that we should--even if not by grasping the issue spectacularly, from the standpoint of the union's interests--throw a bridge across one generation and strengthen the alliance between grandchildren and grandparents even if it will be somewhat against fathers--who are regarded as those who spoiled socialism. It is precisely this alliance that will assure the authenticity of cultural life and its organization in forms ensuing from needs rather than from directives. The alliance provides these guarantees, because grandfathers tell grandchildren about their achievements as regards that authenticity. The situation at present is such that we have an overabundance of structures: everyone wants to create rural culture--the state through its administration, the cooperatives, the agricultural circles, the fire departments, the circles of rural housewives, the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP], the People's Sports Union [LZS], and the National Defense League [LOK].

[Question] And their efforts are incompetent, producing inadequate effects?

[Answer] Perhaps not in every case. It is difficult not to appreciate the accomplishments of the fire departments in maintaining musical culture in the countryside, and the activities of housewives' circles as regards so-called culture of consumption [home economics]. These effects are worth noting and worth giving due credit.

[Question] What tasks for itself does the ZMW perceive in these structures?

[Answer] We have leadership aspirations. The union wishes to build a new social front, a front consisting of all these organizations for the sake of--as we say at present, given the country's difficult situation--the survival of cultural and enlightenment life in the countryside, so that it could be developed in the future. For the present, it must survive. At least, what already exists must be protected.

[Question] How do you interpret the exercise of such leadership by the union?

[Answer] We wish to lead through labor competition, meaning that we wish to accomplish many interesting things. If the ZMW displays the most initiative in cultural affairs, the other organizations will voluntarily gravitate toward us. Of course, ZMW circles must also deal with issues which concern not only the score or so of the members of each circle but also everybody else, that is, this to be a program open to the entire countryside. There is no need to decree our leadership on this social front, because it ensues from a natural right; whoever is active a great deal and effectively, becomes the leader.

[Question] The other aforementioned organizations may have similar aspirations. Do not you fear their competition?

[Answer] We shall relinquish the leadership to whichever organization may do better.

[Question] But why do you wish to lead?

[Answer] We don't in everything. For example, in matters of physical culture we will wholeheartedly support the LZS. But insofar as culture is concerned, the moral right in a sense belongs to us because, generally speaking, it is the youth that is the motive power of cultural activities in the countryside. Young people are the creators, cocreators, and consumers of the goods of culture and cultural phenomenon; they are the force whose action today decides the countryside's future.

[Question] Action has to be based on definite values and filled with particular meanings. What values will you be looking for, and what meanings will you prefer?

[Answer] We are precisely attempting to direct the thought of those undertaking to work in behalf of improvements in rural cultural life, toward the idea that they should look for these values precisely in their own community. Looking for these values anywhere else is, as it were, diminishing oneself and admitting to oneself that one's own supposed inferiority. The fascination of the countryside with the city has resulted in the abandonment of many intrinsic and genuine rural values--values that, after, all, are a permanent part of our national heritage. There still exist people who remember that the countryside used to have its own cultural life. It is exactly to such people that we send the rising generation so that it may learn how they valued, e.g., land, or about the great mutual respect that had existed among rural people, between adults, and between younger people toward older people.

The propaganda so far presents the countryside as enmeshed in internal conflict, backward, with neighbors fighting each other over an inch of land. Certain marginal phenomena were blown up to overshadow the picture. But this had not been so in reality, in the countryside. Nowadays cultural activities should be used to restore the same values in another form--the values of respect toward older people, parents, and, in general, mutual respect among people, as well as to restore the natural bonds between man and nature, to change ordinary, destructive attitudes toward nature into attitudes of cooperation.

[Question] Excuse me, but let me say that the present times are not favorable to developing and fostering such feelings. Aggressive attitudes arise. People violate the dignity of others. These days there are among us so many breakdowns, dramas, and tragedies....

[Answer] For this very reason we especially need many cordial gestures, understanding, the readiness to give aid; we need compromises, substitute

actions. Our mistakes all are rooted in that, while the loftiest ideals of humanism were proclaimed, the individual was regarded as a particle of the mass, of the collective. But instead every individual should count and be regarded and treated as a person.

[Question] What do you mean by substitute actions?

[Answer] Escape into the past, a return to and replenishment from the ancient traditions. Attempts to demonstrate the beautiful pages from the annals of the peasant movement, from the history of the countryside and the cooperative movement. Familiarity with that past may prompt us to restore our faith both in the class and in the community. The peasant class is primordial, but it has never been the equal of the other classes, let alone the leading class. We want to restore the value of respect for that class. Whoever leads should respect those whom he leads.

1386

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STUDENT FINANCIAL AID REFORM DISCUSSED

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 22 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Janusz Rowicki: "Money and Deliberation; in the Student's Tin Cup"]

[Text] It is difficult to pinpoint the causes of the dissatisfaction among students as regards the material benefits they receive, considering that, e.g., last year the state's assistance to students, implemented in various forms, exceeded 2.5 billion zlotys. It is probable that the rise of minor negative moods has been due to the principles of the distribution of allowances, under which aid does not always reach those who need it most. On the other hand, it happens too often--as confirmed by student opinion--that benefits are granted to those whose material situation remains good.

The formalized stipend system undoubtedly provides opportunities for its abuse. The rigid income criteria per family member of a student applying for a stipend prompt bypassing the regulations. When last year this issue had attracted greater interest (because systematic monitoring did not come into question), it turned out that a substantial number of students under-reported their income and simply concealed the actual material status of their parents. The possibilities for wheeling and dealing are large, beginning with the submission of, generally speaking, imprecise data about household income and ending with the omission of information about additional sources of income.

