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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ROLE OF SECURITY FORCES IN 'LIQUIDATING CLASS ENEMIES'

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 20 Mar 83 p 2

[Article by Hysen Shahu, deputy minister of internal affairs: "With the People, For the People"]

[Text] On 20 March 1943, in the first country-wide conference of the Albanian Communist Party (today the Albanian Workers Party) the Intelligence Service was created, as an essential organism of the new state of the dictatorship of the proletariat which was just born in the fire of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War on the ashes of the old feudal-bourgeois state.

In the stormy years of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War, this service played an important role in the successful development of actions of guerrilla units in the cities and of the powerful attacks which the partisan forces made on the occupiers and traitors of the country. Relying on the massive popular information campaign and on various secret sources, the regional committees of the party and the staffs of the National Liberation Army organized their operational and combat plans. Thus, especially during the Winter Operation in 1943-1944, during the Operation of June 1944, and during the General Offensive, the Intelligence Service gave its assistance in the successful development of the war for the liberation of the cities and of the entire country.

In the years of the people's power the struggle for the defense and strengthening of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the victories of our socialist revolution was even harsher. The workers of the State Security Branch [the Sigurimi], educated by the party and firmly rooted in the people, had to struggle with fierce and unrelenting enemies, to uncover and destroy many armed and sabotaging bands, counterrevolutionary groups and organizations, to avert various acts of terror and sabotage, to expose and strike at acts of espionage and betrayal and to counter, together with the Border Forces and the People's Police, many provocations from land, sea and air. In the fire of this struggle more than 750 silent heroes gave their lives, including many devoted cadres of the State Security Branch.

The enemies of the people, from Koci Xoxe to Mehmet Shehu and his collaborators, have attempted to destroy the State Security Branch and to use it for their counterrevolutionary aims. But the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have

discovered and exposed their diabolical plans in time and have given them their deserved punishment.

The dangerous plot of Mehmet Shehu and his followers as well as other hostile plots and groups were discovered thanks to the strength and vigilance of the party. The destruction of this band by the party is a strong blow against all agenturas of the imperialists and against the social-imperialists and their agenturas. Despite this shameful defeat, the enemies of the Albanian Workers Party and of the Peoples Socialist Republic of Albania who cannot stand our Republic, the only socialist country in the world, will never cease their hostile and plotting activity. Enfuriated by their defeats, in order to achieve their aims they are returning to some harsh and criminal forms such as political banditry, etc., a clear case of which was the arrival of the criminal band headed by the mafioso Xhevdet Mustafa, which, as we know, was annihilated in a short time. This event, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says in his work "Titistet" [The Titoites], "should serve as a lesson for the enemies of Albania abroad, that such criminal bands, small or large, from the East or from the West, will be mercilessly annihilated by an entire people, on their feet and armed. This has happened and this will happen wherever they try to carry out the adventurist orders of the imperialists and revisionists!"

This conclusion of Comrade Enver Hoxha sets important duties before us. In the bitter class struggle for the detection, prevention, and destruction, in time, of the hostile and malevolent activity of the class enemy, both internal and external, for the preservation of public law and order and for the protection of the borders of our socialist homeland, the organs of State Security, strongly relying, as always, on the people, in cooperation with the Peoples Police, the border units and all the armed forces of the Peoples Socialist Republic of Albania have achieved successes and will achieve successes. They have gained a rich experience in this direction, but it is essential that they perfect their work and place it on more scientific bases. The historic decisions of the 8th party congress and the very important duties assigned by the 4th and 5th plenums of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party, both for all our working masses and for the State Security cadres are a source of inspiration and strength in their successful confrontations with the class enemies.

The workers of the State Security Branch, as always, will be guided by the teachings of the party and of Comrade Enver and will continually increase their efforts to gain a better knowledge of the forms, tactics, and methods which the enemy uses under current conditions and will develop and perfect, in an uninterrupted manner, their skills in detecting, preventing and strongly attacking, in time, every hostile and malevolent activity. They will work with persistence for their political, ideological, cultural, and professional knowledge and for a deep and broad knowledge of the party line, of its policy and norms, and of the laws of our socialist state, which is an essential condition for increasing the fruitfulness of work, for further expanding the class spirit, the party spirit and objectivity in the exercise of the important functions which have been entrusted to them by the party.

The continuing strengthening of the leadership of the party and the strong reliance on the people as well as the consistent development of the class struggle have been and will always remain the fundamental principles of the activity of the workers of the State Security Branch, a guarantee of the preservation and further strengthening of the popular character of this beloved branch of the party and the people.

CSO: 2100/40

REFORM REQUIRES OPENNESS, HONESTY, NATIONAL DIGNITY

Budapest MUNKÁ in Hungarian Mar 83 p 31

[Article by Sandor Karpáti: "Responding to the Changes"]

[Text] We know--the MSZMP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] 12th congress also reminds us--that there are two decisive areas of building socialism: economy and ideology. In the economy we have already reacted to those changes which the unfavorable world economic and world political processes developed as a result of the oil and energy crisis that began in 1973 forced upon us. In the economic life we have already analyzed the negative consequences resulting from the foreign effects and from the weaknesses of our own work; by eliminating the illusions and acknowledging the severe realities of real life, we have thought over the strength-testing lessons of this difficult era. But not so in the ideological life, in the cultural policies. The national agitation, propaganda and educational policy conference organized recently by the party's central committee, accepted this task.

"A tremendous number of complaints can be heard, legitimate complaints: why isn't there better leadership and organization; why aren't the society's and the economy's reserves exploited better; why isn't the respect for good work ensured; why aren't the abuses of authority discovered sooner; why aren't the interests guided more decisively in the proper direction, and so on. Similar tasks, to solve which the functioning of socialist democracy is the most efficient tool, could be listed at long length. Here, too, just as elsewhere, overcoming our passivity, open identification and courageous acceptance of the problems, and increasing the activity of those concerned with the problem, are questions of survival"--said Gyorgy Aczel [deputy premier] in his address to open the debate.

The quote taken from socialist democracy's sphere of problems illustrates the basic tone struck by the introductory address: it allows one to expect the open, self-critical and critical atmosphere and the constructive spirit which characterized this sharp profiled and high ranking forum. All important and timely questions which interest and affect our public opinion, were mentioned at this searching conference which encouraged greater activity and liveliness, and forward movement. Taking the international background into consideration, it spoke from the soil of

reality of today's Hungary about the national question, about our society's democratism, about the hegemony of Marxism-Leninism, about the federal policy, about the situation and problems of youth, about the tasks of science, education, public culture and the arts, about the independence and responsibility of the creative workshops, and about the demands on the mass communication media and on the top and medium level organs which guide the cultural activity.

The desirable modification of our picture of socialism received space in the speaker's address as well as in the comments from the audience, in proportion with its significance. It was clearly defined: we must rid ourselves of the illusion that growth is smooth, unbroken, and automatic. We feel and experience that everything does not go on the first try. Socialism is not a matter of a few 5-year plans. The higher standard, fulfillment of the quality requirements is a more difficult and more complex task and requires more time than we had thought. The solution can be only a sociopolitical practice which reacts without delay to the external and domestic changes in such a way that it preserves the values which withstand time, and omits things that are obsolete.

Our interest is that the changeover be as quick as possible. Consistent implementation of the ripe reforms, perfecting our political mechanism, modernization of our system of institutions, and enforcement of the socialist view in coordinating and representing the interests, are important tools in this process.

The two-day joint thinking and exchange of ideas touched on innumerable topics--such as morality, communication and information, cultivation of the natural and technical sciences, the political mass movement, purity of public life, the situation of the teachers, the process of becoming an intellectual--which can only be mentioned. From here on we will have to restrict ourselves to simple sentences and key words. Realistic view of history... Healthy national self appreciation... Greater order and discipline... Control by the population, by the masses... Let's take a stand against intellectual laziness, formalism, and wheel spinning... Let's not tolerate conformity and lack of performance by hiding behind the refusal to take chances... Let's give greater emphasis to values and quality...

Somebody among the 23 people who made comments, said--and several people joined him--that we should begin the changes with ourselves and within ourselves. In what? How? We should get rid of our poor habits, idiosyncrasies, and comfort. Let's separate the good, the bad, and the grey areas. Let's now allow twofaced, undemanding or unprincipled conduct. Instead of subservient conformance let's encourage more the conscious, principled behavior. Let's guard the unity of words and deeds. Let's accept debate. Let's strive to give credible and convincing answers to questions asked of us.

If someone asked which were the key words of the ideological conference, we can say the following: change, enterprising, renewal, reality, reforms, openness, tolerance, interests, quality, overtness, system of values, responsibility and confidence.

There is no mention of ideological campaign. Nor of an offensive. But there is talk of a more courageous, more open and more determined taking of a stand, more consistent representation of our principles, and of higher quality and more efficient ideological work. What is involved here is that we are to adjust our mobilization, propaganda and educational policy activities to the requirements of the changing reality, and concentrate our intellectual energies on overcoming the difficulties and on implementing our social policy goals. At each and every place of work.

The stakes are not small. Either we catch up our century-old lagging behind and eliminate our backwardness, or we will remain in the condition of stagnation. There is no doubt which one we will choose.

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CSO: 2500/204

BLUE COLLAR WORKERS POLLED ON ECONOMIC MEASURES

Upcoming Conference Discussed

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] The Current Economic Situation

On 30 March--the Nationwide Conference of the Worker Aktiv

The Politburo of the Central Committee of the PZPR and the Government Presidium has called a nationwide conference of the worker aktiv, dedicated to the current economic situation of the country, on 30 March, in Warsaw.

The representatives of worker personnel will deal with tasks stemming from the program for countering inflation and the economization program of the government.

In connection with the nationwide conference of the worker aktiv, dedicated to the current economic situation of the country, announced for Wednesday, 30 March, we asked for statements from two comrades among those invited to it. This is what they told TRYBUNA LUDU:

Waldemar Splawski, foreman of the Small Scale Rolling Mill of the "Warsawa" Steel Works:

With what kinds of expectations are we going to this meeting? What am I looking forward to after it is over? I think that this is how it is: the leadership of the party and government have their own observations, perceptions, and information about the situation in the country, about attitudes, about what people are thinking, what they are expecting, and how they rate the policy of the party and government. And that is good. We are just afraid whether this information arriving up there to the "heights" is always a full reflection of attitudes and opinions. And at this meeting, the hope I have is that we will be able to present our own stand stemming directly from below, concerning the most vital matters of the country and society.

The Sejm deliberations are a few days behind us. I listened attentively, especially to the address of Vice-Premier Obodowski. I also read through the government programs--the anti-inflation and economization programs--very thoroughly. The fact should be emphasized that the fight against inflation is seen, not only in pricing operations, but above all, in the growth of labor productivity. And we are ready for that--for better work, even for self denial. Here, the government will find support among us, however...

There are matters that disturb us, torment us, with which we cannot reconcile ourselves. Can it be that in our state we have built up the social program excessively of late. Understanding the need and necessity for such a program--I have reservations toward some of its elements. In places, it is not economically justified, or also from social-educational standpoints. It leads to the attitude of "give me, I have it coming to me because I am here," and not "because I work." It is possible to have reservations toward this program from a standpoint of social justice. Some are forced to deny themselves in favor of giving to others.

Another matter that gripes not only me is the "high-fliers," and speculators. At the present time, in the steel mill we are short about 1,000 people for work, and at the same time, all kinds of speculators live a good life. The fines that they pay, you can see, are lower than the financial consequences that a worker has to bear for poor work. You can count it up. Something just is not going right. Of course, the struggle with the effects of speculation itself will not bring radical improvement. We have to get at the sources of it.

These are the two main concerns I would like to talk about at the meeting. And if there is enough time left--I will again bring up our attitude and our evaluation of the so-called internal emigrants and, in the context of this problem, I will pose the question: What kind of law protects the workers? Are we supposed to have only responsibilities and no privileges?

Stanislaw Kosicki, foreman with certification, "Zeran" Meat Packing Plant in Warsaw:

I have been working in this branch since 1945. It is not surprising, therefore, that production and occupational matters are particularly close to my heart, and I would like to say a few words about them, and particularly about one of them. We believe in economic reform, and hope it will succeed, because this is our basic opportunity and we cannot let it go to waste. But in my opinion, in the case of reform, it is necessary to do the following in our branch:

The quality of meat and its products has been evaluated critically by public opinion. The comments and complaints are most often directed to the producer, because this is the simplest way. However, it is forgotten, or else, there is just no awareness of the fact, that the road from our plant to the store is long, too long. It could be reduced considerably, if at least part of the stores were subordinated directly to the plant. Then, we would bypass an

entire large superstructure of trade administration, and the customer-- which we have not the least doubt about--would be buying smoked and fresh meats of incomparably better quality than at present. You ask why? Well, because the actual road from the plant to the store would be shorter, and our products would not have time to spoil, or even deteriorate in quality.

Incidentally, this is not a new idea. I remember very well that we brought it up in 1958, immediately after the inception of the Worker Council. There was an opportunity to realize it then. Unfortunately, later on it all died down somehow.

