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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2222

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27 October 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CSSR, POLISH, SOVIET REACTION TO ANDROPOV PROPOSALS

LD301748 Prague CTK in English 1640 GMT 30 Sep 83

[Text] Prague--The broad Czechoslovak public supports the statement of the top party and state representative of the Soviet Union Yuriy Andropov, published by the TASS news agency, which deeply analyses the present international situation and shows the only possible way to the preservation of world peace.

Czechoslovakia appreciates the firm and principled stand of the Soviet Union and voices the determination to help strengthen peace on the earth.

"The words of Yuriy Andropov are as always deeply human and convincing as they express the wish and desires of most people all over the world longing for peace," Deputy Chairman of the House of Nations of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly and Chairman of its Defence and Security Committee Vladimir Vendra has said.

"His statement correctly shows that the United States took an irresponsible path to gain military superiority, and regardless of the interests of other states and nations it wants to rule from the position of strength. That is why it continuously ignores the proposals of the Soviet Union aimed at strengthening peace, detente and halting the arms race.

What the United States calls flexibility in disarmament talks actually means the flexibility in deceiving the nations and the attempt to avoid solving vital questions for which the whole world waits. However, such policy cannot be pursued for long.

"He who acts against the interests of the nations, dragging them into the abyss of war cannot win in the struggle for their thinking," Vladimir Vendra stressed.

Members of the Czech Central Committee of the Union of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship approved a letter addressed to the Soviet embassy in Czechoslovakia, at a session here Friday.

On behalf of 1.5 million members of the union in the Czech Socialist Republic, they voiced full support to the statement of Yuriy Andropov, in which the

highest Soviet representative again clearly formulated principled stands of the Soviet Union on the present complicated international situation.

"We resolutely condemn the dangerous policy of world imperialism headed by the reactionary U.S. administration which does not refrain from the grossest provocations, threatens to bring mankind to the edge of nuclear catastrophe and endangers mainly the European continent. We highly appreciate the new significant peace proposals of the Soviet Union which are a real basis for a constructive dialogue and an honest agreement at the Geneva talks.

Warsaw (Ceteka correspondent)--Yuriy Andropov again confirmed the irreversible principles of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, including the principle not to transfer ideological disputes into international relations, the efforts for strengthening peace, lowering the arms race and extending international cooperation, TRYBUNA LUDU said today in a commentary.

The DAILY RZECZPOSPOLITA said that the statement includes not only a warning to those forces, mainly in the United States, which push the world into the abyss of nuclear catastrophe but also convincingly points out the possibility to live without the threat of nuclear war and the arms race.

The community of the socialist countries confronts the idea of a world without wars with the aggressive policy of the United States. It cannot be indifferent to the extremely dangerous military plans of Washington, the paper stressed, voicing full support of Poland to the statement of Yuriy Andropov.

Moscow (Ceteka correspondent)--Rallies at which people express their opinion on Yuriy Andropov's statement on the present international situation and on the U.S. policy take place in Soviet factories, kolkhozes, schools and scientific institutes.

Yuriy Andropov's statement meets with unanimous consent and resolutions adopted at the meetings express full support to the Soviet peace foreign policy and resolute opposition to a new round of feverish armament started by the Reagan administration.

Editors of Soviet papers receive hundreds of letters in which readers express their view on Yuriy Andropov's conclusions. This statement, Moscow textile workers said in today's PRAVDA, clearly proves that the main aim of our party's and state's foreign policy is the safeguarding of peace and international security.

The Soviet press today also noted an enormous response to Yuriy Andropov's statement throughout the world. Foreign commentaries underline the Soviet efforts to safeguard peace; relax international tension and halt the feverish armament. They also appreciate that the Soviet opinions are accompanied by concrete proposals for a change in the international situation.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

HOFFMANN ATTENDS WFTU MEETING--GDR: A meeting of the European Commission of the World Trade Union Federation has been held in Berlin. Representatives of European trade union centers discussed topical issues of the trade union movement and the cooperation of trade unions of various orientation and from different countries. Our delegation at the session was led by Karel Hoffmann, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions. [Text]  
[LD011411 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 1 Oct 83]

CSO: 2400/22

ALBANIA

PREMIER CARCANI VISITS GJIROKASTER COOPERATIVE

AU131014 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 12 Oct 83

[Excerpts] Comrade Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Comrade Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee secretary and Politburo member, accompanied by Elmaz Puto, first secretary of the Gjirokaster District AWP Committee and Nedin Hoxha, chairman of the Gjirokaster District People's Council Executive Committee, visited the Sofratika Higher-Type Cooperative in Lower Dropulli this morning. They were warmly welcomed by cooperatives, cadres, students of the secondary agricultural school, and others in Dervican village. A warm meeting with cadres of this cooperative was held in one of the halls of the new cultural palace.