It is characteristic in this connection that student communities generally are well-informed about the material situation of their members but a queerly interpreted sense of loyalty has inhibited their intervention. We are writing of this in the past tense for a basic reason: a reform of the stipend system, introducing numerous and fundamental changes in the forms and principles of the granting of material benefits to students is being prepared.

Essentially, these changes, first of all, assure that aid will reach those who really need it. Secondly, this aid will be of a concrete nature, so

that students will be aware of all forms of material assistance. Let us add here that these principles were not fulfilled by either of the two versions of the reform of the stipend system drafted by the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools, and Technology, although these represented definite progress in comparison with the old principles. What then is envisaged in the new more elaborate draft of changes?

First of all, it gives educational institutions greater powers in deciding how to dispose of their funds, with the decisions to be taken in cooperation with student self-governments.

The principle of the financial autonomy of student hostels is also adopted, meaning that they will be maintained from the rents paid by their inhabitants. The consequences of such a situation are readily seen: neglect, vandalism, and excessive administration--all this will determine the amount of rent to be charged in these hostels. The rents will indeed rise, but a provision will be made for housing stipends which will enable students to afford living not only in dormitories but also in private apartments. An analogous principle will apply to student dining rooms: students will pay the full cost of food at retail prices, but educational institutions will finance from their social fund the operating cost, the rental cost, etc.

Educational institutions will be able to grant fully or partially nonreimbursable housing stipends as well as discounts for use of dining rooms, but in an amount no higher than one-third of the boarding cost. In the event of loan stipends--considering that the new stipend system is chiefly based on them--they may not be granted in amounts exceeding the minimum monthly wage in the socialized sector of the economy. The amounts loaned must be refunded within no later than 10 years from the date of completion of studies, and the loan must begin to be repaid after 5 years from the date of graduation.

But while the positive aspects of such a solution are appreciated, mention must be made of doubts regarding the practical possibilities for getting the graduates to repay the loans. Will the educational institutions cope with this task, especially considering that some debtors may welsh, change their addresses, postpone payment, etc? And one more doubt: given the current limited social budget, can we afford to disburse funds which will be reimbursed to the educational institutions only after many years? Will students--and later graduates--live too much on credit, whether in the form of school loans or the loans for which young married couples are qualified?

Let there be no doubt about one thing: no one is proposing that material assistance for the student youth be curtailed. But hasty decisions and excessive appetites for which the educational institutions will present the bill should be warned against. Fortunately, the draft considered here makes the repayment of loans contingent on the quality of studies. For

example, if the graduate receives a degree cum laude, his entire loan may be annulled, and if his degree is based on merely good grades, half of his debt may be annulled. In this way, the new stipend system may influence an improvement in the level of studies, although that influence should rather not be overestimated.

When introducing the new criteria it should be borne in mind, however, that school financial aid is intended to benefit chiefly the students coming from the poorest families. Omission of this cardinal factor would mean distortion of the assumptions on which social aid for students is based.

1386

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POSITION OF PARTY, GOVERNMENT ON RELIGION, CHURCH, BELIEVERS

Bucharest REVISTA DE FILOZOFIE in Romanian No 3, May-Jun 82 pp 313-321

[Article by Octavian Nestor]

[Text] Irreducible Opposition Between Our Party's Position on World and Life and The Religious Positions

In conformance to the position of our party, based on the principles of dialectical and historical materialism, religion is regarded as a social-historical phenomenon that emerged in a particular stage of social development and will vanish when all the objective and subjective conditions that generated it will disappear.

The emancipation of the masses from any form of spiritual enslavement and alienation, including religious beliefs, signifies, primarily, the freeing of society from oppression and exploitation, the development of new social relations and structures, the building of socialism and communism.

The abolition of capitalist ownership of the means of production and the development of socialist ownership coincided in this country with the creation of the objective premises of emancipation from religion, premises that are being continuously carried through in the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society. In the years of socialist revolution and construction, as a result of the new social conditions, of the development and modernization of productive forces, of upgrading of production and social relation, a new social awareness, socialist awareness, has emerged and is developing, and its essential characteristics include its lay, atheist facet. The revolutionary changes that are taking place in the economy, education, science and culture, the intensive ideological and cultural-educational activity conducted by the party, the consistent promotion of the principles of socialist ethics and equity, of revolutionary humanism have generated fundamental restructuring in the spiritual physiognomy, in the system of values and conduct of working people, the release of a large section of the population from the influence of mystical-religious mental attitudes, prejudices and practices.

Romania's experience fully confirms the thesis of dialectical and historical materialism, according to which the building of the new society, the untiring activity for its multilateral upgrading are the paramount factor of shaping people's minds. In the practice of building socialism and communism people, while transforming nature and social relations, transform themselves. Work, social activity are the decisive factor in the education of the masses.

The successes obtained every day by working people in the conscious process of building a socialist civilization, the overcoming of the difficulties that still appear in these vast constructive processes enhance their trust in their strength in work and creativity. Nicolae Ceausescu stated: "We did not receive anything from the outside on a free basis, nothing dropped from the skies! The stage which we have reached is the expression of the work and confidence with which all working people firmly follow and implement the party policy, an expression of the might and strenght of socialism, of the capacity of the new system to provide the nation with a high level of material and spiritual civilization." [1]

As a complex social phenomenon religion does not disappear spontaneously and also cannot be abolished arbitrarily by administrative measures. Changing the minds of people, equipping them with the progressive outlook on life and society, with the latest knowledge and conclusions of science involve one of the most intricate issues, which, in many aspects, is far harder to resolve than economic development, for instance.