Someone might say that I am talking about some kind of minor matter, which is perhaps not substantial in the context of the economy as a whole and its problems. That might be the way it looks. For us, it is one of the main elements of reform, which we have not felt in the plant as of now. We are neither independent, nor self-financing, nor self-governing. Our girdle of rules and regulations is on tight--and we understand this. But we do not see any contraindications for us to obtain a part of the trade network. This would be the first step in the direction of realizing reform. I also think that it would not be so unimportant that the customers would not be aware of it. If anyone does not believe, or is not convinced of our reasons, let him visit two stores in Warsaw that we supply directly: at Miedzyborska Street and Nowolipki Street. The quality of the smoked and fresh meats purchased there and their variety differs very much from what is available in other Warsaw stores daily.

#### Anti-Inflation Program

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "It Has To Be Our Program"]

[Text] The government programs for countering inflation and economization that have been presented for discussion by the Sejm have caught the attention of society, being the subject of the first discussions and commentaries. This is what they told TRYBUNA LUDU about this subject:

Jan Blawat, mine carpenter of the "Siemianowice" Hard-Coal Mine:

"As a miner, I am not familiar with top-level economic or financial policy of the country, and that is why I have to rely on the experts and believe that the government program for countering inflation will accelerate the rate at which the country comes out of the crisis.

"Prices just cannot be raised to infinity. So I share the view that since there are opportunities for increasing goods for the market by way of economizing on raw and other materials, fuel, and energy--then we have to fully take advantage of them. All you have to do is look around you. Every day we are wasting too much, something that even the richest could not afford, and we ourselves pay a goodly sum for this. If we do not put

this in order right now, then, instead of coming out on our own, we will be floundering in ever greater difficulties."

Stanislaw Sierocinski, tradesman from the Trades and Crafts Chamber in Szczecin:

"The program is tough, and surely, it will not be accepted with satisfaction by people--especially those who will, for example, be paying higher taxes than up to now. I called attention to that fragment of the speech by Sejm Vice-Premier Obodowski, in which he spoke of the need for the limitation in quantity of administration in the economy. This is a necessity. Nearly every day, I encounter office outgrowths that are totally unjustified in various firms. At times, one gets the impression that the few physical workers in an enterprise are there only so that an army of office-holders could exist."

Janusz Klimek, specialist for investment and development matters in the Subcarpathian Refinery Plant in Jaslo:

"The proposed direction of activities indicates real possibilities for beating inflation, without the use of drastic measures--the so-called compulsory tax levy or 20-percent rise in retail prices. However, a basic condition is economical and efficient operation. Therefore, the principle of self-financing has to be put into use as concerns all enterprises. Economic restraint is the most effective means for economization. Thus, for example, we reduced the costs of energy and fuel by 4.5 percent. In the conditions of allocation of raw materials, we are working, among other things, on the implementation of import-reduction technology and on the start-up of output of products for the market."

Zygmunt Wiosnarz, machine set-up man of the Control Equipment Factory in Gdansk:

"Restraining the drop in the value of money that hurts our pockets so much is, in my opinion, just as important as filling the shelves with goods. I am afraid, however, whether we have not gotten around to do this a little late, and whether the program proposed is going to be difficult to put into being. I am not an economist, and it is difficult for me to evaluate whether what is being proposed in the plan will give the kinds of results that are expected. What is most important is that this problem has been taken under consideration--proposals have been made justly, relative to wealth and incomes, and the levying of the necessary financial declarations on all citizens. It is true, those who make good money and have the most are going to holler, because they have become accustomed to a comfortable life. However, if we want to curtail inflation, then it is necessary to carry out this plan uncompromisingly, without regard to the interests and pressures of those who are better off."

Janusz Paczkowski, chairman of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] of the "Elana" Chemical Fibers Plant in Torun:

"What is most important is that the talking has stopped about the need for formulating a program for countering inflation, and concrete solutions have been proposed. They are in harmony with my own ideas on this subject: striving for limiting rises in prices. At the same time, I know that only the increase in the quantity of goods and the actual fiscal policy of the state can put a halt to the drop in the value of the zloty. With certainty, the plan for the just disposition of the results of the crisis will be accepted well among the working personnel. If only the effects were sufficient and financial law would be really equal for all. Whether the many solutions contained in this document can be expected to be carried out depends upon the attitude of society as a whole."

'ZYCIE WARSZAWY' Poll

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29 Mar 83 p 2

[PAP Article: "Before the Nationwide Conference--The Opinion of Workers On the Anti-Inflation and Economization Program"]

[Text] Before Wednesday's Nationwide Conference of the Worker Aktiv organized by initiative of the Politburo of the PZPR and the government Presidium, and devoted to the current economic situation of the country, PAP journalists asked for statements from workers of various work establishments. This concerned mainly their opinion on the anti-inflation and economization program.

The realization of these changes will decide to a considerable measure the success of the entire 3-year plan and the fulfillment of the socio-economic goals contained in it.

This is what the workers said:

Henryk Klomisinski--a machinist of the Polish Optical Works in Warsaw:

We workers know best what we can do and where we can do it in order to produce more and better. In addition to this, we feel the effects of the crisis very much, and it is us who, above all, are being hit by the constantly increasing prices, the supply difficulties, etc. I consider the conference to be a form of direct contact between the worker community and the government, and without this contact, we cannot imagine democratic rule. From conversations with colleagues, it is shown that the most recent moves of the government, such as for example, the creation of an anti-inflation program, are right, but their practical realization is no less important than their concept. There have been many programs up to now, but not all of them have been put into actuality. Today also, we are afraid of this repetitive phenomenon.

Andrzej Dudewicz--a worker of the Ursus Machinery Plant, chairman of the trade union in the plant:

As a trade unionist, I am interested in the problem of the role of social and political organizations in the realization of the programs drawn out by the government. A large portion of society knows the basic documents concerning the directions of anti-inflation activities--in my opinion, however, these theses have to be translated into a simple language, comprehensible to a worker. The programs have to be concrete, every citizen has to know them and feel them.

I am putting considerable hope on this kind of consultation of the government representatives and the world of labor. It is good that the people making the decisions of the directions of our economy want to know our opinion.

We have a lot to tell them, we ourselves on the territory of the plant are undertaking many activities aimed in the direction of increasing production and of economical use of raw and other materials. I want to speak about this at the conference, along with other things.

Another problem that I wish to broach by authorization of my colleagues is the yet unsettled matter of groups or communities attaining very high and frequently unjustified incomes. It is necessary to think about how to "defuse" this money--for they form the overhang of inflation to a considerable degree.

Waclaw Malecki--of the "Agromet" Agricultural Machinery Combine in Lublin:

In the current economic situation of the country, we are in favor of putting into effect both an economization program and an anti-inflation program, but after the necessary adjustments, so that this program would not remain solely on paper, it is necessary to coordinate it with the economic mechanisms of the economic reform. It is also a question of the actual distribution of the costs of the crisis, which has burdened mainly the working class employed in the major industries. This has to be changed. We will not shrink from our burdens, but we notice that it is necessary to distribute them proportionally among those employed in the socialized and nonsocialized economy. It would be appropriate to limit certain social achievements temporarily, including the verification of all professional cards and the privileges connected with them.

Marian Olczyk--shift crew chief in the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Administration:

I am one of the five workers of the port invited to participate in the nationwide conference of the worker aktiv. All of us expect much from this meeting. The anti-inflation and economization programs are very closely linked with one another and directly affect the working people. We cannot hide the fact that we are not an economizing nation. However, what is involved here is while adopting suitable and needed programs: anti-inflation and economization, we must not weaken motivation for better work. Our proposals, among other things, go in the direction of reducing taxes from the profits gained, since this does not foster the growth of labor productivity. At the conference, we also wish to raise the problem of

evening out the standard of cooperative dwellings and allocated dwellings, and to again review the proposition with respect to equalizing tax on compensations.

Andrzej Piecka--crew chief, steel structure installer in the Plock "Mostostal" enterprise:

At the nationwide worker conference, I would like to provide the opinion of my crew on the necessity for the application of a rigorous control over price increase. The economization and anti-inflation program must be linked with motivation for work, and cannot strike against families that live on wages alone.

Jerzy Zalecki--foreman in the Jelcz Truck Plant:

At the conference, I will talk about the problems, which, in the opinion of the workers, hamper the application of economic reform. I also wish to tell about how we intend to save raw and other materials, fuel, and energy; I will present an evaluation of the quality of our products and I intend to bring up the matter of making use of reserves inherent in technical progress.

#### 'SZTANDAR MLODYCH' Poll

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 29 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Marek Ryczkowski, on the basis of Darlusz Konc, Zygmunt Kowalski, and Leon Nanka: "Before the Nationwide Conference of the Worker Aktiv. Against Inflation and Waste"]

[Text] There is something to be discussed, since the problems awaiting solution are weighty and utterly fundamental. The most essential, the programs presented before the government during the time of the last Sejm discussions: the anti-inflation and the economization programs create a real opportunity for the economy to come out rapidly from its critical depression. This will also be the subject of discussions of the nationwide conference of the worker aktiv, which will take place next Wednesday. What bothers the worker personnel, what worries them, how do they view the possibilities for implementing the contents of both documents in their own back yards? These are the questions that our reporters asked the workers of industrial plants of several regions of the country.

Jozef Slowik, chemical technician of the P. Finder Nitrogen Plant in Chorzow:

The economization program is an exceptionally necessary thing in our economic conditions, it applies to all sectors of industry, our plant too, in which, by 1984, we are supposed to make use of low-temperature oven gas for firing the steam boilers in the "Dymitrov" Mine, while will bring about a considerable savings in coal.

The preparations for this capital investment, with an estimated cost of 16 million zlotys, will be accompanied by a general review of our entire economy, in searching for shortcomings, which, if eliminated, will increase the additional savings. This applies to managing the use of both energy and raw materials. We realize that this will not be just a simple undertaking, because the plant is one of the oldest in the ministry.

However, this entire program of improving the management of resources evokes certain perplexing and unclear points. In our case, this applies to personnel, strictly speaking, the lack of hands to do the work, which makes the very organization of production considerably difficult, and is a veritable roadblock to any progress. This question has to be resolved overall. For we, who currently lack 600 people for full employment, are not the only ones who are complaining about this sore spot. Without its resolution, it is not possible to even give any sensible thought to the improvement of the effectiveness of managing resources.

Czeslaw Borek, machinist of the Handling Equipment Division of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Authority:

I know that we have to manage resources more thriftily and economically, and eliminate the overhang of inflation. We are eliminating it only there where it is really manifesting itself. Because it is easy to write that contributions to tenant cooperatives ought to be increased to 15 percent of the costs of construction, and in actuality, this increase is to 30 percent. It is worse for young married couples living off wages to collect these 100,000 zlotys--for this mainly concerns them. Neither I nor any of my colleagues working in the port could even afford such an expense.

Certain collective work agreements, various privileges for certain circles are not within the range of current economic capabilities of the country. I agree that it is possible and necessary to analyze them thoroughly. Only, since we have already agreed on this self-government, then it is necessary to write into the program that before the presentation of moves for the verification of privileges of the Sejm and the Social-Economic Council, this subject will be put under consultation with the self-governing workers and trade unions concerned.

Lech Wojcikowski, Provincial Industrial Construction Enterprise No. 1 in Wroclaw:

This has been needed for a long time. If the anti-inflation and economization program were not worked out, this could "disintegrate" the entire economy and market.

The "tight money" for the enterprise spelled out by Vice-Premier Obodowski is a very good thing. I also consider the freezing of wages in enterprises that have lost their credit capability to be appropriate. In this way, well-run units will get definite preference. Simply speaking, it will pay off to have good management, and poor management will be reflected in the "pockets" of the personnel. This is just. In many enterprises of Wroclaw, wages were not always in harmony with the economic results attained.

However, I found a few matters missing from the program. We were only told about tying the size of the profit relative to the lowering of production costs to income tax. It was mentioned, but concrete facts were missing. This can lead to a situation where an enterprise attaining the prescribed 10 percent profit will raise it considerably by lowering the production costs and retaining prices at an unchanged level. Well, there are not going to be any benefits from this. This would be a "damping" of all incentives toward reducing production costs.

As far as the economization program is concerned, in our enterprise we wish to pay particular attention to the so-called indirect costs. It is true that in our plant these are relatively small: however, we see that they can still be further reduced through actions in area of organization, paper work, and administration. This is a particularly valuable initiative, because it does not necessitate any financial outlays.

In both programs, another matter that is important for us was also missing: elimination of the export area.

Up to now, profits in an enterprise will continue to be calculated on an overall scale, without separating the percentage of it obtained in the country and abroad. This will cause--and even, as can be seen from our observations, it is already causing--Polish enterprises to artificially lower their prices for transactions to carry out work outside our country's borders. The profit from this work is so burdened with taxes that are so high that the enterprise gets nothing from it. I see the solution here as enterprise accounting on two levels--tax from money earned abroad on one account, and on the other, the money earned domestically.

Adam Zawisz, deputy director in charge of workers of the Piotrowice "Famur" Machinery Factory in Katowice-Piotrowice:

It is possible to speak of the economization program only in superlatives. In this respect, I wish that it were realized consistently and would eliminate once and for all from our life the nonsense, for example, with trash packed with glass and other secondary raw materials.