Comrade Adil Carcani, speaking at the meeting, greeted those present on behalf of the AWP Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved leader of the party and people. He expressed his great joy over the successes. He pointed out the special care of the party and Enver Hoxha personally for the all-round development and progress of the Dropulli region. Comrade Adil stated that the successes fill us with joy and inspiration to progress even further by always demanding more from ourselves and exploiting all existing possibilities and reserves in order to further raise productivity. The state's aid, as always, will never be lacking for anything. Comrade Adil urged that scientific work in agriculture and livestock should be continually intensified, by revitalizing the activity of scientific centers in every branch of the economy.

In conclusion Comrade Adil Carcani wished further successes in the economy, education, culture, health, defense, and other sectors to better implement the decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

CSO: 2100/6

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

OPENING OF WARSAW PACT MEETING--BTA reports that a meeting of the Foreign Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Pact commenced today in Sofia. Heading the agenda of this current meeting of that aggressive bloc is the current situation on the European Continent, which the two superpowers and their war instruments, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, have turned into a huge arms depot. [Text] [AU131949 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 13 Oct 83]

CSO: 2100/6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE NOTES SOVIET PRESS REACTION TO REAGAN'S APPEAL

LD261027 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] U.S. President Ronald Reagan's words about peace on American radio, which he called Appeal to All People, have evoked mixed feelings abroad. Stefan Simak, our correspondent, has telephoned us the following from Moscow:

[Begin Simak recording] The American president's radio speech, with his appeal to all people, was apparently to be even more bombastic and at the same time more demagogic than his previous speeches. Doubts about the speaker's sincerity are evoked by the fact that they were transmitted by the Voice of America and their essence cannot be hidden by their translation into 42 languages.

Soviet papers today show that the White House chief's statement about the peace-loving character of American foreign policy does not come from sincere wishes but it is only a sideshow in the international propaganda theater. One of the concrete examples is Washington's attitude at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on the limitation of strategic arms as well as at the talks on medium-range nuclear arms in Europe. The United States openly ignores the principle of equality and equal security. It does not hide its attempt to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union. The daily PRAVDA today cites the American press itself which admits that the White House does not want success at the Geneva talks and it is sabotaging them. When then does the American president speak about Washington's good will, PRAVDA asks. There is only one answer to that: He strives to deceive all those he has addressed in an attempt to divert attention from the essence of the obstructive U.S. policy. Good intentions cannot be proved by words but by deeds and so in Moscow they advise the American president to stop his fiery radio appeals and do that which he advises others to do. [End recording]

CSO: 2400/21

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FRG PARLIAMENTARIANS PAY OFFICIAL VISIT

Kempny Welcomes Visiting Parliamentarians

LD221358 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 22 Sep 83

[Text] A delegation of the North Rhine-Westphalia Land Parliament led by its President John van Nes Ziegler arrived by air in Prague today for an official visit of Czechoslovakia. Welcoming the West German deputies at Ruzyně Airport were Josef Kempny, chairman of the Czech National Council, at whose invitation the visit is taking place, and other representatives of the highest representative body of CSSR.

FRG Delegation Visits University

LD231342 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 23 Sep 83

[Text] This morning a delegation of the land parliament of North Rhine-Westphalia, led by its Chairman John van Nes Ziegler, visited Charles University in Prague, accompanied by Josef Kempny, chairman of the Czech National Council.

Zdenek Ceska, rector of Charles University, said in a discussion that the role of universities in a current world is a development of international scientific cooperation in the interest of solving pressing problems, especially the issues of war and peace. Zdenek Ceska then presented to John van Nes Ziegler a peace medal from Charles University.

The head of the FRG delegation said that cooperation between universities of the two countries contributed to a better acquaintance with life in the countries with different social system and to the rationalisation of scientific research.

FRG Deputies Visit Trebic Enterprise

LD241338 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1000 GMT 24 Sep 83

[Text] The delegation of the Land Parliament of North Rhine-Westphalia, led by its chairman, John van Nes Ziegler, today visited the South Moravian region. It was accompanied by Josef Kempny, chairman of the Czech National Council. In the Elitex concern in Trebic, which is CEMA's sole producer of light industrial knitting machines, the West German deputies learned about its production program.

Machines from this factory in Trebic are today used in 68 states of all continents, including the FRG. The guests also received detailed information about the enterprise's social program and training of young specialists, and they inspected some production lines.

CSO: 2400/21

SYRIAN CP OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON VISIT TO CSSR

LD141240 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 13 Sep 83

[Interview with Khalid Bakdash, Syrian CP Central Committee secretary general, by Ladislav Sakal in Prague; live or recorded; Bakdash answers in Arabic fading into Czech translation]

[Text] [Sakal] Comrade Bakdash, this is not your first visit to Czechoslovakia. What was the aim of your visit this time?