Even though socialism has removed the basic social causes of religion (exploitation, oppression, social inequality), their disappearance did not completely eliminate all the situations and circumstances that create the possibility of the persistence of mystical-religious beliefs and practices. "In the context of gradual disappearance of the social-historical basis of religion, in relation to special sections of people, special categories of individuals, religion not always represents a "remnant," but a form of spiritual existence, which, although it does not conform to the current level of scientific knowledge and ethical requirements of social development, nonetheless has profound roots, with forceful ramifications on the lives of these individuals, on their kind of ethical and social practical behavior." [2]

In our capacity as communists, we further the revolutionary dialectical and historical materialistic philosophy and in all circumstances conduct our activities on the basis of this scientific ideology, which is incompatible with religious, fideist, spiritualist and irrationalist doctrines.

Firm opposition to religious concepts is an essential trait of the ideology of the Romanian Communist Party. Providing a veridical explanation and interpretation, one that is consistently materialistic and scientific, of reality, revealing the false, antiscientific and irrationalist character of religious dogmas on the basis of philosophical arguments founded on data and discoveries of natural and social sciences, dialectical and historical materialism represents the theoretical and methodological basis of scientific atheism. In this light, scientific atheism represents an essential facet, a fundamental component of our position on the world and life.

The irreducible opposition between the ideology of our party and religious beliefs manifests itself multilaterally on all planes (ontologically, gnoseologically, axiologically, praxiologically and anthropologically).

Dialectical and historical materialism based on scientific research, on data corroborated by social-historical practice, holds that the world, in its essence, is material. The idea of the world's materiality, enriched by the recent results of the modern scientific-technical revolution and of social sciences, is opposed to religious representations on divine existence and providence, to any hypotheses on the

existence and action of supernatural forces. Natural and social phenomena are governed by objective laws and to explain them our materialist philosophy does not need any outside addition, any resort to the existence of supernatural causes. The cause of universal being does not occur outside matter, it is not due to a prime impulse, but to the internal contradictions inherent in matter. The materialist position on the self-dynamism characteristic of matter excludes the necessity for a divine force, of spiritual factors that are exterior and anterior to the material world, as maintained by spiritualist, fideist trends. Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "We, communists, know that the world was not created by any kind of divine, superior, force, that no one sits somewhere and controls the development of society, the structuring of people's lives. Daily, hour by hour, science provides new and new irrefutable proofs as to the formation of nature, of man, as to the materiality and infinity of the universe. Practice demonstrates to us that today people grow more and more capable of transforming nature and society, of discovering any secret of nature, of social development." [3]

The materialist concept is permanently developing and growing richer on the basis of the latest gains of human knowledge, becoming a veritable synthesis of the conclusions, data and theses of all sciences. Modern science confirms the materiality and infinity of the Universe, the dialectical progressive development of nature and society.

To religion, as a form of false, distorted and fantastical reflection of natural and social reality, the antiscientific, dogmatic and irrational feature is definitory. Authentic knowledge based on rational forces is replaced by or, in the best case, subordinated to divine revelation.

In the context of the scientific-technical revolution, when scientific conclusions can no longer be simply ignored, religious doctrines no longer reject science, adopt the technique of misinterpreting scientific discoveries, of resurrecting the old thesis on the "dual truth," proclaiming that both science and religion have their specific area of research and, hence, their own truths. Contemporary theology, without negating science, asserts, in one or another way, the priority of religious belief over reason, aiming at subordinating reason and science to religion.

In the area of practical action, the persistence of mystical-religious philosophies hampers people's full assertion in society, pointing out the retrograde-social function of religion. As an overall scientific position on the world, based on the most general laws of the movement and development of nature, society and thinking, the scientific-materialist concept of our party is a revolutionary method for knowledge and transformation of the surrounding reality, of the relations among people. To the religious, retrograde and conservative ideology that maims human personality, our party opposes revolutionary humanism, based on respect for man and his dignity, regarding man as the supreme being for man and not the expression of any supernatural force. Socialist, revolutionary humanism, opposed to false religious humanism, places man -- the supreme asset of the socialist society -- in the center of all the concern and activity of our party and state.

2. Relations Between Our Socialist State and Religious Institutions

The religious phenomenon cannot be reduced to its ideological dimension. Religion, as a complex social phenomenon, includes in its structure, in addition to religious awareness (religious ideology, psychology and ethics), the religious practices and religious institutions.

The irreducible opposition between the principles of dialectical and historical materialism and religious ideologies does not also involve political opposition between the socialist state and legal religious denominations, existing in our country, between communists and believers. In this regard Nicolae Ceausescu indicated: "We, communists, guided by our scientific position that attests the materiality of the world, vigorously combat superstitions, mysticism, the trends of idealist thinking. At the same time, our party and state policy, all social life is based on respect for the beliefs of people, on freedom of conscience, on free manifestation of faiths within the framework of the state, proceeding from the fact that, regardless of his religious belief, every citizen, every servant of one or another church must respect the laws and serve the cause of building the socialist system in Romania." [4]

The relations between the state and the religious institutions cannot be tackled in an abstract manner, on a general basis, outside tangible sociohistorical determinations. In the Romanian society the relations between the state and religious denominations (between the state and the church) have acquired a new content, as they are generated by the socialist socioeconomic and political structures established in our country. Furthermore, these relations take into consideration the constant broadening of civil freedoms and rights in the context of the enhancement of socialist democracy, the national structure of Romania, the fact that alongside of Romanian working people living and working also are working people of Hungarian, German and other nationalities. Moreover, important factors in shaping relationships between the state and the church involve historical traditions and characteristics, and also the taking into consideration of the role played by religious institutions in the history of our people, the position taken by various denominations in various stages of social development.