The anti-inflation program arouses deeper reflections, and the rather wide differences of opinion that can be felt among the personnel. People are saying simply: "leveling" is being prepared for, and are afraid of this. On an ever wider scale, voices can be heard that the encouragement for work that money has been to date will stop having the kind of value that it had, and that it will not be necessary to strain yourself at work, because the earnings will get cut back by taxes just the same. Similar different opinions accompany the program in the part that speaks about luxury goods. People always want to have more than they have. Until now, luxuries were not spoken of too loudly, and the massive introduction of this kind of distribution will cause bitter disillusionment among some.

Ludwik Maik, Electrician, crew chief of the Mechanical Equipment Repair Division of the Szczecin-Swinoujście Port Authority:

It was a good thing that the government presented the conceptual plan of both programs. In this way, the National Socio-Economic Plan for the next 3 years was proposed to the Sejm in more specific terms. For everyone can see that there is too much waste in our country, and everyone would like to see us get out of this crisis as quickly as possible.

I have reservations about the authorizations for local employment divisions written into the economization program to evaluate the justification of requirements for workers submitted by enterprises. This device, in my opinion, is in direct contradiction to the laws on state enterprises and on worker self-government enacted by the Sejm.

For the same reasons, I also have reservations about the designation of a certain portion of profit for the developmental needs of the enterprise that has been included in the anti-inflation program. My opinion is that worker self-government ought to define the percentage of profit earmarked for this purpose, as is defined by law.

As can be seen from the responses, the voices deriving from the very "depths", the slogans: manage more economically, do not waste resources and materials, stop winding up the inflationary spiral, have gained full acceptance. However, the differences apply to certain methods of achieving these goals that were proposed by the government. The fact that discussions are being held on these subjects is testament to how sick and tired we are of this difficult life in crisis. Let us remember, therefore, that both programs have been submitted to the Sejm Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget, and Finances for broad consultation. And all comments will be considered.

'TRYBUNA LUDU' Poll

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Mar 83 p 1

[Article: "In the Opinion of the Workers"]

[Text] The concrete tasks stemming from the programs of countering inflation and of economizing, and the preparation for implementing them in work establishments are a topic of discussion among personnel. This is what representatives of the worker aktiv invited to Wednesday's nationwide conference told TRYBUNA LUDU:

Jerzy Paluchiewicz, secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee of the Katowice "Balidon" Steel Mill:

In getting ready for the national conference in Warsaw, we are thoroughly sounding out the opinions of the workers of our steel mill--party members and nonparty members--on the subject of the anti-inflation and economization programs. Today, it is already possible to say that two matters have gained the approval of the workers in full. The first is the financial system in the enterprises, and the kind of system of taxation that would not permit the attainment of wages and incomes not backed up by actual work. The other

matter is the economization of raw and other materials, fuel, and energy. There is indisputably much that has to be done here, and this applies to every work position. Certainly, the exchange of experiences in such a numerically large base of representatives of personnel will cast more light upon this matter.

Zbigniew Nazim, press operator at the Krakow "Kabel" Cable Factory:

I cannot imagine that only the directorate cadre could decide upon the future of an enterprise. Worker self-government is operative in our plant, and among us, the workers, a feeling of real responsibility for the results of our mutual management has already arisen.

Therefore, the 3-year plan, and the government anti-inflation and economization programs presented at the last Sejm session were greeted with great interest by the personnel. We ourselves know that the economic results of the plant and our earnings depend upon the very working out of these documents and their later implementation into economic practice.

Therefore, it is a good thing that this topic has been proposed for direct consultation with the workers themselves at an all-Poland conference in Warsaw.

Dobrosław Jedrzejczyk, crew chief of the "Unimor" Electronics Plant in Gdansk:

In our plant, a part of the proposed economization measures have already been put into use, and others can be made use of. Among the former, I count the gradual substitution of imported electronics products in assembly with domestically-produced products, qualitative design changes, for example, of television receivers, which lead to a considerable limitation of electric power consumption. This year, all of the TV receivers assembled in our plant will be fully transistorized.

In our plant economization program, it will be necessary to introduce a new motivation system--to mechanize and automate the assembly cycle to such a degree that more qualitatively improved electronic devices will be produced with an even and steady level of employment.

However, what is important is not so much the working out of a program, but its consistent and not campaign-style realization.

Zbigniew Fraczek, machine operator and set-up man in the Krosno Glass Works [KHS]:

We have the capability of producing heating felt for construction, making use of the scraps of glass cullet. This is a well-tested means--strong, effective, and easy to use. The raw material is available, we have the suitable premises, and the suitable machinery could be purchased without foreign exchange, domestically.

It would be possible to produce such batting in our plant next year on a line employing 70 persons. However, it is necessary to invest 230 million zlotys,

the needed bank credit under conditions whereby not only the initiators and executors are burdened with the entire costs, so as "not to choke off" the undertaking. Therefore, it is necessary to see the benefits stemming therefrom on an overall level, on a national scale, and the function of the Krosno Glass Works as one of the participants.

5808

CSO: 2600/650

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Przemysl Plenum on Party Ranks

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 1 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by R.E.B.]

[Text] (Own Information) The PZPR Provincial Reports Conference in Przemysl, deliberating on 24 January of this year, committed the PZPR Provincial Committee [KW] to work out and adopt a detailed operating schedule for the fulfillment of conference resolutions as well as those presented in the course of its findings. Such a plan was prepared in the last weeks and was the subject of consultations during the course of the regional meetings of delegates.

At yesterday's session of the KW PZPR in Przemysl, which was conducted by the first secretary of the KW, Zenon Czech, the operating schedule was finally adopted. Now, it should be reworked point by point into the language of practical work by regional echelons and PZPR organizations, and included in the daily functions of state and economic administrative organs.

Of course, the tasks and proposals, complete with realizations formulated in this document, will require initiatives and aggressiveness from the entire PZPR provincial organization, the entire body. This is tied to the need for a permanent improvement in the form and methods of party activity, and the elimination of the defects and irregularities still appearing in the work of certain party cells. Attention to these shortcomings and transgressions was brought in the report delivered by the KW secretary, Ryszard Turk, and also during the plenary discussion. As it was emphasized, the struggle for quality among the party ranks and their place and authority in their environment has just begun. The next few months should bring a further intensification of this struggle.

It was stressed that the active, founding base of the party's members is the first in line to determine party strength. It is upon them and their daily presence among their comrades at work, their perceptions

during the time of difficulties which affect society, and the effectiveness of their solutions, from a continuous dialogue with the working classes, that the number of nonparty people who will adopt the PZPR plan as their own and will give it their support--by their own will and deep--depends. A significant part of the members in the PZPR Przemysl Provincial Organization understands its party duties to be just so. Still, there is yet a considerable number of comrades--who advocate a system of "peace and quiet, and the proverbial lying beneath the pear tree"--whose membership in the PZPR is solely limited to participation in gatherings, meetings, and to ardent speeches at official forums. This type of attitude and behavior must be quickly eliminated.

Specific requirements--as it was stated--should be demanded of the members of regional echelons, the body of those who are eligible. In the meantime, the behavior of some of them threatens the principles of internal organization discipline, honesty and conscientiousness. At the plenum, individual comrades, who "come" from time to time to meetings of the echelons, who take their obligations as members of the Executive Board of the Chief Headquarters [KG] lightly, were cited. This happens in provincial organizations in Wielkie Oczy, Zarzecz, Gac, Narol, Rokietnica, among other places. In such circumstances, statutory sanctions should be used more often and there should be settlements more often at the forum with those Basic Party Organizations [POP] that entrusted mandates to these comrades.

Much time was devoted during the plenary discussion to the work of the party apparatus. Although a considerable number of positive changes are visible in this area, these changes still continue to be inadequate.

An important instrument in the fulfillment of the leadership role of the party is the personnel policy. There is still much to be done in this sphere as well. There continues to be a lack of--among other things--a concrete, cohesive system of work with the reserve personnel. A continuous evaluation, by the party, of those who--with the recommendation of the party--are holding managerial positions in state or economic administrations is imperative. The fundamental resolute position of basic PZPR organizations, when "comrade directors" or "comrade chairmen" lose their sense of reality, when their attitude abuses the principles of party membership, when they enter into conflict with the accepted ethical-moral norms, must be anticipated. The instances in which the people try to call them--the "parents" of the POP--back to order are, unfortunately, incidental.

During yesterday's session, a good deal of attention was also given to the tactics of the activities of the echelon--the issue of the transfer of the KW resolutions to the area, the inspection of the execution of accepted assignments, and a reckoning of the commissioned tasks. The level of educational, lector's, and propaganda-interpretive activities were equally critically treated.

Members of the provincial echelon spoke during the discussion: Genowefa Czyrek--director of the Factory Union Organization [ZOZ] in Jaroslaw, Zdzislaw Modras--director of the Comprehensive Gmina Schools in Pruchnik, Andrzej Patocki--first secretary of the Jaroslaw Town Committee [KM], Stanislaw Blonski--CC member and farmer from Harta of the Dynow gmina, Adam Witek--chairman of the Orlo Village Cooperative [GS], Andrzej Bujny--first secretary of the Kanczuga KM-G, Michal Wacko--director of the School Complex in Jaroslaw gmina, Antoni Wisniowski--first secretary of the Lubaczow KM, Tadeusz Mirek--farmer from Bircza gmina, Wieslaw Rudnicki--director of the State Construction Enterprise [PPB] in Przemysl, Julian Maternowski--farmer from Lezachow, and Edward Pinkowicz--director of the Agricultural Circles' Cooperative [SKR] in Dubiecko.

The tasks, resulting from the plenary discussion, on behalf of further improvement in the work of PZPR echelons and organizations in Przemysl province, were specified in the adopted resolution of the KW. (It is worth adding, that these issues will be the theme of the 3-day seminar beginning today with the participation of the first secretary of the KM, KM-G, and KG.) The plenum adopted, moreover, the amended rules and regulations for work by the KW, the Executive Board and the KW Secretariate. New rules and regulations for appointments and activities by the KW problems commission were accepted; new commission members were confirmed. The plenum also designated the theme for the next 5 plenary sessions of the KW.

Also, during the course of the deliberations, the number of alternate members for the provincial echelons was increased. In keeping with the requirements of statutes on secret voting, the following were charged with functioning as alternate members of the KW: Jan Lichoc--a mechanic at the Ponar-Plasomat Automatic Press Factory in Przemysl, Stanislaw Buczk--foreman at the Accessories Factory in Lubaczow, Helen Holub--forewoman at the Przeworsk branch of the Jarlan Knitwear Goods Plant, Marian Trzasc--lathe operator in the Polish Motor Transport [PKS] branch in Przemysl, and Francziszka Jachyrze, forelady at the Construction Machine Factory in Lubaczow.

At the close of the deliberations, first KW secretary, Zenon Czech, informed those present about, among other things, the progress of the visit by the party delegation from Przemysl which, under his supervision, stayed in a friendly Lwow district, at the invitation of the local Ukrainian Regional Communist Party Committee [KO KPU], from 21 to 23 February of this year.

#### Poznan Reports-Programs Campaign

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 8 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Michal Iwaszkiewicz]

[Text] The period, which had just elapsed since the previous reports-election campaign in the party, prompts not only a reflection on how the

sociopolitical situation has changed considerably since June 1981, but it also substantiates the need for a reckoning and indications for paths of hope for the future.

The anarchy and sense of a threat to state security, the intense political struggle under the circumstances of a deepening economic crisis, the enormous pressure of concentrated antisocialist forces in the struggle for power--added a particular color to this June conference. At this time, moreover, deep divisions were occurring in the party and a struggle for unity in a constructive program and victory for the "policy of struggle and understanding," subsequently settled in the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, persisted.

Returning to that seemingly already so far removed period, it should, however, not be allowed to be forgotten for a moment how the test by confrontation, inspired by the enemies of socialism, could have ended. How would our reality look if the political madmen from the extremist wing of "Solidarity" had fulfilled their visions and plans? Disaster, then, was prevented by the central and unshaken duty of the authorities--and today, with the perspective of over a year--we can state with full awareness that anarchy and counterrevolution was stemmed literally at the last moment.

On 13 December 1981, a period of rebuilding peace and public order had begun. Negative economic occurrences were halted and normality was restored to the life of the nation and the public. An atmosphere of calm began to return to everyday life. Social and economic processes initiated on 13 December yielded the return of stability and a prospect of decisively overcoming all of the difficulties. Finally, with the end of 1982, the suspension of the state of martial law was made possible. This decision demonstrated in the most significant way that, despite painful events, we are continuing the process of socialist renewal in the life of the nation.

For obvious reasons, from this artificial, retrospective plans, we should look at our joint achievements and the next tasks. We should remember that 3 groups of issues were and still continue to be at the base of party activities.

First, is to strengthen the party itself, restore its class, marxist-leninist style of activity, and implement the program of the Ninth Congress.

After the difficult ordeal of the period up to December 1981, the party emerged somewhat weakened in our region as well. Within the period of 1982, however, processes of consolidation and reinforcement in the basic line of action, which is the activity of basic party organizations, made progress. The reports campaign (on the level of party groups), begun in October 1982, corroborated the legitimacy of this opinion. The skill of the considered, objective ideological-political and organizational

assessment of each basic party organization and every echelon, clearly characterized the progress of this campaign, simultaneously testifying to the necessity of further advancements in party work, in the formation of attitudes and behavior of party members; and, above all, it pointed out the need for greater aggressiveness in activities and further consolidation of the ranks. All the more since, during the time of the suspension of martial law, a return to proper understanding and the fulfillment of the principles of the leadership role of the party in the government, as well as the guiding role of the party in society, requires skill in flexible activity, maintaining full adherence to principles, with respect to every kind of manifestation of evil or anarchy. Moreover, fulfillment of the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress as well as subsequent plenary sessions of the Central Committee and the Provincial Committee must be unswerving.