[Bakdash] The official aim of the visit was to receive the Order of Friendship which was bestowed on me by the CPCZ leadership on the occasion of my 70th birthday. On this occasion I had the opportunity to talk with Comrade Gustav Husak and also with Comrade Vasily Bilak. I think these talks were rather useful. We exchanged views on many international issues. We spoke above all about the situation in the Middle East and about the most pressing issue of our days which definitely is the preservation of world peace, as this is a problem for Europe as well as for the Middle East.

[Sakal] You have mentioned the struggle for peace. How do Syrian communists participate in this struggle in their specific conditions?

[Bakdash] The Syrian CP [words indistinct] and through mass-political work with people supports all peace initiatives of the USSR. In this connection we highly value the role of Czechoslovakia in the struggle for peace. We know that the Czechoslovak peoples have always wanted peace and have strived for a peaceful solution to all conflicts.

[Sakal] What is your view on the current situation in the Middle East and especially in Lebanon, particularly after the direct intervention of the three NATO armies in the Lebanon civil war?

[Bakdash] The situation in the area is more complicated than ever before. The United States, France, and Britain are striving to assert their aims using military force. The Americans and their allies shoot the Lebanese patriots who reject the Israeli occupation and who wish for a return to Lebanese state sovereignty and a democratic system. The weakness of international imperialism's position in our area and the weakness of their arguments is shown by the fact that they do not see that while imperialists

keep worrying about the fate and observance of the rights of the Muslim population in Afghanistan, Muslims are being shot at in Lebanon. This is not because they are Muslims but because they are patriots and members of the Arab national-liberation movement which fights against the interests of the United States and its allies.

The Syrian CP fully supports the proposals of the socialist countries for a just solution of the Middle East problem and of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The best possible solution would be to convene an international conference in which all involved parties would take part, including the PLO. The situation in the Middle East should be dealt with sensitively and comprehensively and not through some separatist agreements which give advantages only to some political and social groups while the imperialists want to liquidate the Palestinian and other revolutionary movements.

CSO: 2400/21

## HAVLIN SPEECH TO EDUCATION OFFICIALS REPORTED

LD282357 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 28 Sep 83

[Text] A 2-day national aktiv of the party, state, trade union and youth organisation officials of high schools and independent faculties opened at the agricultural high school in Prague-Suchdol today. The main paper was delivered by Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. He emphasized the urgency of the stimuli adopted at the eighth session of the party Central Committee on a speedier implementation of the results of science and technology in practice. In assessing the results achieved and the qualitative changes in the curriculum and organizational work of high schools, Comrade Havlin said, inter alia:

[Begin recording] We are pleased to note that together we have succeeded in setting up at our high schools able and responsible collectives of leading school bodies, that it has been possible--albeit only slowly--to improve the quality of educational and scientific bodies, that in the vast majority of high schools there has been a flexible response to the needs of the party and society, and that our high schools are participating in solving the most complex problems experienced by production and social practice. That is, in a sphere where the participation of high schools and faculties and that there are also serious problems that we must solve with more determination than we have done to date.

There are faculties where the progress of the intensification of both teaching and education is still slow. In this progress, the most recent findings of science and technology are being implemented inconsistently. Our progress is not responding adequately to the new demands levied by the growing complexity of the organization and management of social but, above all, economic processes. Time and time again, we find that at certain schools and faculties they have somewhat simplified the complex processes of the changes involving the curriculum and organization. True, they have shortened the length of studies, carried out a number of useful measures--but as regards the curriculum, organization and management of the school, teaching itself, generally they carry on as before. This phenomenon, or rather these phenomena, attract justified criticism. [End recording]

In the next part of his address Comrade Josef Havlin dealt with the utilization of the creative development and in operative cooperation with economic organisations. He said in this context:

[Begin Havlin recording] It is expected that high schools will ensure high effectiveness of scientific-research activity and its correct orientation. This means, that they will concentrate on solving the most important tasks faced by our society now or in the future, that they will also actively seek such problems--in fact, as regards this, we have good experiences from the activity of the vast majority of high schools. Many complex problems have been solved through the above-mentioned approach and high schools are winning for themselves great prestige and recognition among the public. The selection of a particular scientific problem and its inclusion in the plan reflects not only the professional standards of every worker--but also his political commitment and his responsibility vis-a-vis socialist society. [End recording]

CSO: 2400/21

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

AWARDS PRESENTED TO SEVERAL INDIVIDUALS

Czech, Slovak Journalists

LD191742 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 19 Sep 83

[Text] Josef Kempny, Presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Czech National Council, presented in Prague today Jan Sverma Journalist Prizes to four journalists. The prizes have been awarded by the Presidium of the Czech National Council. The Jan Sverma Journalist Prizes for 1983 were presented to Karel Havlicek, deputy editor-in-chief of the central editorial board of the Television Newsreel, for involved managerial, organizational, and creative journalistic activity; Libuse Sekerova, editor-in-chief of VLASTA magazine, for life-long involved journalistic activity; Vaclav Svadlena, departmental head of physical education and sport of RUDE PRAVO; and Josef Vesely, deputy editor-in-chief of MLADA FRONTA daily; both for long years of involved journalistic activity.