The relations between the state and denominations are subordinated to the fundamental tasks with which our people are confronted for socioeconomic and political development.

The Romanian socialist state, as the sovereign holder of power, ensures the unified leadership of all the component factors of the social system, exercising its prerogatives over all institutions in society, including religious institutions.

In Romania, 14 denominations operate freely. [5] Their procedure of organization and operation is regulated by law. To the socialist state, the 14 denominations have equal rights and duties and there no longer are privileged, dominant denominations. An end was put forever to religious persecutions and discriminations against them, as interconfessional fight, religious intolerance and exclusivism are prohibited.

The church does not have the right to meddle into the affairs of the socialist state and especially to conduct an activity that is opposed to this state. Nicolae Ceausescu indicated: "We intend to further ensure, in compliance with the Constitution and the laws of the country, the normal development of the activity of religious denominations. Of course, we did not permit and will not permit in the future either that anyone use these denominations to conduct an activity directed against the people, against socialist construction, against the independence and sovereignty of the country. I consider that, in the main, the religious denominations must concern themselves with their affairs and fully obey the state laws, must support the policy of socialist construction, of overall social development, the policy of peace,

cooperation and detente furthered by this country." [6]

This assessment is extremely timely in the context when internationally attempts are being made to transform some denominations and some members or representatives of denominations into a tool of the policy of interference in the domestic affairs of various countries.

In our country, school is completely separate from the church. The education and instruction of the younger generation are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the socialist state. No church, religious congregation or community may open or maintain educational institutions other than the special schools for training religious personnel.

The ensuring of the free activity of religious denominations recognized by the state involves firm observance of the country's laws by all the citizens of our homeland, regardless of whether they are believers or nonbelievers, by the servants of churches included. The denominations must abide by the basic provisions of our socialist state and society, must observe the country's laws. The religious institutions may organize themselves freely and may operate freely according to their own regulations provided their practices and rituals do not conflict with the Constitution, state security or public order and morality.* Religious faith cannot be a reason for violating the laws, the principles of socialist ethics and equity, that are characteristic of our society.

Our society appreciates the loyal attitude of the religious denominations' representatives vis-avis the domestic and foreign policy of the Romanian state, their participation in the attainment of the goals for the country's socioeconomic development. Consequently, the 14 religious denominations are members of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and representatives of denominations were elected as deputies to the Grand National Assembly.

In its relations with religious denominations, in its attitude toward believers, the socialist state proceeds from the need for ensuring the full unity of all the people in the construction of socialism and communism. All the citizens of our country,

* Noncompliance with these requirements results in the fact that in our country considered illegal are those sects or anarchic groupings (Jehovah's Witnesses, reformist Adventists, dissident Pentecostals, Nazarenes and others), who by their sociopolitical ideology and by their antihuman manifestations and practices are hostile to the socialist state. In these sects appearing are phenomena of excessive bigotry, practice of ascetic or aberrant rituals, refusal to exercise civic duties (such as expression of vote, fulfillment of military service, testifying in court, nonacknowledgement of registry certificates, and the like), prohibition of transfusion or other medical services, hostility to science and culture, to progress, refusal and avoidance of involvement in community life, instigation to chauvinistic, antisocial and antistatal acts.

regardless of nationality, language, race or religious creed, having equal rights and duties, work in close unity for implementation of the program for building a multilaterally developed socialist society, for strengthening of the country's sovereignty and independence, for the well-being and happiness of all our people. At the Plenary Session of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, held on 29 June 1981, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "The Socialist Democracy and Unity Front is the expression of the broadest democracy, of the representation of all social categories, regardless of creeds. It unites, in a strong symbiosis, communists and noncommunists, people with various philosophical concepts, but with a sole conviction, that of serving their homeland, socialism and communism." [7]

To the socialist state religion is a special matter, one of conscience for each citizen. In this respect, the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania (Article 30) proclaims and guarantees the freedom of conscience, under which each is free to share in a religious faith or not to.

Full guarantee of freedom of conscience is a requisite of genuine democracy and is based on the principle of equal rights and duties of all the citizens of our country, regardless of nationality, race, sex or religion (Article 17). Consequently, religious faith or nonfaith ceases to be a reason for discrimination, of restriction of civil rights and freedoms. The socialist state excludes any classification of people upon the criterion of faith or nonfaith, the granting of privileges according to citizens' affiliation to one or another religious body or nonaffiliation to any religious body. It is absolutely inadmissible to make any discrimination among citizens as to their rights, in light of their religious beliefs.

The socialist state does not intervene with administrative, coercive means in matters of conscience of its citizens. This does not mean that the socialist state must not conduct an activity of scientific-materialistic education. Exercising its cultural and educational function, the socialist state is a factor in the development of atheist propaganda, using many means available: the school, cultural institutions, the press, publishing houses, radio and television, the activity of disseminating scientific knowledge, and so on.