The reports meetings, which took place in all the Branch Party Organizations [OOP] and the POP in Poznan province--that is, 1,113 OOP and 2,485 POP, just as the conferences of basic-level echelons, just as the provincial conferences, are substantiating the optimistic assertion that the party in our region is in the position to cope equally with the current task in its party work just as it consistently conducts a political struggle in those sphere in which it still must persist.

The struggle for social consciousness, for its principles, for a restoration as soon as possible of mutual respect still persists, and this is contained in the second group of issues that are the most important for the party today. The point is, fulfilling the program of the Ninth Congress in the period of strengthening democratic socialism and self-government, to indicate in the most transparent way, which actions are now indispensable and the most vital, and why. Therefore, parallel to the process rebuilding an atmosphere of credibility with regard to the activities of the Sejm--the frankly exceptional legislative output and activity by the Sejm in the period of martial law is worth recalling here--a process of restoring the atmosphere among the remaining representative organs and, therefore, people's councils of all levels, continued.

The position of the party on this issue is immutable and tied to the real interpretation of the idea of democracy. The idea of a further development of socialist democracy in Poland is based on the conviction that this is an essential factor in the restoration of our healthy political, social and economic life.

The necessity of an internally unified system of social control and consultation with regard to representative organs, shed light on the concept of a rank and file social movement, which could successfully play an exceptionally grave role in the process of integration. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] became this movement.

The attitude of the party toward this movement of collective initiatives is unequivocally positive at the nonverbal declaration that everyone who is not against socialism can participate in this movement. Hence, results

the conviction that the role of this movement in the fulfillment of the social democratic system in Poland, can turn out to be, among other things, the turning point for the distant future.

In Poznan province, the process of building this movement is already now considerably advanced; and it is worth adding that it was preceded by substantial activity, created still in the first days under martial law, by the many Citizens' Committees for National Salvation. That is also why the processes integrating the society of Wielkopolska are successfully intensifying and are determining a good prognosis for our collective future.

At the same time, the process of reconstructing national and historical consciousness is necessary. The role of the party in this process is also tied to the adequate fulfillment of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, speaking of the need to strengthen the state, with a simultaneous stimulation of social activity and a rebuilding of genuine human interrelationships.

The third group of issues is tied to the return of stability to our economic life. Hence, the activity in the fulfillment of the economic reform plan, formulated in the resolutions of the Eighth and Ninth CC PZPR Plenums; hence, the impelling role in the process of overcoming our economic difficulties; hence, concern for the fulfillment of the social plan of the party finally came about. Also, finally, the Eleventh Plenum of united chief echelons of the party and the ZSL, joined on the fulfillment of the postulate, formulated at the Ninth Congress, that Poles can provide for themselves.

The party is fully aware that a decisive reconstruction of the economy must be linked with the re-creation of strong, autonomous and independent trade unions, with an initiation of workers' self-governments as well as all other economic measures, essential not only for a return to economic stability, but also to secure objective economic growth.

The course of returning to economic stability in the Wielkopolska region is proceeding relatively efficiently and the goals, which were laid out at the provincial conferences, have been achieved to a substantial degree. Of course this does not mean that unfavorable occurrences of the nation-wide type--for example, a rise in the population's income that is faster than the growth in production, or the occurrence of lower quality products in many trades and enterprises--do not happen in our area. Despite this, it can be stated without exaggeration that much has changed on this level for the better, within the span of last year.

It is obvious that the road before us is long and difficult. It still demands much self-denial, patience, diligence, and the commitment of all the people in Poland. And, above all, it demands the understanding that the collective building of service to a common cause, and the periods of anarchy have irrevocably passed, and the road to normality is the sole road that leads to the future.

## Zamosc Board on Milk Cooperatives

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 5-6 Mar 83 p 2

[Article by B.O.M.]

(Text] (Own Information) The PZPR Executive Board in Zamosc became acquainted with information on the topic of readiness of the procurement centers of milk and production plants for an increased supply of raw materials during the summer.

The Voivodship Milk Cooperative Union [WZSM] is made up of 7 regional cooperatives, the Dairy Transport Works, as well as 301 procurement centers, the distribution of which assures the collection of the entire output of milk.

In the past year, the milk cooperatives in the Zamosc province area collected over 183 million liters of milk, which means that 99.5 percent of the production plan was fulfilled.

Those factors which had a vital influence on the partial fulfillment of the plan, were mentioned during the course of the discussion. First of all, the drop in the number of cows as well as unfavorable weather conditions and, as a result, more scanty fodder reserves during the winter, should be counted among them.

The scheduled tasks in this year--in consideration of the current production realities--set the procurement of milk at about 183 million liters. These realities are, among others: not the best technical state of procurement centers, of which up to 57 percent are untypical buildings with regard to their small area as well as obsolete construction not in conformance with sanitation-hygiene requirements.

In consideration of limited investment means as well as the need for the expansion of production works in cooperatives, there are no possibilities for setting up new procurement centers; in keeping with earlier plans, that is why major repairs and the modernizing of existing centers will also be carried out in the first place.

An extremely grave problem with which the Zamosc dairy works are grappling is limited production capacities. All of the cooperatives are in the position to process about 134 million liters of milk, of which barely 73.9 million liters is for food articles, while the procurement is considerably higher.

In order to solve the problem of utilizing the milk in Zamosc province, a development of dairy works with twenty-four-hour production capacities in the range of 200 thousand liters is needed as soon as possible. As it appears from the forecast, in 1990 excess procurement above production capabilities will total 103 million liters annually.

Because of the fact that--according to the evaluation by the KW Executive Board--the material prepared by the Voivodship Milk Cooperative Union [WZSM] was too superficially treated and did not reflect the actual state of readiness of the dairy works for the peak supply of raw materials, it was agreed that this topic as well as the fulfillment of all the motions placed on the agenda at yesterday's session will be the subject of renewed evaluation.

Moreover, the KW Executive Board carried out an evaluation of the results and efficiency of activities undertaken in the area of the struggle with economic criminality.

9891

CSO: 2600/588

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Katowice Province Reports-Programs Conference

Katowice TRUBYNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 8-9 Jan 82 p 1

[Resolution of the Voivodship PZPR in Opole on the Assessment of the Course of the Reports Campaign and of Directional Tasks for Party Echelons and Organizations]

[Text] A series of urban and urban-gmina conferences came to an end in the provincial party organization. The activity of party elements during the first half of a 2 1/2-year term was assessed. The urban reports-programs conference held yesterday in Zabrze concluded the series. Comrade Zbigniew Messner, member of the Central Committee Politiuro and first secretary of the KW [Voivodship Committee] PZPR in Katowice, took part in the conference.

The work of the 15,000-member urban party organization was evaluated in a concise and clear-cut reports-programs presentation. The good work of industry in Zabrze deserves particular recognition. The extraction of coal in Zabrze mines rose 11 percent reaching a level of 12.7 million tons of coal in 1982. Credit for this goes to, among others, the mining brigades of comrade Zygmunt Lekman from the "Makoszowy" mine; those of comrade Jozef Falenczyk from the "Pstrowski" mine; and those of comrade Jozef Staniczek from the "Zabrze" mine. The city's leading exporters can take pride in equally good results; these are: the "Zabrze" steelworks, "Mostostal" [State Enterprise for Steel Structures of Refrigeration and Industrial Equipment] and "Termoizolacja" [Thermo-Insulation Projects Enterprise]. In total, the value of industrial production in Zabrze rose more than 5 percent, according to comparative prices, by comparison with 1981. On the basis of the overall results in the area of housing construction, the data pertaining to this type of construction in Zabrze are relatively good. Last year, 1,220 housing units were made available for occupancy. This constitutes 83 percent of the annual plan.

Many delegates submitted proposals directly to comrade Zbigniew Messner and to CC members about accelerating work on the final form of the PZPR ideological-program declaration.

It was stressed in the discussion that the relatively good economic results for 1982 are to a significant degree the outcome of the proper work of the city's political and administrative authorities in 1981 during the climax of the country's economic chaos. Numerous meetings between the political and administrative authorities, and the workforces of plants took place at that time for the purpose of subduing arising tension. Such methods of action, undoubtedly, saw their reward the following year in which an atmosphere of peaceful and productive work quickly prevailed.

The Polituro member and first secretary of KW PZPR in Katowice, comrade Zbigniew Messner, referred to this by stating that the party organization in Zabrze is among the foremost of party organizations. In assuming an attitude toward the discussion participants, he stressed that the introduced economic reform has borne fruit, at a certain level, in the form of a trend toward price self-regulation. In the interest of society, party organizations in plants must overcome particularism on the part of factory management. In evaluating martial law which was introduced on 13 December 1981 and the perspectives arising from its suspension, comrade Z. Messner stated that the party is faced with responsible tasks, especially in the area of strengthening the party's ideological and organizational unity. Socialism can only be built with a strong party. During the period of martial law, as stated by comrade Z. Messner, a significant strengthening of ranks of the voivodship party organization took place. Today, the important task is to obtain social support of the undertaken activities. Only then will we be able to speak of a quick way out of the crisis.

In the adopted resolution, attention was called to the need for intensifying the struggle with all manifestations of social evil. It is necessary to strengthen the ideological activity of party organizations and that of individual party members in nonparty circles, particularly in the labor community.

#### Opole Province Party Resolution

Opole TRIVYNA OPOLSKA in Polish 12 Jan 83 p 2

[Text] Upon completion of the evaluation of the reports campaign, the Voivodship Committee of PZPR asserts that further internal strengthening of organizational, ideological and political unity has taken place in the party organizations and echelons of the Opole Voivodship.

The course of reports meetings and conferences has demonstrated an improvement in the political atmosphere within party organizations and communities. A gradual fading away of division among workforces with their concurrent integration around problems involving their own plant and community was noted. In relation to the period preceding the reports campaign and in proportion to the campaign's development, the number of meetings with a small attendance and negligible discussion as well as "silent" meetings became smaller.

The decisions and actions of the authorities in the area of stabilizing the sociopolitical situation were generally accepted. The work of the PZPR Central Committee was evaluated positively for the consistent implementation of the Ninth Congress platform.

The meetings and conferences had an effect on the improvement of the sociopolitical situation. Strikes, street riots and other attempts at inciting unrest which disturbed the normal work rhythm and caused increased social tension were emphatically condemned. The discussion was characterized by an objective handling of problems and issues concerning one's own community, plant, institution as well as the undertaking of concrete tasks and proposals. For the most part, the meetings and conferences were involved in conducting an honest account of the proposals submitted during the reports-election campaign. To a smaller degree, they assessed the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and of the plenary sessions of CC PZPR. Not all the meetings and conferences concluded with the undertaking of a specific resolution or the completion of a program of activity. Not all basic party organizations conducted an assessment of the attitudes and the implementation of the individual tasks of their members. The reports campaign revealed that the activeness of POP is still overly dependent on the activeness of a part of their members; that party groups are not functioning and that the ideological-upbringing activity in POP and Plant Committees is weak.

After becoming acquainted with the report and discussion of the Voivodship Committee Executive Board, the Voivodship Committee accepted the assessment presented in it of the course of the reports campaign. As a result of this assessment and the current situation, party echelons as well as all organizations are obligated to take into account the following problems and tasks in their activity:

1. Strengthening Organizational, Ideological and Political Unity Among PZPR Ranks by:

--working out concrete forms and methods of cooperation with plant management, with self-governments, with trade unions and with youth organizations for the purpose of strengthening the ideological-political leadership of the party in the spirit of the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress;

--engaging all party members in party work, especially laborers and peasants and reaching for proven forms of work with the party aktiv;

--raising requirements in regard to the party aktiv, members of party authorities, party members occupying leadership positions and those performing functions in self-governing and social organizations;

--raising the standard of political-upbringing activity which is conducive to the integration of the teaching and student community around the concept of socialism;

--raising the requirements and control over the observance of statutory norms, particularly those in the area of: organizational discipline (payment of dues, presence at party meetings and training sessions), assigning of party tasks and supervising their implementation as well as control over the execution and working out of resolutions and proposals;

--applying statutory as well as official sanctions to those party members who flagrantly do not fulfill their responsibilities and who knowingly inspire activity which disturbs the ideological and organizational unity of the party;

--increasing the frequency of meetings between the members of the party and administrative-economic authorities, and the party rank members as well as groups of the nonparty aktiv through open party, community and trade meetings and through general rural community meetings, regional conferences, etc. The recommendations arising from these meetings would be used for improving the work of party echelons and organizations, for the activation of national councils, for improving the work of the state and economic administration and for carrying out cadre policies;

--popularizing among work establishments, the best achievements of political-propaganda work carried out by POP and organizing an exchange of experience in this field;

--the unreserved use of received informational-propaganda material in the work of POP/OOP and in that of party groups.