The ceremony was attended by Josef Korcak, Presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee and the Czech premier.

Ludovit Stur Journalist Prizes for 1983 were presented by the Presidium of the Slovak National Council at the recommendation of the Slovak Government to (Olga Kratiukova), editor of the Ukrainian studio of the Czechoslovak radio in Presov, for long years of journalistic involvement in implementing the policy of the CPCZ; and to Frano Rudkaj, head of the department of theory and history of journalism of the Philosophical Faculty of Komensky University in Bratislava, for significant pedagogical and scientific research activity for the benefit of the development of the socialist journalism.

Korcak Presents Award

LD210256 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 20 Sep 83

[Text] Josef Korcak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech premier, presented the Order of Labor to Vlastimil Neubauer, director of the Czech Press and Information Office, on his 60th birthday today. The high state distinction was awarded to him by the president of the republic for his long-term selfless work in the sphere of propaganda and the mass media. The president of the republic also awarded the Order of Labor to

academician Vladimir Zoubek, scientist-consultant at the Geology and Geotechnology Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. The high state distinction was presented to him on his 60th birthday today by Academician Bohumil Kvasil, chairman of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, in recognition of his life-long work in the sphere of the geological sciences.

CSO: 2400/21

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

CSSPB TO EXCHANGE CARDS--A meeting of the Federal Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Union of Antifascist Fighters [CSSPB], held in Prague on 15 September, discussed, among other things, the exchange of the organization's membership cards, which is to be carried out in the first half of 1984. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Sep 83 p 2]

PEACE COMMITTEE'S CADRE CHANGES--At its session held in Prague on 15 September, the Czechoslovak Peace Committee elected Josef Krejci as the organization's new acting deputy chairman. Krejci replaces Josef Mudroch, who is retiring. [Summary] [Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 16 Sep 83 p 2]

HOFFMAN IN NYMBURK--A cultural house of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement was opened in Nymburk today by Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, in the presence of Vaclav Hajek, leading secretary of the Central Bohemian Regional Party Committee. [LD171005 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 16 Sep 83]

NEW OFFICIAL OF CTK--Julius Hanus, deputy Slovak premier, ushered today in the office (?Anton Kops or Kopso) deputy director-general of the Czechoslovak Press Agency [CTK] and director of the Czechoslovak Press Agency in Slovakia. Present at the festive ceremony was Ludovit Pezlar, Presidium member and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee and other representatives. Comrade Otakar Svercina assessed and praised the work of the previous director of the CTK in Slovakia, Augustin Siska. [Text] [LD080537 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 6 Oct 83]

DELEGATION FROM COPENHAGEN--A delegation of the Copenhagen City Council, led by (?Agnete Laustsen), deputy mayor, arrived in Prague today on the invitation of the Prague National Committee. The aim of the visit is to exchange experience from the management of Prague and Copenhagen and to assess the possibilities of further deepening of mutual relations of the two capitals. [Text] [LD080537 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1900 GMT 7 Oct 83]

CSSR-UK TALKS--Jindrich Rehorek, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, received in Prague today Malcolm Rifkind, minister of state of Great Britain. They met following the conclusion of consultations between the delegations of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia and Great Britain. [Text] [LD080537 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 7 Oct 83]

MEETING HONORS NATIONAL AIRLINES--A festive meeting was held in Prague today to mark the 60th anniversary of the Czechoslovak Airlines. Its participants were addressed by Josef Haman, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. He stressed that civil aviation occupies an indispensable place in our national economy and belongs among the integral parts of modern life. He said, however, that there is still room for improvement in the aviation industry. It is necessary to systematically improve work and to contribute to better safety and reliability in aviation, to its greatest possible effectiveness, to the best possible economic results and to growth in the quality of the services provided. Comrade Haman then acquainted the participants in the festive meeting with the letter of greetings sent by the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee. The best workers of the Czechoslovak Airlines received state distinctions "for outstanding work," "for services to construction" and "for working loyally" as well as departmental distinctions. [Text] [LD072023 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 7 Oct 83]

TU DELEGATION MEETS WITH NORWEGIANS--Norway: A delegation of the Central Council of Trade Unions led by Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, held talks in Oslo with a delegation of the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions on the present tasks of trade unions in the two countries. Main attention was paid to economic problems, social policy and the share of trade unions in their solution, and to questions of internal trade union life. The delegation of the Central Council of Trade Unions also visited one of the enterprises of the [word indistinct] company near Oslo. [Text] [LD051636 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 5 Oct 83]

CSO: 2400/21

KEY ARMAMENTS ENTERPRISES LISTED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 25 Jul 83 p 4

[Article by Georg Bensch, Berlin: "In the GDR 106 Industrial Enterprises Produce Armaments; Prisoners Used for Weapons Production; Napalm in the Program?"]