The freedom of conscience must not be interpreted unilaterally, only as religious freedom. Freedom of conscience also means freedom of materialist beliefs, of scientific atheist propaganda. Anyone must have full freedom to share in a religion or not to recognize any religion, that is to be an atheist. Simplistic understanding of freedom of conscience can result in the appearance of arbitrary acts by religious bodies, on the one hand, or the impairment of scientific atheist propaganda, on the ground that it would harm the believers' freedom of conscience, on the other hand. The relationship is sometimes misunderstood between our socialist state's policy of ensuring free manifestation of religious denominations, under the law, and the duty of the communist, of the revolutionary to fight for the furtherance of the scientific-materialist outlook on the world and life.

While religion is an individual matter of conscience for each person as a citizen, it must not be regarded as an individual problem in relation to the revolutionary party, that has responsible tasks in the struggle against religious prejudices, for the molding of the socialist, revolutionary awareness of its members, of all working people. The party cannot and must not have an attitude of indifference to

the irresponsibility, ignorance and obscurantism which manifest themselves in the form of religious beliefs. In the words of Nicolae Ceausescu, "one must not confuse our revolutionary policy, the duty of the communist, of the party worker to fight for this position, with our state policy, according to which each person's creed and belief are respected. We must not abandon the activity for the assertion and practical demonstration of the correctness and superiority of our position on the world and life, of the position of scientific socialism, of dialectical and historical materialism."...."freedom for religious beliefs is one thing, and the party's activity for the promotion of the revolutionary philosophy on nature and society is another." [8]

The communists must tackle religious problems as revolutionaries, constantly having in mind that we are guided by a revolutionary, scientific outlook on the world, that springs from the latest scientific advances.

The Statute of the Romanian Communist Party, the duties laid down in the Code of principles and standards of work and life of communists, of socialist ethics and equity prominently place the fundamental duty of each party member to continuously upgrade his political and ideological level, to imbibe dialectical and historical materialism -- the revolutionary outlook on the world and life of the working class, to fight against idealistic theories, mystical prejudices, superstitions, against any manifestation of obscurantism.

It is not immaterial to our party if working people, and especially some of its members, still believe in the existence of supernatural forces, because in fighting against exploitation of man by man the party implicitly also fights against spiritual bondage.

The 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party proceeding from the fact that the persistence of some mystical, retrograde concepts in the minds of some people limits their creative assertion in the community, pointed out the need for promoting a militant attitude against retrograde, mystical-religious ideas, against backward mental attitudes. For the purpose of removing mystical-religious prejudices from people's minds, for the development of a scientific outlook on the world, the party, mass and civic organizations, the educational, cultural and artistic institutions conduct an intensive educational work, are constantly concerned with disseminating scientific knowledge on nature and society. As a result of the activity conducted by the party and state substantive changes have occurred in working people's minds, their political, vocational and cultural-scientific horizons have broadened. The ideas of scientific socialism have penetrated deeply into the minds of the masses; the party policy objectives have been fully endorsed by all the people.

Scientific-materialistic education is an essential facet of shaping and developing socialist awareness, a significant goal of ideological work, which is in compliance with the new nature of socialist relations, with the humanist essence of our system, with the scientific spirit of modern times. This work is not an end in itself, it must be subordinated to the specific tasks of building a multilaterally developed socialist society.

In the party documents emphasis was placed many times on the fact that to remove religious, mystical concepts and prejudices it is necessary to conduct a very

patient, systematic and convincing work, using scientific arguments. Religion cannot be fought by declaration of an open war to religious beliefs and even less by ironies directed against believers and servants of churches. Our party has proved and continues to prove considerable tact in combating religion, it sees to it that ideological methods are used, it avoids offending the feelings of believers and excludes the use of administrative, coercive methods.

The individual of our socialist society takes shape as a multilaterally developed man, capable of profoundly understanding natural phenomena and the changes that take place in society, the new problems posed by the evolution of mankind, of knowingly participating in the progress of society. Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of our party, stated on this matter: "Great responsibilities rest with the party propaganda in the argument-based and convincing explanation of the theses and provisions of the Party Program, of the new advances of scientific knowledge, that corroborate the materiality and infinity of the universe, of matter, the dialectical development of nature and society. Our propaganda must demonstrate that, in opposition to idealist metaphysical philosophy, which conceives the world as a static entity, in an eternal immobility, dialectical and historical materialism is a vital, revolutionary, advanced concept, which not only explains the fundamental laws that generate the continuous transformation of the world, of the organization of people's lives, the uninterrupted progress of human thought, knowledge and practice, but, also, equip people in the struggle for the progressive, revolutionary transformation of the environment and also of their own material and spiritual existence. To conduct a genuinely revolutionary propaganda means to make people ready and stimulate them to work for structuring society on new, superior bases, that conform with the principles of justice and equity, to mobilize them in the fight against obsolescence, against conservative and retrograde concepts, for bold promotion of the new in social thinking and practice." [9]

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Raport la cel de-al XII-lea Congress al Partidului Comunist Roman" [Report to the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party], Bucharest, Edit. Politica, 1979, p 14.
2. Petru Berar, "Religia in Lumea Contemporana" [Religion in the Contemporary World], Bucharest, Edit. Politica, 1976, pp 234-235.
3. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Address to the Work Meeting at the CC of the RCP held from 5-7 Sep 1979," in "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societatii Socialiste Multilaterale Dezvoltate," [Romania Along the Road of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society], Vol. 18, Bucharest, Edit. Politica, 1979, pp 683-694.
4. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech Given at the Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture, 2 June 1976," in "Romania Along the Road of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol. 13, Bucharest, Edit. Politica, 1977, p 96.