## 2. Further Stabilization of the Sociopolitical and Economic Situation through:

--intensified political-explanatory work among party and nonparty members;

--the appointment of labor consultative groups by Plant Committees and POP;

--the solution of matters and problems presented by workers at meetings, conferences and within the framework of grievances;

--engaging POP and KZ in the improvement of working conditions and social-living conditions of workforces;

--setting in motion activity which improves work organization, provides for the needs of the workforce and which strengthens general law and order and work discipline in plants as well as the external protection of the plant;

--strengthening the position of the middle-management cadre: division managers and foremen as well as intensifying ideological-training work with this cadre;

--deciding upon the range and type of undertaken counteraction and initiatives which are offensive in nature and which paralyze the intentions of adversaries while making allowances for cooperation of party organizations with the Polish People's Army, Citizens' Militia and the Security Service;

The implementation of a line of understanding expressed in the development of trade unions, of PRON elements and all forms of self-government;

--the setting in motion of appropriately programmed informational-propaganda activity within the mass media and through intraparty channels which takes into account conditions arising from the suspension of martial law;

--exerting greater pressure on cooperation with youth in plants, institutions and in rural communities, particularly in reference to social and political issues.

The PZPR Committee in Opole Obligates:

--The Secretariat of the Voivodship Committee and ministerial secretaries of Urban Committees [KM], of KMG and of PZPR Gmina Committees [KG] to organize regional meetings for the purpose of discussing and taking on definite activity which would assure the implementation of the herein presented resolution.

--The KW Executive Board to incorporate the tasks contained in this resolution in the material for the Reports Conference.

PZPR Voivodship Committee in Opole

Opole, 10 January 1983

#### Nowy Sacz Province Conference

Karakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 7 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ryszard Dzieszyński and Sławomir Sikora: "After Averging Threats--Work on Tomorrow's Chances"; passages enclosed in slantline printed in boldface]

[Text] (Own information service) Summing up a 20-month period of party activity which began in June 1981 and designating the directions of work for the continued term constituted the theme of the PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference in Nowy Sacz which deliberated on Saturday with the participation of 203 delegates representing more than 25,000 party members. The following, among others, took part in the conference: Polituro member and secretary of CC PZPR, Kazimierz Barcikowski; the assistant chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, Jan Kuczma; the vice-minister of labor, wages and social affairs, Józef Bury; as well as the president of WK ZSL [Voivodship Committee of the United Peasant Party], Tadeusz Prokopczyk; the chairman of WRN [Voivodship People's Council], Tadeusz Zapiorkowski; the chairman of WK FJN [Voivodship Committee of the National Unity Front], Kazimierz Węglarski; the

chairman of TRW PRON [Local Voivodship Council of PRON], Jan Turek; and the plenipotentiary of KOK [National Defense Committee], Col Dr Stefan Michalek. KW first secretary, Jozef Brozek, delivered the lecture-presentation in the name of the executive board.

In discussing the activity of the Voivodship Adult Commission, the chairman of WKR, Wladyslaw Boczon stated that during the report period, the commission reviewed 152 party echelons and organizations. Some of them had not taken up the implementation of the recommendations and proposals submitted at the Ninth Congress; work plans were missing as were party task assignments, and registers of resolutions and recommendations.

The chairman of WKKP [Voivodship Party Control Committee], Mieczyslaw Rokita, acknowledged that during the report period, the party control committees did quite a lot for the cause of strengthening the party, for the implementation of the PZPR program and resolutions and at the same time they guarded the observance of statute norms and principles. During the time under discussion, the WKKP investigated 161 matters. IN 32 cases, it had to resort to the highest form of punishment--expulsion from the party ranks.

The governor of the Nowy Sacz province, Antoni Raczka remarked that the past period required the administration to implement atypical tasks under particularly difficult conditions. During this difficult period, the administration passed the test by concentrating its main efforts on counteracting the disintegration of state structures. The postcontrol recommendations of the Armed Forces Inspectorate were of great assistance here as was the strengthening of the basic administrative elements by according them many powers and by making local enterprises subordinate to them. There was an improvement in providing for the needs of citizens, although progress in this area is still not visible everywhere. However, the number as well as the gravity of complaints regarding the activity of the administration decreased. In conforming positive trends in the activity of the economy, Antoni Raczka informed next that there is full coverage for food goods which are regulated. In discussing other areas of providing for the needs of citizens, the governor stressed the need for the growth of housing construction in which, unfortunately, regression continues to be noted. He also called attention to the necessity of eliminating signs of social pathology which have been increasing lately in the province.

The first to take part in the discussion was Hieronim Danko, from the Glinik Drilling and Mining Machinery Factory in Gorlice, who pointed out the dangers lurking on the road to implementing the economic reform. Among these are speculation and the taking of bribes which prosper particularly well in rural regions.

Zbigniew Haraf, the first secretary of the MK [Urban Committee] party in Nowy Sacz, devoted his attention to the defective organization of the investment process which is one of the reasons for the present economic crisis and for the improprieties occurring in the economy of material goods.

Housing related matters constituted the theme of the report given by Jan Gabor, chairman of ZZ ZSMP [Trade Union of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth] in the NZPS Podhale Leather Industry Works in Nowy Targ who described the problems of the youth housing plant cooperative.

Inadequacies in the functioning of the health service in rural areas as well as the problem of old people who are not covered by social care was the subject of the presentation given by a doctor from Nowy Sacz, Jerzy Masior, who proposed that more initiative be shown by regional organs of authority and the administration in the solution of these problems.

Anna Szczurek, an agronomist from Sidelce talked about the still unsolved problems of rural communities in the Nowy Sacz province, such as: the very slow progress in the building of local and field access roads, the lack of machinery which is useful for work in mountainous regions and the improper structure of prices for agricultural products.

Czeslaw Palac from ZNTK [Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops] stated that the restrictions which have affected our economy, have the positive effect that they compelled plants to look for different solutions whose outcome is, among other things, the anti-import production in ZNTK. Zofia Morz, a teacher from Nowy Sacz called attention to the particular role of the committee for grievances and findings, in solving the problems of the public. It is still often the case that grievances are taken care of in a purely formal manner while the complainer is treated with lack of feeling. The committee should, after all, search out the causes of wrongdoing and eliminate them.

The director of the Tatra Museum in Zakopane, Tadeusz Szczepanek spoke about the complicated problems involving culture. In his opinion, the good of culture, the historical monuments and natural environment in the Nowy Sacz Province require a complex, legal form of protection.

The first secretary of KMG PZPR from Rabka, Wladyslaw Swider pointed out the progressive deterioration of the natural environment in this, of all things, health resort region and demanded that the health resort facilities in Rabka be subordinated to one health center because it is often the case that in some of these facilities, medical equipment is not utilized while in others a long line forms for their use. Jan Basta, a vicechairman of ZW ZMW in Nowy Sacz, took up the problems of rural youth and declared that ZMW promotes the integration of that community. Adam Bebenek, director of the PKS branch in Limanowa, spoke about the problems of new trade unions whose activity continues to be met with the distrust of workers. This is all the more reason why the party should not be indifferent toward their formation. Kazimierz Barcikowski made a statement, which we are publishing next to this article, in regard to the problems raised in the discussion.

The conference concluded with the passing of a resolution which specifies the goals and tasks for the upcoming 2 years.

Jozef Borzek's Speech at Nowy Sacz

Karkow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 7 Feb 83 p 2

[Text] The first secretary of KW called attention to the atmosphere which preceded the preparations for the Voivodship Reports-Election Conference and the Party Congress. The voivodship delegates to the congress who were selected through democratic elections, did everything possible during that time so that the recommendations of the party organization from the Nowy Sacz region would be reflected in the congress documents. Many of these were later included in the congress program. Its [congress] implementation became realistic as a result of the introduction of martial law which halted the deepening of the economic recession and other socially negative phenomena. It also enabled the party to regain its role and position in society and made possible the rebirth of its identity in keeping with the marxist-leninist concept.

In discussing the sociopolitical situation, the first secretary stated that after 13 December 1981, following the introduction of martial law which stopped the course of events threatening the nation and which prevented open confrontation, the party is taking on the struggle with the opponents of the system more boldly, strengthening and solidifying itself, moving away from established patterns and implementing the process of internal rebirth in accordance with the slogan: "The party is the same but not the same..." In characterizing the work of party organization in the Nowy Sacz region, the speaker stated that the plant party organizations in larger work establishments recovered and understood their role the most quickly. The process of activating party functioning in small plants and in rural areas is proceeding less quickly while it is slow in intellectual circles.

Party organizations had to, first of all, regulate their own matters also including cadre matters. Currently, party members understand their role more concretely in occurring changes, in the implementation of social and economic reforms and in the struggle against occurrences of social pathology. However, this does not indicate that currently we have such a highly satisfying situation in the entire voivodship party organization. A part of the party members are still maintaining an expectant attitude and organizations are still attaching more importance to current issues without tying them in with the strategic goals of the ideological-organizational strengthening of the party and leading the country out of the crisis.

Jozef Brozek devoted a considerable portion of his presentation to issues concerning the economic reform whose implementation is constantly confronted with difficulties in the area of human awareness. He also confirmed the need for certain investments, particularly those involving the expansion of the processing base of the food industry which will make it possible to increase agricultural production.

Making construction enterprises subject to the governor will create opportunities for housing construction. He also called attention to the problems of recreation, relaxation and medical care whose base on a national scale is the Nowy Sacz region. It, therefore, requires particular care and concern.

The strategic goal of the party, according to the speaker, is to lead to a situation in which laborers and peasants would regard the party as their own and one which fully represents their interests. Jozef Brozek also pointed out the need for searching out a common plane of understanding with young people which would enable the proper use of their zeal, creative anxiety and idealistic sensitivity.

In concluding his presentation, the first secretary expressed hope that the input of the conference will serve the successful development of the voivodship, the strengthening of party unity and the rebuilding of its authority in society.

#### Radom Executive Board on Health Service

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 25 Feb 83 p 2

[Text] Currently in Radom Voivodship, there are 2 hospitals being built--the voivodship hospital in Radom and a district one in Lipsko, 3 hospital annexes, 13 rural health centers, 3 outpatient clinics, 2 nurseries, a social aid center and 11 other facilities. However, as many as 9 of these establishments should have been ready for use between 1980-1981 in accordance with the initial plans. The delay in the implementation of the majority of these investments amounts to more than 2 years. During the current year, 19 building facilities are projected to be ready for use. However, in the case of at least 6 (among others, an apartment building in Lipsko, a health care center in Solec and an annex for the chronically ill in Radom), the deadlines are threatened.

What are the reasons for such considerable "slip-ups"? Above all, there is a shortage of enterprises in the voivodship which specialize in building health service facilities. It is enough to point out that only one out of every 13 gmina health centers is built by a specialized firm. Others are built by means of an economic system, in other words, they do not have assured materials, etc. Then, there are hospitals which are built by enterprises from outside the voivodship. Thus, the authorities cannot always coordinate activity properly.

The assuring of a medical staff for new hospitals, outpatient clinics and health centers is creating increasing concern. It is difficult to acquire new personnel because there is a shortage of housing and lodging for nurses.

The assessment of the implementation of investments for the needs of the health service in the voivodship constituted the topic of yesterday's KW PZPR Executive Board in Radom. During the discussion, the executive

board members as well as the attending representatives of construction enterprises and of the investor, concentrated their attention on, above all, the problems related to the building of a voivodship hospital in Jozefow near Radom and the completion of the hospital in Lipsko.

The Executive Board acknowledged that chances do exist for making the facility available to the local ZOZ [Health Care Team] at the end of this year. However, for this to happen, the voivodship directorate in Radom for the development of towns and rural communities should assign its permanent representative to the construction site and the ZOZ must organize a crew which would be responsible for equipping and preparing particular sections of the hospital. It is also indispensable that the work on the construction of an apartment building for the medical staff, which is being carried out by the General Construction Enterprise in Lipsko, be accelerated so that the apartments would also be ready in December of this year. Work on the lodging hotel for nurses should also be started as soon as possible. Not taking into account this kind of facility in earlier plans was an inadmissible mistake.

Last year, the Executive Board and the KW Secretariat conducted an evaluation of the progress of work being done on the hospital in Jozefow. Despite agreements, the building of a lodging hotel for nurses, among other things, was not yet begun; work on a backup facility for the crew had not been completed, although they increased in number to a small degree. In addition, one of the fundamental delays is the as yet unsigned complex agreement between the investor and the general builder "Budopol" Enterprise for Construction of Public Utility Facilities. "Budopol" does not want to sign this agreement until the projected 7-year investment cycle is verified. The Executive Board members expressed the opinion that the management of "Budopol" in Kielce continues to show too little interest in the hospital in Radom, even though it assures that this hospital belongs to the most important assignments of the firm. It was stressed that it will never acquire people to do the work if it will not assure them proper social and wage conditions.