[Text] The armaments industry in the GDR has been experiencing a tremendous expansion. What is hushed up in east zone papers has been confirmed by Western news services: In the "peace-loving GDR," 106 industrial plants are working on armaments. Production runs the gamut from army pistols to nerve gas. All of this is going on with the consent and supervision of the Soviets.

For the coming year the GDR has decreed a further armaments buildup. Government and party Chief Honecker told students in Dresden, "The responsibility for this is borne by those in the FRG who voted for rearmament." Col Gen Werner Fleissner, deputy defense minister for weaponry, says it even more emphatically. He announced that the coming year should bring "further changes in the equipping of the NVA (National Peoples Army), with modern technology and materiel," which must be "brought about in shorter order than before." According to Fleissner's words, the GDR is obliged to make use of "applicable financial and military means."

Grenades (37 to 120 mm caliber), antipersonnel and antitank mines, flamethrowers, incendiary ammunition, and gas grenades have already been manufactured for several years in two munitions factories and three explosive factories; for example, in the Schonebeck munitions factory on the Elbe, rifle ammunition and the notorious death automatics. The "AK-77 M" (Kalashnikov) submachine gun and the Soviet "Makarow" army pistols are assembled in the VEB [State Enterprise] Ernst Thalmann Works in Suhl. Also, grenade launchers, antiaircraft cannons, and naval deck guns are manufactured in the "State Enterprise factories" of the GDR.

The VEB IFA [Industrial Association for Motor Vehicle Construction] collective in Chemnitz-Hainichen (Karl Marx Stadt) and the branch plant in Ludwigsfeld produce military vehicles. Special tracked vehicles are manufactured in the VEB Sachsenring collective in Zwickau and in the Robur VEB in Zittau, where more than 230 convicts are put to work to help fulfill production plans. The VEB Clothing Works in Seifhennersdorf "employs" 80 prisoners, turning out parachutes as well as uniforms.

The chemical sector also participates in the armaments program. Western news services have revealed that nerve gas is being manufactured in the VEB Fahlberg-List pharmaceutical works in Magdeburg. Chemical agents are also being produced in the VEB pharmaceutical works in Dresden and the VEB acid works in Dessau. There are indications the GDR is also planning to produce napalm bombs.

Of all the countries of the Warsaw Pact, the GDR leads in the manufacture of optical instruments. The world famous Carl Zeiss VEB plant in Jena turns out 60 percent of its production for military purposes. Not only infrared binoculars and night vision equipment but also bombsighters and tank and artillery optical systems are in its array of military items. Prisoners are also used in a special department of this plant.

All GDR armament plants are consolidated under the VVB (Association of State Enterprises] for iron, sheet metal, metal in Chemnitz, under the direct control of the Engineering and Technical Administration of the GDR National Defense Ministry, in Strausberg, near East Berlin.

Furthermore, the GDR exports its armaments to Africa, South America and the Arab countries. The only product that has not yet shown up in their "catalog" is the SM-70 automatic.

12430

CSO: 2300/396

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CIRCULATION FIGURES FOR DOMESTIC NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 16, 1983 (signed to press 28 Aug 83) pp 12-16

[Report of the FRG federal minister for intra-German relations: "Press Runs of Newspapers and Journals in the GDR"]

[Text] The FDJ daily newspaper JUNGE WELT, with more than 1.12 million copies, has the highest circulation of all daily papers in the GDR. It has relegated the SED paper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, which also appears daily and had held the lead position for decades, to second place (circulation: 1.09 million copies). Some weeklies for youth, like JUNGE WELT also published by the FDJ Central Council, are also "circulation giants"; they have a press run of between 500,000 and 1 million copies. The highest circulation of all weekly papers in the GDR is attained by the radio and TV program magazine FF-DABEI, with 1.38 million copies off the presses each week. These circulation figures--which for unknown reasons have never been published in the GDR--are contained in study material of the journalism section of Leipzig University and are used there in their seminars. The circulation figures date back to the end of 1980 but probably have changed only insignificantly since then, since Leipzig journalism students still work with them. (Among these data, circulation figures of only those papers which are published by the Defense and Interior Ministries, respectively, are missing).

Based on the study material from Leipzig, total press runs of all daily newspapers in the GDR correspond approximately--with a deviation of not quite 200,000--to the official GDR circulation figure of 8,879,912 copies daily, which was announced in June 1982 at the 11th Congress of the Federation of GDR Journalists. During the past 24 years, this total circulation figure of all GDR daily newspapers has grown by about 1.8 million copies, for in 1959 it was officially listed as about 7 million copies.

At present there are 39 daily newspapers in the GDR, which are generally published 5 times a week with an average of 6 to 8 pages; the weekend editions

contain an additional 4 to 8 pages. At one time, during the mid-seventies, when a newspaper with the title AZET was published for the districts of Halle and Leipzig which was modeled after the East Berlin BZ AM ABEND, there were 40 dailies. This publication was soon discontinued, however-- "because of a scarcity of paper."