5. In our country operate 14 religious denominations whose by-laws are recognized by the state (Orthodox, Roman-Catholic, Reformed, Augustana Evangelical Church, Synodal Presbiterian Evangelical Church, Unitarian, Old Ritualist Christian, Mosaic, Moslem, Armenian-Gregorian, Baptist, Seven-Day Adventist, Pentecostal, Christian by the Gospel).
6. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Interview Granted to the Dutch Weekly NIEWSNET, 16 Oct 1979," in "Romania Along the Road of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 19, Bucharest, Edit. Politica, 1980, p 112.
7. See SCINTEIA, dated 30 June 1981.
8. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Address to the Joint Plenary Session of the CC of the RCP and the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development of Romania, 5 Jul 1979," in "Romania Along the Road of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 18, pp 400-401.
9. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report on the Political-Ideological and Cultural-Educational Activity for Shaping the New Man, Conscious and Devoted Builder of the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and of Communism in Romania," given at the Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture, 2 June 1976," in "Romania Along the Road of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 13, Bucharest, Edit. Politica, 1977, p 93.

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ROMANIA

ATTACKS ON WRITERS UNION DEPLORED BY PALER

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 29 Jul 82 pp 12-13

/Interview with Octavian Paler by Mircea Iorgulescu/

/Text/ /Question/ My dear Octavian Paler, the characters in your books exhibit a twofold urge to confess and to question alike. They question while confessing and confess while questioning. Consequently they are more "voices" than "faces" and I am even tempted to say that actually a same voice is heard everywhere, in "Defense of Galileo" as well as in "Life on a Platform" and in "Imaginary Letters" as well as in "Caminante." To be sure I do not identify the author with the character but neither can I deny this constant presence of confession and interrogation as ways of existing in the world and speaking of the world. How far do confession and interrogation express an attitude of the author himself?

/Answer/ I suffered acutely when I was a student and I lost for good, in a bookstore, the briefcase in which I always carried with pride and fear the manuscripts of my first three books. Today I don't know that the accident wasn't somehow providential. What confessions could I make at the age of 21? Yet I cannot write without confessing. All my literature is a form of confession. Why else would I write if not to say what I am thinking and feeling?

As for interrogation, what am I to say? I began by bovarizing the calm of Greek statues and Goethe, and without wishing to I found myself muttering questions. Then I thought it was natural for that to happen. I do not think we can take the philosophers seriously who say happiness is to be like stones. Only the gods can come out of history. They alone can permit themselves to remain silent. It is our fate to ask ourselves questions. During the war Paul Valery translated Vergil's Bucolics and wrote "The Dialogue of the Tree," an evocation of the birth of a tree. A German officer asked him, "How can you write that way about eternal reality and make no reference to the crucial urgency of our so agitated era?" (The Allies had landed in Italy, Corsica had been freed, and the Soviet offensive had liberated Smolensk and Kiev). Paul Valery replied, "Events bore me. They are the foam of the waves, but the sea is what interests me." I see a subtle irony in Valery's words, the intellect's contempt for the arrogance of power, and I do not think I could do justice to it. I recall readingly somewhere recently about the journey made to Weimar during the war by a group of collaborating

French writers. At one time in Germany their train came to a halt out in the country. Somebody opened a window, and voices outside were suddenly heard speaking French. The writers were intrigued and came out of their compartments to find a group of French prisoners who had stopped work on the railroad track to let the train pass. There were about ten of them, guarded by two armed German soldiers. You can imagine the contrast between the sunken, unshaven faces of the prisoners and their clothes marked KG in white paint and the fine clothing and well-fed bodies of the writers traveling to Weimar. They were ashamed of their privileged position compared with the misery of their compatriots. They tried to engage in a conversation, but they could not respond when the others asked them what they were doing on the train. What could they say? That they were writers on their way to Weimar, making a pilgrimage in Goethe's honor? That art can be above the conflicts, above the assassins and above the victims? That history does not concern it, the history that stands beside the railway with KG on clothes or guards those who wear them with arms in hand? In those embarrassing moments the truth was inexorably clear and could be interpreted in only one way. To be sure art can stay in the train, well saven and perfumed. It can shut the window, ask nothing and hear nothing. It can say "I am tired of history and I want to ignore it" and continue the pilgrimage to Weimar in peace. But such trains do not go to Weimar but to nothing.

My "Subjective Mythologies" is in fact the book of a dilemma between the two kinds of sphinxes in the history of culture, the Egyptian sphinx, smiling metaphysically at all our problems, and the Greek sphinx who asked questions. Then I wrote that "Fear and cowardice begin with an answer," but I was deceiving myself. Today I think fear and cowardice begin with a question, because we sometimes evade the question, not the answer, in order to avoid an answer. Or we modify the question in such a way that we can answer it safely with no risk of any consequences. In other words we ask only the questions that suit us. We create the illusion that we are not being evasive, but the sphinx asks us only what we want to be asked. The desertions and compromises then become the result of a more devious process wherein the disease that was vitiating the answer has climbed like a mole to attack the question itself. I am haunted by a sentence of Kafka's, "I do not write as I speak, I do not speak as I think, I do not think as I should like to think, and so on into the depths of darkness." And if what I say does not sound presumptuous to you, I dream in the reverse way.

/Question/ And so you believe in the moral effect of interrogation?