The KW PZPR Executive Board also acknowledged that this year, health care annexes must be made ready for use in Krychnowice, Kozienice and Radom. The Department of Health and Social Care at UW should already be making efforts to staff the facility in Lipsko. It is also vitally important to devote more attention to smaller building facilities by, for example, directing those enterprises to their construction which are not involved in housing construction. The Executive Board obligated "Budopol" to improve their work discipline and organization and to appoint a hospital construction management board. It should also be decided who will assist the firm in the building of accompanying facilities. It is also essential to improve cooperation between the investor and the builder. During the course of the session of the Executive Board, it was stressed that the planned appointment of a board for the construction of hospital facilities or even the health service itself and the creation of a specialized enterprise for the construction of such facilities should soon contribute to the improved implementation of health care service investments.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITY REPORTED

Legnica Board on Health Service

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 20 Jan 83 p 1

[Article by KZ: PZPR Report: "Meeting of the KW [Provincial Committee] PZPR Executive Board in Legnica"]

[Text] The KW PZPR Executive Board held a meeting yesterday in Legnica. The meeting was conducted by the first secretary of the party KW comrade Jerzy Wilk. Members of the Executive Board analyzed the condition of the health services within the province. Particular attention was given to the party's organizational activities and stress was placed on the necessity of increasing the ideopolitical influence within the labor collectives. Much importance was given to the discussions concerning problems relating to organizational work of the health services and the constantly surfacing shortcomings and deficiencies. Additional discussions were related to the personnel situation within the health service and the specific responsibilities of the management personnel.

The Executive Board was apprised of the profitability status of party dues.

Members of the Executive Board approved the draft report regarding the activities of the PZPR Provincial Committee in the period following the provincial programs-elections conference. They also were given an account of the provincial delegation's visit to the district of Stara Zagora in Bulgaria.

During the final segment of the meeting it was resolved to convene a plenum of the KW PZPR on 2 February of this year for the purpose of discussing the materials for the provincial reports conference.

Legnica Board of Cultural Activities

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 27 Jan 83 p 1

[Article by p: "Meeting of the KW PZPR in Legnica"]

[Text] The Executive Board of the KW PZPR deliberated yesterday in Legnica. The main topics of the meeting were the problems involving the expansion of physical culture, sports and tourism.

An opinion was expressed, that in spite of difficulties in the proliferation of physical culture, basic adverse tendencies did not occur, and in some instances progress was achieved.

Emphasis was placed on the necessity for further improvement in expanding mass sports and the completion of sport facilities in Legnica, Lublin and Polkowice, including the need for closer affiliations of clubs and sport organizations with work establishments and the preparation of a 3-year and a long-range program. Stress was also placed on the need for more effective management of existing aquatic sports recreational facilities. Consideration was given to the possibility of producing some of the sports equipment in local plants. A proposal was submitted to the regional and plant party echelons and organizations to prepare similar evaluations and to initiate activities for the promotion of physical culture programs suitable to the social needs and regional capabilities.

The Executive Board was briefed on the materials for the next KW plenum and Provincial Reports Conference. The board endorsed the composition of a provisional lecture group. The Executive Board also evaluated the implementation of previous meetings' proposals.

#### Legnica Plenum on Party Materials

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 3 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by kz: "Materials Were Approved for the Provincial Party Conference"]

[Text] (Own Information) A plenary session of the PZPR Provincial Committee was held yesterday in Legnica that was devoted to approving the materials for the provincial party reports conference scheduled for the 16th of this month. The first secretary of the party Provincial Committee, Comrade Jerzy Wilk, opened the meeting with a presentation of results of the preparations for the provincial reports conference which was preceded by related meetings of the divisional and basic party organizations and by conferences of the lower echelons. KW secretaries and the chairman of WKKP [Provincial Party Control Committee] held 10 community meetings to acquaint themselves with pervading problems of the people. So-called telephone meetings are being maintained by the secretaries of the KW, during which the residents of the province present many observations. Members of the KW Executive Board are on duty to receive callers with their problems and suggestions. All of these calls have provided quite a few proposals and information for consideration in the materials for the reports conference. There have also been eight regional meetings of the conference delegates and additional ones will be held in the near future.

Three groups were formed with the assignment to prepare materials for the provincial reports conference. The activity draft report of the KW for the period from June 1981 to the end of December of last year that was presented to the plenum members was discussed by the secretary of the Provincial Committee, Comrade Zbigniew Korpaczewski. This is a voluminous document which consists of data regarding the implementation of the party provincial reports conference's resolution of June 1981 and the proposals on internal party, economic

and agricultural matters, education, culture, as well as other areas, and also information on the work of the KW PZPR, its Executive board and Secretariat and other activities of the party. This document also includes figures pertaining to the actual status of the Provincial Party Organization.

The secretary of the KW, Comrade Piotr Czaja, also presented a draft report which will include, among other things, an analysis of the sociopolitical situation within the province before and after 13 December 1981, as well as from the time of suspending martial law, and also the most essential tasks for the near future. Plenum members were briefed on the draft resolution presented by KW secretary, Comrade Jerzy Szczepaniak.

There will be 257 delegates attending the Provincial Reports Conference in Legnica. For various reasons 45 people lost their mandates. In accordance with the proposal of the KW plenum, upon completion of required formalities, 89 invited guests will additionally attend this meeting. During yesterday's deliberations the composition of two commissions was proposed; one for mandating, the other for proposals and resolutions. They will perform their activities during the conference. The composition of the commissions will require the confirmation of the members attending the conference.

The proposed materials came under intensive discussion. It was generally observed that the prepared materials were exhaustive and comprehensive. The problems nagging the people were strongly emphasized. Therefore, some remarks were made. It was admitted for instance, that not enough is said about questions concerning the implementation of economic reforms. A determination was made to complete the materials with an analysis of the actual condition within the provincial economy for January of this year.

The approved resolution of the plenum obligated groups to finalize their materials in accordance with the proposals emanating from the discussions. The plenum accepted the resignation of Comrade Kazimierz Smulczyk as a member of the KW PZPR in consideration of his professional obligations and condition of his health. Stanislaw Szczepaniak, who was hitherto a substitute for the KW member, was granted membership by secret ballot. He is a miner in the division of BYTOM ore mine construction enterprises in Polkowice.

#### Conference Delegate Interviewed

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 3 Feb 83 p 2

[Article by hsm: "Need for the Live Word"]

[Text] We are talking with delegates to the PZPR provincial conferences. Wladyslaw Kordacki is an employee of the PKP [Polish State Railroads] Railroad Car Shop at Wroclaw Główny. He is a laborer and first secretary of POP [Basic Party Organization] and a member of KW PZPR.

[Question] Have many of you remained in the party organization?

[Answer] Forty two--30 laborers and 12 white collar employees. Our organization is, and has been, a labor one. Thirty-five people have left the party--they either voluntarily turned in their identity cards, or we crossed them out.

[Question] So how is it now in the party organization? Better?

[Answer] Meetings are held regularly. Discipline is better. Discussions more sensible. And--well, more people take the floor. It isn't like it was before December, when one said something--and others without even thinking would immediately vote it down.

[Question] Did the party organization lose contact with the people?

[Answer] Even after August the POP did not lose contact with the people. They always came to the secretary of POP and to the members of the Executive Board with their problems. Now they still come. For assistance, for intervention, or just to chat.

[Question] What are their concerns?

[Answer] They indicate unusual attitudes among people. They have various personal problems--it's even difficult to repeat them. Well--and mostly they come with housing problems. Many people in tragic housing conditions have been forgotten in the past. We have taken care of one thing--when PKP gets living quarters--they will be first in line.

[Question] And those who left the party, do they come?

[Answer] Some come.

[Question] And what do they say?

[Answer] That they will still wait a while, they will see but probably will apply for readmission, because the party has proven itself. Obviously--that is how some talk, but not all.

[Question] And at the meetings--what do you discuss?

[Answer] Wages. Ours is half lower than in the central part of the country. Craftsmen are fleeing to other shops. Well--so can you repair those railroad cars on time, so that people could travel more comfortably? Well--they deserve to, since they pay more for passage. There are discussions about prices. That the government does not control them too well, and our worker's pocket is empty. About the supply of materials--they say that there are difficulties and that you have to work in better cooperation. We have found a remedy for that, surely it's a half-way measure, but that, at least, is something. Whatever we can, we disassemble from the old cars which are designated for scrap-  
ping. Well, in some way we are able to fix the damaged ones.

[Question] And how do the people work now?

[Answer] At our place, better. The discipline has improved. We don't know if it's because the workers are more aware of their responsibilities, or maybe because the new management is more demanding. Possibly it's both one and the other.

[Question] And now what is most in demand?

[Answer] The live word--fresh new complete information. However--it always has been this way. Now possibly more than before, people are waiting for the party's word. In my work--I'm an upholsterer--it depends on my running from one car to another to repair what I'm supposed to. Along the way people come to me, and I go to them. They have questions, doubts. Whatever I know, I explain. I know a little because I am a member of the KW PZPR. We also have our railroad comrade, Tadeusz Szczepaniak in the KC [Central Committee]. He comes to every meeting, even if we forget to inform him. People come to the members of the POP Executive Committee. This contact, which is so direct--the sincere talks without concealing anything or hiding it in any wrappings--allows for better understanding, rebuilding of the trust in the party organization. That's what it's all about--isn't it?

[Interviewer's Remark] I think that's what it's all about in party work. In a word: work with and for the people.

[Answer] Well--really. In labor organizations it has always been so. We have never lost contact with our community. When CC or KW decisions are against us, then it is easier for us to return to a normal situation, one which should exist between the party and the workers. And generally the citizenry.

#### Leszno Reports--Programs Conference Deliberations

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 31 Jan 83 pp 1, 3

[Article: "Provincial PZPR Report-Programs Conferences Are Deliberating; Leszno: Solidity of Party's Ranks Determines It's Effectiveness"]

[Text] A Provincial Reports-Programs Conference of PZPR was held in Leszno last Saturday. In lengthy deliberations, conducted by the first secretary of KW PZPR, Jan Plociniczak, 215 delegates participated and represented an organization of over 28,500 members and candidates of the Leszno region party. Those present were: secretary of KC PZPR Waldemar Swirgon; members of KC--Edward Banicki from Rawicz and Jan Wozniak from Leszno; the director of the KC Agricultural and Food Management Branch, Stanislaw Zieba; and the minister of Health and Welfare, Ryszard Brzozowski.

Greeting the participants of the conference, among which were representatives of provincial governments, political parties, youth and social organizations, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) and FJN [National Unity

Front], the first secretary of KW Jan Plociniczak emphasized that the objective of the conference, among other things, is the evaluation of the implementation of resolutions passed by the Reports-Programs Conference of June 1981, as well as initiation of indispensable program changes resulting from the sociopolitical situation for the next term in office of the Provincial Party's authorities.

In the Executive Board's report, the first secretary of KW, Jan Plociniczak, stated that the past term for all party members and the rest of society, passes into history as one characterized by complex crisis phenomena, with a multitude of tensions and social unrest. An end was put to these destructive activities with the enactment of martial law. The implementation of the resolutions of the PZPR 9th Extraordinary Congress as well as earlier provincial conferences should be credited mostly to this period. Conditions for normalizing life were created. The functions of the Leszno party organization were dominated by socioeconomic and internal problems. Party activity was enlivened during the reports campaign in all communities.

The largest subsector of the provincial economy is farming and the agricultural-food industry. The effects and results of our farmers' work in all sectors of agriculture have always been foremost, particularly in the last 2 years. Problems connected with agriculture have been and are the center of concern for the provincial party organization. The program is consistently being implemented. The effects of this are evident. Many problems have been solved, but still many remain to be acted upon. Efforts of the Leszno organization will be directed toward full implementation on the resolution of the XI Plenum of the KC PZPR and NK ZSL [Chief Committee of the United Peasant Party]. The effectiveness of party efforts are determined among other things by the solidity of its ranks and discipline in its actions. An important task is to strengthen the authentic ties of the party echelons with its membership, labor class and all of society.

Discussions were conducted about current socioeconomic and internal-party problems. It was indicated that there was the need for consistent attempts to regain party authority through correct ideological and moral attitudes of all its members. Each echelon and organization must develop its own authority within the community, and take the lead in initiatives serving to eliminate difficulties; it has to attract people for implementation of party programs. It was also mentioned that there were shortcomings in party work, problems connected with youth upbringing and molding of their attitudes and the need for strengthening the leadership role of the party through improvement in the Leninist style of work.

Other trends of discussion were problems of the economy, especially the most important subsector of this province's economy--agriculture and agricultural food processing. It was indicated that there was the necessity of forming a stabilized farm policy and improving the supply of farm production means.

The difficulties of every day living were touched upon, including the hardship of implementing economic reforms. There was criticism of the passiveness in some of the party organizations to the revitalization of the trade-union

movement. The conferees supported the program of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

During the debate, the secretary of KC PZPR, Waldemar Swirgon, voiced his opinions. [Details of his presentation are additionally published.] The accepted resolution of the provincial party organization included, among other items, supplements to the activity program for the second part of the term.

#### Leszno Secretary Stanislaw Sawicki's Interview

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 28 Jan 83 p 3

[Interview with Stanislaw Sawicki, secretary of the Provincial Committee PZPR in Leszno, by Kazimierz Marcinkowski: "Each Organization and Echelon Creates Its Own Authority"]

[Text] [Question] The Provincial Reports Conference which will be held on Saturday, 29 January, in Leszno, will be the culmination of the reports campaign in party organizations and basic echelons. What image did the reports campaign in the Leszno region reflect? If at all, how did it affect the political and organizational strength of the party?