#### SED Daily Newspapers

Among daily newspapers, those published by the SED dominate the market. This holds true for the SED paper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and SED district papers, each of which has between 8 and 23 local issues and is exclusively marketed in the corresponding GDR district.

SED daily newspapers, listed according to circulation numbers:

<u>Title</u>	<u>Local issues</u>	<u>Distribution area (districts)</u>	<u>Circulation</u>
NEUES DEUTSCHLAND	--	GDR	1,090,000
FREIE PRESSE	23	Karl-Marx-Stadt	614,500
FREIHEIT	23	Halle	533,900
SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG	20	Dresden	513,800
LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG	13	Leipzig	445,400
VOLKSSTIMME	20	Magdeburg	412,800
DAS VOLK	15	Erfurt	359,900
MAERKISCHE VOLKSSTIMME	17	Potsdam	285,300
OSTSEE-ZEITUNG	11	Rostock	260,400
LAUSITZER RUNDSCHAU	15	Cottbus	252,300
VOLKSWACHT	13	Gera	215,200
FREIE ERDE	14	Neubrandenburg	174,000
SCHWERINER VOLKSZEITUNG	11	Schwerin	173,800
NEUER TAG	11	Frankfurt (Oder)	170,200
FREIES WORT	8	Suhl	157,400
<hr/>			
BERLINER ZEITUNG	--	GDR	342,000
BZ AM ABEND	--	Berlin and surrounding areas	195,000

The two last East Berlin newspapers occupy a special position inasmuch as they are not specifically SED district papers. The Leipzig study material takes this into account and lists them under "press organs for the general public" and not with SED newspapers. However, both papers are published by the SED-owned publishing company, and at least the BERLINER ZEITUNG is called the party organ of the SED district of Berlin by other party publication, although it is sold all over the GDR. BZ AM ABEND is the GDR version of a tabloid, but in all political statements it follows strictly the SED line.

BERLINER ZEITUNG is the only SED newspaper whose circulation has been subject to fluctuations in the past years. In 1955, its circulation was 400,000, then rose to half a million copies by 1973 only to fall again to 340,000 by

the end of 1980. By contrast, the SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND (ND) and the SED district newspapers showed increased circulation in the course of time. ND rose from 600,000 copies in 1959 to 1 million (1973) and added another 90,000 copies by 1980 (as a comparison: SED membership at present is at 2.2 million). Further examples of increases in two SED districts where former circulation figures of the newspapers are known: NEUER TAG, SED district of Frankfurt/Oder, in 1972 had a press run of 135,000 copies and in 1980, 170,200; OSTSEE-ZEITUNG, SED district Rostock, ran 220,000 copies in 1972, in 1980, 260,400 copies.

#### Daily Newspapers of the Coalition Parties

##### Democratic Farmers' Party of Germany (DBD):

BAUERNECHO has a circulation of 91,100. This central organ of the DBD (party membership 1982: 103,000) had a press run of about 150,000 copies in the sixties and seventies, which fell by about one-third by 1980. The DBD is the only one "of the parties friendly to the SED"--thus the terminology of the Leipzig study material--which publishes only one newspaper and no district papers. But it is published in five different editions, each one directed at the party members in two to four districts each.

##### Christian Democratic Union (CDU):

<u>Title</u>	<u>Distribution area</u>	<u>Circulation</u>
NEUE ZEIT (central organ)	GDR	86,100
DIE UNION	Dresden, Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Stadt	60,800
DER NEUE WEG	Halle, Magdeburg	36,300
THUERINGER TAGEBLATT	Erfurt, Gera, Suhl	28,600
DER DEMOKRAT	Rostock, Schwerin, Neubrandenburg	18,000
MAERKISCHE UNION	Cottbus, Potsdam, Frankfurt (Oder)	4,100

The CDU central organ NEUE ZEIT (party membership in 1981: 120,000) in 1955 had a circulation of not quite 60,000 copies, which dropped to 40,000 by 1973. By 1980, the circulation had more than doubled again (in the listing of the Leipzig journalistic section, the circulation figure of 4,100 for the MAERKISCHE UNION is possibly erroneous; this newspaper had a circulation of 15,000 in 1955 and had grown to 22,000 copies by 1973).

##### Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD):

<u>Title</u>	<u>Distribution Area</u>	<u>Circulation</u>
DER MORGEN (central organ)	GDR	50,900
SAECHSISCHES TAGEBLATT	Dresden, Leipzig	66,400
LIBERAL-DEMOKRATISCHE ZEITUNG	Halle, Magdeburg	55,800

[continued]

<u>Title</u>	<u>Distribution Area</u>	<u>Circulation</u>
THUERINGISCHE LANDES-ZEITUNG	Erfurt, Gera, Suhl	47,600
NORDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG	Rostock, Schwerin, Neubrandenburg	21,600

Circulation of the LDPD's central organ, DER MORGEN, (party membership in 1982: 82,000) also fluctuated in the course of time. In 1955 it was at 60,000 copies, then fell to 40,000 by 1973 and in the meantime has grown again to over 50,000.