/Answer/ Do you know the difference between a knave and one who does not know how to get along except by respecting the truths in which he believes? A knave does not abandon the pole star. He even invokes it and pretends to be guided by it. But he does not always look for it in the sky where it is, but where his interests dictate. Well, the questions help me look for the pole star where I have learned that it is in the heavens. Moreover I am convinced that an author is more subject to the good or bad influence of his books than is believed. He wants to be worthy of them or to live them, and that sometimes changes him. And speaking of fear again, I think I have come to be a little braver. And I have invoked the idea of loving so much that I have come to be convinced that whenever I have not loved something worthy to be loved I have been prevented from doing so.

/Question/ You often polemicize "cordially," but also firmly, and the stated cordiality of your polemics seems to have a polemic purpose. Does it represent you or is it a measure required by the circumstances of our literary life. And what does "literary life" mean to you? Do you think "literary life" does not involve literature or that literature and creation properly speaking are not part of "literary life"?

/Answer/ Quite a few questions for a problem which is already involved enough like that of literary life and which, I hope, is like a labyrinth. No, do not be surprised. I say "I hope" because a labyrinth also has an Ariadne's thread as well as a Minotaur.

Yes, I think the cordiality of my polemics is representative of me. Otherwise I would be only a dilettante among the professional polemicists and would have done better to give it up. Moreover I have always believed in what Heraclitus said, that our fate is our own character.

Speaking of literary life, do you remember what we learned in school about Newton's disc, the disc colored with all shades of the solar spectrum that turned white when it was spun rapidly because the colors disappeared? What would you say if I asked you whether the disc was white or colored? If you say white you are only half right because it only appeared white while it was actually colored with all shades of the rainbow. If you say it was colored it is only half true because it looked white. Probably we should say both, that the disc is actually colored but looks white to us because of its rapid revolutions and therefore is white and colored at the same time, like life, whose complexity probably cannot be reduced to the contrast between light and shade. Enough has been said, you see, by way of simplification to the effect that man is either a beast or the highest dream of nature, instead of saying like Tolstoy that he is both god and pig. Almost the same thing has happened in the case of literary life. Some have wanted to assure us that it is hopelessly unhealthy and others that it is like a Madonna. I do not believe either one. I think the disc is colored and white at the same time.

Now then, I do not contrast literature with literary life. I do not say "It is not literary life that counts, but the books." I do not do so because I consider that contrast both false and harmful. Obviously the books do not depend upon literary life but upon the talent of the authors. But it would be a sad oversight to imagine that a vulnerable literary life would not ultimately hurt the part where we are alone with a blank page, or that lack of unity and fellowship will not ultimately avenge itself upon our solitude. I have already said that it seems we know how to be alone but we do not know very well how to be together.

/Question/ At the National Writers Conference in July 1981 you were elected by a large majority to the Union Management Council, and you are also a member of the Bureau. What do those offices actually mean? Are they privileges or responsibilities? What advantages and obligations have you? And how do you view the opinions of those who regard the union as an outmoded, anachronistic institution and its bodies as products of behind-the-scenes arrangements and so-called electoral maneuvers?

/Answer/ Privileges? Advantages? Let us be serious. I was also a member of the previous council and the previous bureau. And it is one of two things:

Either I am unable to see what advantage or privilege there could be in standing through meetings, or their invocation by those who invoke them is sheer rhetoric, like the story of the elections, which is offensive and funny at the same time when told in those terms. I am almost inclined to believe that I was in the wrong room and did not attend the elections referred to by those who talk that way. Am I as naive as all that? I wonder, and I have often had good reasons to think so, but it is not so... I do not wish to plead my own case /pro domo/ especially since, as far as I am concerned, I have had no electoral fear. Nor do I maintain that all of us who have been elected deserve to be elected, nor that some of those who were not elected did not deserve to be elected more than some of us. But neither do I agree that about 500 writers assembled to perform a farce. I refuse to insult my colleagues that way.

I was perplexed to read the respective accusations when they appeared. I did not like to think they were possible. Why all this fury? Because the results could not satisfy everybody? Wasn't that normal? In the last analysis, democracy is nothing but a misnomer to someone who thinks democracy is not what the majority wants but what he wants. I do not like guerrilla warfare in literary life because I have no inclination for hostilities, nor is it my ambition to lecture anyone on truth. I am content with the honesty to say exactly what I think. Therefore I acknowledge that all this seems very sad to me and I am quite baffled by it. Was it not democratic for the writers to elect their representatives to the council by secret ballot? Is it not democratic for the bodies so elected, according to the standards approved by all, to be considered emanations of all? Isn't that a principle of democracy? Wouldn't it sound entirely strange if a citizen declared he did not recognize the laws of the state when the deputy he wanted was not elected? In short, isn't it strange to state that democracy can sometimes be invoked against itself? At any rate I want to stay far away from the passions that rend literary life because I steadfastly believe that a true intellectual solidarity is possible, and due to a structural defect I cannot understand anyone who is inclined to set fire to the world if it does not please him, although I know that the crusaders seemed willing at times even to sacrifice the holy sepulcher just so that it would not be in the hands of the enemy.

I am not saying that the literary life does not give us reasons enough for bitterness, or that those reasons are to be glossed over. I do not claim that there are no gaps or errors in the union's activity, or that those gaps and errors are to be overlooked. I do not mean to preach any aseptic brotherhood, which is impossible anyway in a community where eternity and the moment are pursued with the same eagerness. But I do not think I have behaved intelligently when, in order to heal our wounds, I have torn off the bandages that covered them and bewailed the literary life only to poison it even further.