[Answer] Answers to these questions are neither easy nor precise. The Provincial Conference will comprehensively answer these questions. Even now it can be determined that in our provincial party organization many changes have taken place quantitatively and qualitatively. From the beginning of the term of office, that is from July 1981, about 3 percent of the rank and file of the provincial party organization turned in their party identification cards. During this period we either canceled out or expelled not quite 4,300 members and candidates; this amounted to 13.1 percent of the total membership. Comparatively the largest decline in membership was among the laborers and farmers.

[Question] What were the main reasons for these separations from the party?

[Answer] Primarily, those who left the party were the ones who could not stand the psychological pressures and were often motivated by plain fear, and those who did not want or did not know how to take upon themselves the burden of political battle and new assignments presented by the party at the IX Congress. Those who also left could not accept the political line adopted at the IX Congress. A majority of the changes that took place within the party was the result of the self-purification process combined with the implementation of plenary resolutions enacted particularly by the IV and VII plenums of the KC.

Presently the Leszno Party Organization consists of over 28,000 members. This organization today, in the majority, is hardened in political battle with the adversary. It is a party of the struggle for the socialistic character of renewal. It must be remembered that implementation of the program of the provincial party organization and IX Congress occurred under difficult conditions of crisis and political and ideological turmoil. Ultimately martial law created conditions for the functioning of the economy and party. This was the

turning point at which we noticed a slow but evident increase in activity and the return of strength through the party in our province.

[Question] Did the events and occurrences which followed the aforementioned period effect a change in the forms and methods of activities of the party authorities, basic echelons and the Provincial Committee?

[Answer] The Provincial Committee of the PZPR from the beginning of its term in office created conditions to enlist the participation of all delegates in the implementation of the accepted program, mainly through work in the problem-solving commissions; this enabled the delegates to voice opinions and jointly decide on program directions. We revealed the workings of the party and economy. Interparty information in the form of weekly bulletins reaches all organizations. We constantly strive for closer ties and working contacts with party organizations and aktiv through systematic meetings and the training of secretaries of POP in the regions of party activities, meetings in the work establishments with representatives of the political and administrative provincial leadership and working contacts with rural establishments and communities. Recently, we initiated a plan of accepting complaints and suggestions at the first-level echelon centers with the participation of political and administrative provincial leaders. Our main goal in the second part of the tenure is to tighten the ties between the party members and the workers at all levels.

[Question] It is known that the deciding factors determining the political strength of the party and its ideological and organizational condition, above all, are the Basic Party Organizations.

[Answer] A definite majority of the Leszno Party Organization, after the 13th of December, performed their statutory functions better. Meetings are held systematically, and the party membership attendance and activities are increasing. Let us remember that the party at this time has accepted a number of obligations that it was not prepared to assume. Social commissions, assembled at the party's instigation, fulfilled their obligations well. The best testimony in this instance was the good preparation made for the summer vacations of the children and youth, in which there were more participants than in former years.

In many echelons and basic organizations, the influence of the party on the community is constantly more evident. Party organizations are initiating solutions to a series of problems. First of all, this concerns economic matters related to instituting reforms. The effects of party initiatives include production in support of agriculture, employing the use of substitute raw materials, production for the curtailment of imports, reforming of the wage system and many others. The result of these actions was the improvement of the market through additional goods amounting nearly to 1.5 billion zlotys, including 770 million in food. I must however add that, in spite of the increasing number of well-functioning party organizations and the more animated and principled behavior of party members, we still have quite a few weak links and quite a number of party members who are still inactive and do not contribute to the work of their party organization.

[Question] Doesn't that pertain mostly to rural organizations?

[Answer] Certainly, the reports campaign confirmed that the situation of rural party organizations is difficult and that they are returning to active life relatively slowly. The Executive Board of the KW adopted a program for the activation of the party in the rural area. At present we see the possibility of stimulating the rural district and party activity and the ZSL in this area at a time of promotion and implementation of the joint resolution of the XI Plenum of the KC PZPR and NK ZSL. Consultations prior to the plenum confirmed the fact that, within the rural sector, new interparty relations have been formed with mutual observations on the problems of agricultural development and the solving of difficult problems in life.

[Question] One of the most frequently reoccurring motions under discussion at the meetings and reports conferences was the matter of strengthening party authority. We realize how important and, at the same time, complex and involved this problem is.

[Answer] The reports campaign, as well as the development of the sociopolitical situation confirmed old truths that the party authority, which constitutes the foundation of its leadership role, cannot be, for instance, in a work establishment, a reflection of the party authority, as a whole. Each echelon and party organization has to establish its own authority which is the result of many factors: party program; its compliance with the interests of the working class; strategic line of the party and results of its implementation; and finally, the ability to present all of this to each POP in the language of their own experiences, needs and tasks. This authority is also dependent on the professional, political, ideological and moral condition of the party members--also to what degree they differ from the nonparty element.

Today the way to rebuild party authority is through implementation of fundamental principle: as a front for the working people and their needs and interests. For the party there are no affairs which are important or unimportant when it concerns people in a work establishment. There are only matters which we can implement today because we can afford to, and others that we will resolve tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, because at the present time it is impossible to do so. And ultimately, the direction of production, because this is the area wherein lies the fate of socialism, the nation and the country.

[Question] I believe that we are considering not only the assumptions that we can talk about the rebirth of the Leszno party authority, but can we also talk in concrete categories?

[Answer] One of the criteria of faith in the party and its authority is the institution of complaints and criticisms. Considerably more people report to the echelons and party organizations about their every-day problems. This is also verified by the announcements in the newspapers of complaints and criticisms received by the first-level echelons. In one instance, in Wasosz, 60 complaints were received, in Bork, about 80; it was about the same in Pogorzale as well as in other echelons. Strengthening of party authority is also confirmed by the slow progressive rebuilding of party ranks. In recent months

we accepted 64 candidates. This attests eloquently to the fact that the barriers of isolation and distrust, which existed only a few months ago, are coming down in the communities under party influence.

[Question] Taking into consideration the development of the political situation in the country and province and the evaluation of the party situation, the provincial reports conference will submit to the echelons and party organizations new goals and tasks. Which of these can be regarded as the most important?

[Answer] First of all, they include the strengthening of the politico-organizational unity of the basic party elements, consolidation of their labor character and firming the bonds with the community under their influence. In this matter the Executive Board of the KW in one of its meetings approved a comprehensive program for solidifying the bonds of the party echelons and the party organization with POP and the laboring class. Additionally, the Executive Board suggested conducting individual talks with all party members who did not attend the reports meetings and organizational meetings which had to be rescheduled for the lack of attendance. The basic organizations should convert to a permanent work system and fill the void between meetings by working individually with the members of POP and also holding group conferences on problems of concern to the communities. This form of permanent work we intend to recognize as the principal aim of party functions in our province.

A generally binding rule should be the assignment of tasks to members and candidates of the party on the basis of party-organization activities and discipline. We intend to devote more time, in the work of the echelons and party organizations, to the fulfillment of the party's control functions. At the same time, major efforts should be focused, by all elements for party action, on evaluating the implementation of resolutions of the central echelons, as well as our own resolutions and programs. Up to this time, too often however, it has happened that at the moment a resolution was accepted, the whole activity came to a halt, when in fact, at that time it should have really begun.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

12306  
CSO: 2600/433

## CRITERION OF 'NATIONAL-STATE' INTERESTS IMPORTANT IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian No 10, 5 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Vasile Iota: "Not 'Axiom-Theses' But a Complex System of Criteria in the Social Sciences"]

[Text] In the study, interpretation and evaluation of the processes, problems and trends of contemporary socio-economic and political life, of history or of various theories and doctrines, an essential role is played by criteria. They represent an aggregate of realities and interests, of theoretical and practical support points, on the basis of which practical choices, selection, and value judgments are made. On the basis of the criterion or criteria utilized, the same processes and phenomena, the same acts and trends of real life are or can be interpreted and evaluated in different ways and reflected in very different, and sometimes opposing, theses, theories, and doctrines. In their turn, however, the theories and doctrines have an essential role in the elaboration of a political line and position and of practical conduct since--as Marx said--they are guides in action. Hence, the great importance of the criteria utilized.

The complex, multi-causal determination of different processes, phenomena and trends from real life, as well as their reflection in theory through the prism of complex and sometimes contradictory interests makes it necessary to elaborate and employ a complex system of criteria which will permit the capturing of the processes studied from different angles, the formulation of evaluations with scientific worth, which are realistic and enduring, and which will make it possible to discern, in a rigorous and nuanced manner, what is really positive, progressive, revolutionary, general and human, and what is retrograde, reactionary, and contrary to fundamental human values. The use of unsuitable criteria, the absolutizing of some and the minimizing or ignoring of others lead to theoretical or practical conclusions which are totally or partially erroneous and can contribute to the substantiation or justification of political practices which are--totally or partially--contrary to the demands of contemporary progress.

Although the dialectical, historical-materialist method presupposes as a basic demand the complex and multilateral study of phenomena and although the majority of researchers of Marxist orientation enunciate correctly and continually this methodological requirement, in actual research, more than a few

times, it has been, and in some cases, still is, ignored. As is known, the tendency to absolutize social and class criteria and, correspondingly, to minimize or ignore other criteria was dominant in the social sciences for some time--and in some writings and concepts abroad it is still dominant. This has led to the formulation of the so-called "axion theses," which, although they reflect incompletely or erroneously the fundamental demands or realities of contemporary progress, are, nevertheless, repeated continually, mechanically, and in a stereotyped manner in various writings or textbooks on the social sciences and are adopted as indisputable premises for research. For example, this has reached the point of the unilateral defining of the contemporary period only as a period of transition from capitalism to socialism, the unilateral defining of history only as a history of class struggles, tendencies to minimize and underestimate the role of the nation and the national states and of principles of international law in relations among states, different tendencies to subordinate the national-state interests to so-called international interests and "class" interests, tendencies to "theoreticize" the export of the revolution or counterrevolution, a one-sided understanding of the causes of wars, underdevelopment and imperialist practices, the theory of the "division" of the single world economic circuit into two parallel and opposing "world" circuits, the restricted interpretation of the sphere of manifestation of economic laws, global crises and problems, such as the law on unequal development, in leaps, underdevelopment and gaps, the arms race, the energy and raw materials crises, the food and hard currency-financial crises, etc.

In our party and state documents of the last decade and one-half, such schematic, simplistic, and dogmatic views have been abandoned or explicitly rejected; nevertheless, unfortunately, in some publications, especially social science textbooks, a number of authors have not been able to free themselves completely from these and viewpoints which are outmoded and antiquated or which, in essence, were never valid. The discovery of such situations gave rise to this article.

A careful analysis, without prejudices, of real life leads to the conclusion that general human progress is not reduced to social progress, just as the complex of interests and contradictions which are met in history or in the contemporary world are not reduced merely to class interests and contradictions. In each period of history, general progress occurs not only on the social level but also on the economic, political, national, intellectual and other levels, just as, alongside or on the basis of class interests--identical or different--a wide range of national-state interests--identical or different--are manifested and confront each other. They are the result of a complex of concrete-historic circumstances, specific to each country, such as: the level of economic development and, in general, the economic, political, military, technical-scientific, cultural potential of each country, the history and traditions of each people, the size of the territory, of the population, and of various resources, the geographic position, the role and place of each country in the hierarchy of world or regional forces, in the international division of labor, or in relation to different economic, political, military and other blocs.

On the other hand, nations and national states, and national-state interests are contemporary realities just as incontestable as class interests. In depth and in essence, general human progress, including social progress, is achieved par excellence in and through the progress of each nation and of national states and the national state--as contemporary realities demonstrate--is and will continue to be the most favorable framework for the development of the forces of production, for the full affirmation of creativity and of the human personality. Under these conditions, in the analysis of the processes and trends of the contemporary world, one cannot exclude a national-state criterion or the need to analyze and interpret the problems of real life not only in light of relations among classes but also in light of relations among states and groups of states, in light of the reality and legitimacy of national-state interests.

The effective introduction of these complex prospects and criteria results, for example, in the consideration of the contemporary period not only as a period of transition from capitalism to socialism, but also as a period of the liquidation of the imperialist policy of oppression and domination over other states and peoples, as a period of affirmation of nations, of the establishment of relations among states and nations on new principles of equality and respect for independence and national sovereignty, as the program of our party also states; in the light of a national-state criterion history no longer appears only as a history of the class struggle but also--in many situations even more obviously--as a history of the struggle of subjugated, oppressed and exploited peoples and nations against foreign oppression and exploitation, of the struggle between dominated states and dominant states; in the light of a national-state criterion the confrontation between capitalism and socialism no longer appears merely as an expression of the class struggle in the world arena but, primarily, as a confrontation between states and groups of states. (The class struggle presupposes, by definition, a relationship of exploitation and domination but relations between capitalist countries and socialist countries do not have such a nature; to the extent that there exist phenomena of inequality and inequity, these are a result not of the different nature of the social systems but of the differences in the potential and the level of economic and technical-scientific development and sometimes they can also appear in relations between socialist countries.) On the other hand, the confrontation between rich countries and poor countries--which involves, directly, relationships of exploitation and domination--is a principal expression of the class struggle in the world arena, despite the discounting of this thesis by some ideologues in other countries.