National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD)

<u>Title</u>	<u>Distribution Area</u>	<u>Circulation</u>
NATIONAL-ZEITUNG (central oran)	GDR	58,800
NORDDEUTSCHE NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN	Rostock, Schwerin, Neubrandenburg	31,400
SAECHSISCHE NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN	Dresden, Karl-Marx-Stadt	29,800
THUERINGER NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN	Erfurt, Gera, Suhl	29,000
BRANDENBURGISCHE NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN	Potsdam, Cottbus	23,100
MITTELDEUTSCHE NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN	Leipzig, Halle, Magdeburg	18,500

The NDPD central organ NATIONAL-ZEITUNG had a circulation of almost 65,000 copies in 1955 (party membership in 1982: 91,000). By 1973 it had dropped to 55,000 copies and then stabilized in the following years somewhat above this figure.

#### Other Daily Newspapers

Besides the parties' daily newspapers, the two large mass organizations, FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] and FDJ [Free German Youth], also have their own daily papers; in addition, there is also a sports newspaper which appears daily and a daily newspaper for the Sorb population.

The FDGB daily newspaper is called TRIBUENE, circulation 405,800. The TRIBUENE press run (FDGB membership in 1982: 9.1 million) has been stagnating around 400,000 copies since 1973; it had its highest circulation to date in 1955, when it was around half a million.

Absolute front runner among the daily papers in JUNGE WELT, published by the FDJ Central Council; circulation is 1,121,000. This FDJ organ (FDJ membership in 1982: 2.3 million) had a circulation of 150,000 copies in 1955, which grew to 800,000 by 1973 and increased to 1.12 million copies by the end of 1980.

The only sports paper to appear on a daily basis in the GDR is the DEUTSCHE SPORTECHO, with a press run of 178,000.

The smallest daily newspaper in the GDR is the Sorb paper NOVA DOBA; circulation is 1,600. It addresses the national minority of Sorbs, who live mainly in the districts of Karl-Marx-Stadt and Cottbus. Apparently interest in this newspaper is waning because 10 years ago it published 5,000 daily copies.

## Political Weekly and Monthly Journals

The study materials of the Leipzig journalism section also contain circulation figures of political weekly and monthly journals, but here, also, data on publications concerning the security area, which are issued by the Ministries of Defense and Interior, respectively, are lacking.

The SED monthly journal EINHEIT, organ of the SED Central Committee "for theory and practice of scientific socialism," is called the "leading societal-political journal of the GDR" in the Leipzig material. It has a circulation of 257,800 copies.

The biweekly SED journal NEUER WEG, which according to its subtitle deals with "questions of party life," is listed with a press run of 205,100 copies, and the party organ WAS UND WIE publishes 410,000 copies monthly; it is published by the Agitation Section of the SED Central Committee for the work of SED functionaries.

In this context, circulation figures for some politically relevant GDR journals which are mostly published on a monthly basis:

<u>Title</u>	<u>Circulation</u>
HORIZONT	116,800
NEUE JUSTIZ	33,400
DIE WELTBUEHNE	31,300
DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK	5,000
STAAT UND RECHT	3,100

The weekly paper SONNTAG, which attracts much attention in the GDR and is published by the GDR Cultural League, has a circulation of 19,000 copies, and the only satirical paper published in the GDR, EULENSPIEGEL, issues 371,000 copies every week.

The press runs of functionaries' organs, published by the FDJ Central Council, are 71,300 copies for JUNGE GENERATION and 44,300 copies for PIONIERLEITER.

Several journalistic products function as "journalistic instruments of state direction" and are published by ministries, sometimes jointly with other institutions. Among them are the weekly paper DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG (circulation 151,600) published jointly by the Ministry for Public Education and the Trade Union for Teaching and Education, the biweekly journal for GDR railroad workers, FAHRT FREI (circulation 99,000), published by the Ministry for Transportation and the AUSSEN-POLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ (circulation 7,800) published by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

In this category also belong the weekly or monthly publications of the Ministries of the Interior and Defense, whose circulation figures are not given in the Leipzig documentation, such as VOLKSARMEE, MILITAERWESEN and the military combat group paper DER KAEMPFER.



## GROUND FORCES FIELD KITCHENS DESCRIBED

East Berlin AR-ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 9, Sep 83 (signed to press 27 Jul 83) pp 39-42

[Article by Lt Col Wilfried Kopenhagen: "Field Kitchen Equipment"]

[Text] On the occasion of press receptions, during 1 May festivities or on our republic's national holiday, most everyone has probably had a meal of peas and bacon, thus becoming acquainted with one of the field kitchens of the NVA, a workers' combat group or the civil defense. On that occasion he probably had first-hand evidence on how tasty such a meal could be. Obviously the purpose of such field kitchen equipment--which is the official terminology used by the subsistence service, a part of the rear-echelon supply services--is not primarily to feed thousands of people during national festivities. Rather, its military origin and its being mounted on wheels hints of its true mission: to provide and transport hot food for the troops under combat, maneuver and other conditions. In the Soviet military encyclopedia, field kitchen equipment, formerly known generally as field kitchens, is categorized as follows: depending on its intended use, as march or portable field kitchens, and according to the number of cauldrons, into one, two, three or four cauldron equipment.