In speaking of guild solidarity I am of course not thinking of a caste solidarity, shut within itself and existing for itself. We are or rather we should be together not to isolate ourselves but to meet our readers' expectations. Therefore I interpret fellowship not as a mere professional relationship but as a social value useful in our common effort to enrich the Romanian culture of today. And so I was puzzled to hear the writers themselves defaming the union they belong to and speaking contemptuously of it. I am not discussing here the reasons why a given writer may be dissatisfied with our professional organization, but

I certainly cannot see the advantage of questioning not only the union's defects and errors but the union itself. I do not think anyone has the right to question a public value because of personal dissatisfactions. Therefore if we are to declare ourselves for or against defaming the Writers Union, I do not hesitate. I am against it. Marin Preda's demise has shown us once again a sad truth, that death is the only teacher of appreciation whom we recognize. But why must we perpetually learn to appreciate by regret? We all have need of the union's prestige, including those who may have been inclined at times to scuttle the whole ship. And finally I fail to see why I should apologize for valuing that prestige and the dignity of the idea of a writer.

Let me be entirely frank, but I understand that an insulted man may be impassioned and may even have vindictive impulses. It is difficult to live like the Greek statues with a detached smile no matter what befalls us. We want, do not want and sometimes pay tribute to our passions. What I understand less is a certain kind of silence. Actually how many are there who have leveled diatribes at the union for one reason or another? I have not counted them, but I remember a remark of Napoleon's. He said one man who speaks makes more noise than an army that is silent. And it seems that also applies to us at times. When the regulation structures of the union were attacked, how many felt obligated to go to the defense of the principles? In private, they were innumerable. In public, outside of a few solitary voices including yours, I observed no other attempts to enter into a dialogue to explain matters with full regard for the truth. When some 20 writers, if not even more, were unconscionably defamed in writing, no one took a stand except Adrian Paunescu in an article published in ROMANIA LIBERA. And when Adrian Paunescu was libeled in his turn, no one felt it his duty to intervene. Does this silence seem more moral to you? Does it do no harm? Perhaps the union management also has a duty to break its silence when insults exceed all bounds and when customs whose logic I cannot entirely follow try to sow poison and confusion in literary life. And what did ROMANIA LITERARA do about it as the organ of the Writers Union and consequently obligated to clearly and consistently defend the principles in the charter of the Writers Union?

Forgive me, but I do not believe wisdom stands on two stools.

Yet I am not a pessimist. And despite my solitary nature I have a great need of comradeship. Therefore I am waiting for the moment when the fallout of the literary battles will no longer be toxic.

Question Although in principle name-calling, personal attacks, imputations and abusive language are considered incompatible with the conduct and character of contemporary Romanian journalism, the fact is we often encounter such manifestations and that too on the scale of veritable campaigns. They are usually justified by the right, which no one contests, to free expression of opinion. Does this right conflict with the duty to maintain a civilized tone and to avoid invective and accusations of an unliterary nature?

Answer Not any passion is repugnant to me. Only the confused ones. With that qualification, I admit your insistence embarrasses me. To be sure it is theoretically true that name-calling, personal attacks, imputations and abusive language are, as you say, incompatible with the conduct and character of contemporary Romanian journalism. But if that is so, why do they occur? Why aren't they

discouraged by the managers of the respective publications? I for one do not know what to reply. All I can tell you is that I once wandered into a boxing hall and never went back. I do not like to encounter the supremacy of fists and the heated shouts, although I know something about their role in history. To be frank, I fear the proliferation of a gladiators morality in culture.

But if an aggression can be a viewpoint, its rejection should be a viewpoint too. I have often asked, is it so difficult to see that if one slides down the slope of personal aversions and revenge one crosses the bounds of culture, and that all the advantages can boomerang? That the mud you throw at another may also splatter you some day? That the aspersions you cast upon another can victimize you some day? Or that if you fish in troubled waters you risk fishing in your own shadow some day? I am not one of those who turn the other cheek when struck, but neither do I wish to get even with anyone. I am with all those who love their country and believe in culture and truth. For the rest, each to his own talent and each to his own conscience. Actually, I do not think eternity is a game animal from which every one can tear off a quarter. In fact, eternity means little to me. It is an empty word when you break the water clock in order to imagine it. But I do not want to become pathetic, although I prefer to be pathetic in defending the dignity of the idea of a writer and not in soiling it.

/Question/ I see you are also consistent.

/Answer/ What am I to do? I am 56 and I am frightened by the idea that if I play on words I shall no longer have time to regret what I have mistaken. I used to admire sophists once, but now I no longer have time to demonstrate both that white is white and that white is black. Henceforth it is my sole destiny to say that white is white, provided of course that I see it as white.

/Question/ Since the writer is a public person, is that circumstance without consequences for creation?

/Answer/ Never, I believe. Not even when the writer has fed upon the illusion that he can burn the bridges between himself and the world. Actually the ivory tower about which so much used to be said is only evidence of an arrogant isolation. I should say it is primarily evidence of inability to disregard the world, for in a world that you can ignore there would be no need of a barrier between it and yourself, would there? Therefore I do not think the ivory tower, when it existed, was so much a refuge as a benignant prison. The artist fights in that way, or tries to fight, against his natural tendency to be a public person. And then a man who writes in an ivory tower makes no sense. If he did not want to be a public person and wanted to adhere to that prejudice at any price, a writer would live and die with an empty sheet before him without putting a single word on it. When he writes he is in the street. All that depends on him is whether or not he says what he sees and feels there.

/Question/ What are you working on now?

/Answer/ I am finishing my book "Cordial Polemics," and I am preparing a new novel, "A Pagan's Confession."

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