In light of this criterion, even the problem of peaceful coexistence takes on greater proportions, not only between states with different social systems--which can remove from the field of vision the violation of principles in relations between states belonging to the same social system--but also among all states of the world, regardless of their social systems. Also, the old and well-known thesis of the struggle between the monopolistic powers to divide and redive the world into spheres of influence, of domination and of exploitation seems to us, as it is in reality, and as it is stressed in the documents of our party, as a struggle among different states and groups of states; in the light of this new view, the most general cause of

underdevelopment is found not so much and not only in the nature of class relations but, above all, in relations among states, in the development of countries for the interest of others; and wars, as a principal means of achieving this development, are generated, in the majority of cases, by a certain configuration of the ratio of forces between different states and groups of states. In light of this broader view, imperialism is defined, above all, as an expression of a certain type of relations among states, as a tendency of some states, of some great powers, to exploit and oppress other countries and peoples, to violate their independence and sovereignty, to practice a policy of force and diktat in international relations; even the "export" of the revolution or of the counterrevolution is, in the majority of cases, the "export" of national-state interests. In light of this criterion, the foreign policy of different states no longer appears to be determined automatically, in all cases and exclusively, by the nature of internal social relations but (sometimes, even primarily) by a certain configuration of inter-state ratios of force.

From the same viewpoint, the thesis of the division of the world into rich countries and poor countries, the concept of the new international political and economic order, the concept of the global, world character of interdependency, of the world economic circuit, of underdevelopment, of different crises, etc., appear as a true reflection of the reality and the demands of contemporary progress, a profoundly progressive and revolutionary approach, an expression of the class struggle in the world arena, a fundamental appeal for the elimination of all inequalities and inequities in international relations, for collaboration, based on equality of rights, of all countries in their own development, for the resolution, in the interests of all peoples, of the various global problems and crises. This view is proving to be, in the final analysis, an appeal for the actual ensuring of a climate of peace and security for all the peoples of the world.

Obviously, the handling of the problems in this new manner does not mean that the class criterion is ignored or minimized; this is and must remain an important, fundamental criterion in the study of socio-economic and political processes and phenomena. But the complexity of actual life, the need for proper understanding and orientation in this contemporary world, which is multiform and contradictory, require the effective introduction, not only formally stated, in all treatments of the socio-historic sciences, of a national-state criterion, which, in the consideration of a certain type of problems--especially those with international scope or implications--has an even greater importance. By utilizing only the criterion of class or social system, we will not be able to understand, for example, the system of international alliances which led to the outbreak of World War II or those which led to the defeat of fascism; we will not be able to understand the differences of opinions and interests among the different communist parties or socialist countries (given the identical character of the class position and of the social order). In such situations, only a consideration of the national and national-state realities, special characteristics and interests can provide the key to a correct understanding of the problems, meanings and directions of contemporary progress.

Of course, a clear, profound, complex and nuanced understanding of the totality of problems and phenomena, a proper orientation in the great complexity of the evolutions and trends which are being manifested presuppose the application--as a whole--of criteria other than those discussed. In my opinion, in our days, that which could be called the criterion of security, which we propose to treat at a later date, has a very special importance. At any event, a re-working of some fundamental theses of the social sciences--as they still appear in various textbooks--in the light of the criterion of national-state realities and interests, is, in my opinion, a most urgent theoretical and practical matter, an essential requirement for the execution of the cognitive, educational, ideological, and patriotic functions of the teaching of the social sciences.

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MISDEEDS, NATIONALISM IN BELGRADE PUBLISHING HOUSE ALLEGED

Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 83 p 7

[Article by Tomislav Marcinko: "The Right Hand Against the Disobedient Ones"]

The writer Nikola Cincar Poposki, editor of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE Literary News has been beaten for pointing out factionalism managerialism, ge-ge [privatized firm] relations and anti-selfmanagement phenomena.

A few days ago, the chief managing editor of DNEVNIK received a letter from Nikola Cincar Poposki (39), in which this Belgrade writer invited our editorial board to a discussion of certain current events in the culture of our capital, and especially of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, at which he is employed. Remarking that in the last few weeks he had encountered numerous threats, and even a physical attack, allegedly because he had pointed out irregularities at this publishing house, he asserted that he could not speak publicly in Belgrade and that POLITIKA was refusing to publish his letter about the usurpations and criminal acts of his literary colleagues, and about the incident in which he was beaten.

We found Poposki in his apartment in Zemun, apparently depressed and apprehensive.

"At KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, my dignity as a man and a writer has been threatened several times in various manners, but I could not have presumed that I would be so brutally beaten by some of my colleagues from work," Poposki told us. "I will not cry about my fate, but I can no longer be silent about the anti-socialist and villainous acts of some of the writers. I am a witness of attempts to impose an alien ideology on us, and to legalize liberalism and nationalism. The strongest fortress of these forces is at KNJIZEVNE NOVINE and ZAPIS. I have worked at both of these editorial boards, and I can say with complete correctness and responsibility that these are a brother and sister in disseminating antivalues."

Legal Theft

Poposki stated that 3 years ago he worked at ZAPIS as the poetry editor, but he signed off on only 5 of the 40 books published at that time. All of the

rest were published without his agreement. Criteria had been lost and everything that brought a profit was published, and he therefore voided his work contract with ZAPIS and was employed by KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, hoping for a better editorial policy and human relations. But...

"A legal theft of social property is going on at KNJIZEVNE NOVINE. Purchases are made and contracts are concluded illegally, and the ringleader in this is Director Gradimir Stojakovic and the crew of commercialists around him. If I only say that Stojakovic was a leader in the Association of Publisists, about which a fair amount was said in public last year because of the embezzlement of millions, and that before that he worked at INTERPREGLED and EKO, i.e. typical ge-ge firms, then it is no wonder that filthy things go on at KNJIZEVNE NOVINE. For his immediate coworkers, he chose Ljubivoje Rsumovic, Dragos Kalajic, and Filip Radulovic, and a great influence on editorial policy is also exercised by Vuk Draskovic, Rastko Zakic, Vojislav Lubarda, Momo Kapor, Radomir Smiljanic, and Nicola Milosevic," Poposki says.

We learned that Gradimir Stojakovic managed to make a "good deal" very quickly. He brought a dozen agents from Delta Press, who became technical editors overnight, so to speak.

"There is no publishing house in the country with 26 technical editors, but nevertheless nothing could stand in the way of this farce at KNJIZEVNE NOVINE. The truth is that only two of them are qualified for such an occupation. All of this was done in order to accumulate money, because technical and artistic editors receive a third of the price of our products. What did our 'technical editors' do? They sold tapes, nylon purses, popcorn bags and vacuum cleaners, various forms, pendants, and so forth. In this way they accumulated an enormous profit. I publicly called this ge-ge behavior and "unpardonable seizure" and because of this I have had trouble up until today."

#### An Easychair for the Accusation

According to Nikola Cincar Poposki, all those who opposed Director Stojakovic and the group around him were met with disqualifications and insults. Thus, Dusan Maletic, the director of publishing activity, a man with 38 years on the job, was simply fired from KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, without his having made a single violation of his professional duties. He simply raised some "awkward questions" about the managerialism, cliques, and unprofessionalism of the editors.

"I was on Maletic's side. Stojakovic knew this and in one conversation, he asked me to make a public attack on this wonderful person, offering me in return the editorial post I wanted. He wanted me to be a broom to sweep away a man who was in the right, and he wanted to reward me for this. I did not agree, aware that nothing good was waiting for me. Gradimir Stojakovic and Dragos Kalajic, without any self-management decision, cancelled the poetry edition that I was handling, publicly threatened me, caused me numerous difficulties, and humiliated me. The secretary of the work

organization, Zivadin Ilic, told me that Macedonians are only capable of selling peanuts and seeds, and that he did not consider me a writer, even though I have published five books."

Although he had the status of editor at KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, Poposki, as he says, was also forced to be a courier, to take letters and books around to the publishers, and pay the electricity bills, but he did not cease struggling against the obvious irregularities with respect to this publishing house.

"A few days ago, when in the presence of a dozen people I took exception to what Rsumovic had said about me in an article in POLITIKA and said that I would write a denial, Filip Radulovic, who received 150 million old dinars last year for honorariums and travel expenses, ran up to me to beat me. I did not want a fight, and I went toward the door, but the two of them barred the way. Radulovic hit me in the head. I immediately fell to the floor, since I am in bad health. I received several kicks in the stomach, and I became unconscious. I do not know who kept hitting me. Fortunately, I was wearing my winter overcoat. They poured water on me and doctors came, but Radulovic and Rsumovic said that I had a bilious attack and that was written in my medical record! I came to myself somehow. Rsumovic came to me and said, "You're lucky that I didn't hit you, namecaller, I would have massacred you." I asked why and I received the answer, "You are defending Maletic," That is why I am ill now and I am waiting to exercise my right to a trial."

#### The Farce With the Workers' Libraries

"Ljubivoje Rsumovic recently wrote in POLITIKA about the 'Home Workers' Libraries' campaign initiated by him and Filip Radulovic, and he says that after the firing of Dusko Maletic, allegedly for idleness, 'Things went better.' And things did go better for them, they got rid of Maletic, they beat me up, and there is no longer anyone to oppose them at KNJIZEVNE NOVINE. Last year Filip Radulovic earned 150 million dinars from this campaign, and no one knows how much Rsumovic received. Probably not even the tax collectors. Rsumovic has even bought a large number of his own unsold books from other publishers, and as an editor, included them in the 'Home Workers' Libraries.' Maletic and I publicly criticized this and other managerialist dealings of these two writers, and this is what happened to us," Poposki says.

#### Everyone Does His Work

"A communist conversation cannot even be conducted at the meetings of the LS basic organization at KNJIZEVNE NOVINE," Poposki assures us. "Most of the talking is done by those who do not have anything in common with our party and morality. Let me just say how one day, after the last meeting of the Central committee of the Serbian LC, at which the press was discussed and KNJIZEVNE NOVINE was sharply criticized, at a meeting of the party organization Janko Vujinovic, an operational editor, said, 'We are doing our work

and they (the Central Committee of the Serbian LC) should do theirs.' And Ljubivoje Rsumovic, without mincing words, emphasized that 'before the war it was great to be a Serb, and now things have changed.' The positions from which they are acting are clear."

#### Deliberate Provocation

"At KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, self-management and Marxism are put to one side at the cost of publishing works with anti-Leninist messages, church dogma, and an ideology of obscurantism," Poposki says. "The best example of this is the book 'The Truth About Ducic,' which was reviewed by Dragis Vitosevic and edited by Ljubivoje Rsumovic. It is not difficult to see that the truth is not told there. I do not have anything against Ducic as a poet, but we all know that he was a diehard monarchist before the war and that from 1941 to 1943 he served the reactionary forces of fascism. Allegedly the 'truth about Ducic' is told, but this is all hushed up. Rsumovic openly said at one meeting that he wanted to provide a provocation' with this. And no one reacted to it."

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CSO: 2800/217

## BRIEFS

SCHOOLCHILDREN GLORIFY CHETNIKS--In Ivangrad Opstina [Montenegro] there have been recent manifestations of Cominform and pro-Chetnik positions. There have been cases of raising monuments to and glorification of the enemies of our society, as well as other nationalist provocations. The LC and all socio-political organizations must energetically fight against such hostile occurrences. It has been decided that six students from the Ivangrad school center should be expelled for attempting to form an enemy organization. This group of students gathered in places with the intention of organizing and acting on the basis of Chetnik-fascist groupings. They sang enemy songs, glorified Chetnik-nationalist criminals, and took, as a mark of distinction, the pseudonyms of disreputable enemies and prepared to issue improvised identity documents under these names.... [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Apr 83 p 3]

STRIKES IN SLOVENIA--The recent difficult conditions [as a result of] lack of raw materials and semi-finished goods, foreign exchange, the administrative interference in self-management affairs of the workers collective, the difficulty of forgiving subjective mistakes which result in lower earnings for workers have been reflected most in [workers' attitudes] in the metal-processing industry in the Celje areas where there have also been the most work stoppages. The number of work stoppages and the number of participants in them has been declining in Slovenia but the recent increase in these conflicts is worrying. Since problems do not arise over night, however, unpleasant situations and "small strikes" could be avoided. In 1980 there were 98 work stoppages in Slovenia in which 1,933 workers took part. In 1981 there were 64 but 2,010 workers participated. In 1982 there were only 18 with 377 participants. However, in the first 2 1/2 months of this year there have already been 18 work stoppages with 344 participants. A recent trade union meeting decided to form a special work group to examine the reasons and conditions leading to these conflicts. [Excerpt] [Belgrade RAD in Serbo-Croatian 8 Apr 83 p 7]

KOSOVO LC MEMBERSHIP--Last year 375 LC members in Kosovo were expelled from the party, and 3,534 joined the party, including 2,370 under 27 years of age. At the end of last year Kosovo LC membership totaled 93,865 in 3,287 basic LC organizations. Most of the new members are college-age students (666), farmers (604), secondary school students or apprentices (598) and workers (531). In 1982 there was a total of 26,366 workers (direct producers), representing 28 percent of the entire membership, the same proportion as in 1981. Among the new members last year Albanians numbered 2,538, Serbs 622, Muslims 185 and Montenegrins 106. The LC still has a total of only 12,490 women members. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 83 p 5]