As a general rule, the march field kitchen equipment can consist, depending on its transport or towing vehicle, of trailer, truck, track, and other field kitchen equipment. While as a rule the food in portable equipment is prepared in the field, this can be done in transportable equipment during the movement also. This makes it possible to distribute hot food during rest stops.

Little can be found in the literature as to how long field kitchens or field kitchen equipment, still affectionately called "goulash cannons," have been in existence. It is known for sure however that at the end of the 18th century, and particularly during the wars of liberation of 1813/14, food was prepared in field cauldrons in Bluecher's army by booking units ("menage") and carried along during the march. According to 1788 regulations, a Prussian company was equipped with a total of 27 field cauldrons. One suspects that the ingenious soldiers of those times (and most likely those of earlier times also) had made attempts to get rid of

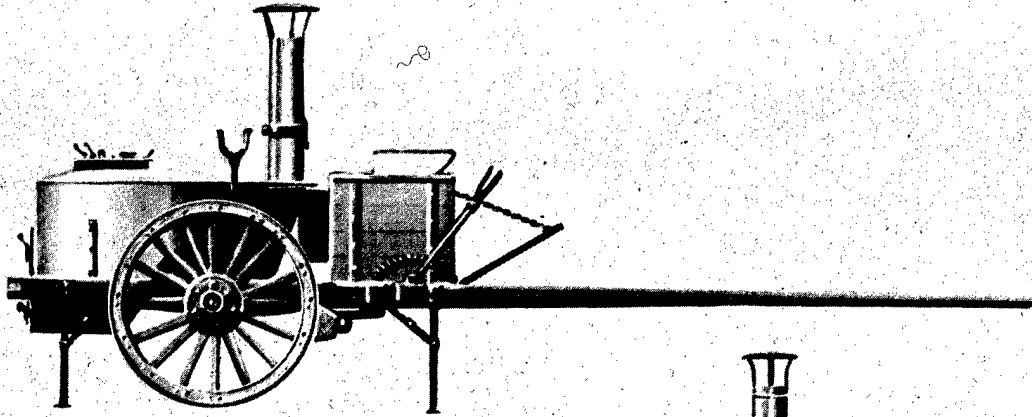
those heavy cauldrons and to prepare the food while en route. That however would only have been possible aboard a vehicle. It would appear logical that for that purpose one large cauldron, rather than several small ones, would have been mounted on a vehicle and heated up.

Incidentally, experts explain the origin of the term "goulash cannons" as follows: the smoke exhaust stack of the field kitchens, in earlier times often folded downward because of its length while en route, was compared with a cannon barrel. Additionally, inasmuch as German field kitchens had for many years only one container for solid food and one for liquids, stews were the only things available en route. Thus, speculation goes, goulash was perhaps what the soldiers were dreaming about, thus giving their name to the field kitchens.

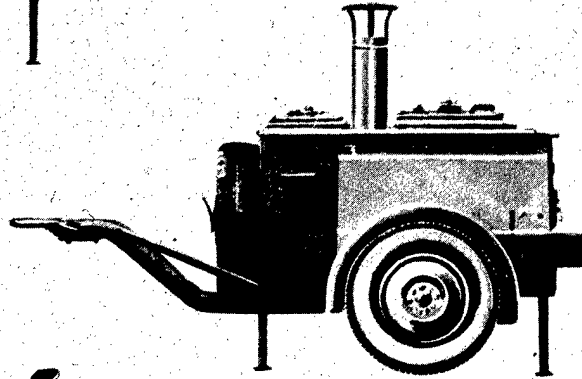
Similar to the artillery's limbers and caissons, the field kitchens, usually configured as single axle trailers, also had large wooden wheels with metal rims. In the days of horsepower propulsion this was entirely sufficient. However, when motorized traction took over, this was no longer enough and the pneumatic tire wheel replaced the wooden one. But this in itself did not satisfy all the requirements for great mobility, to permit following the troops into the field so as to be able to feed them in a timely and complete manner and without interruption under modern combat conditions.

Among the first-generation equipment of our country's armed forces' subsistence service was the "Transportable Large-Scale Cooking Facility SK-200"; later it was designated the "Field Kitchen 180/52" (or FKUe /Feldkueche/ 180/52). Those specialists who still had personal experience with this field kitchen praise its state of the art cookery qualities and its large 480 liter total capacity, spread over four cauldrons. Due to its large bulk, the FKUe 180/52 had only limited mobility in the field. By contrast, the 100/57 Field Kitchen, which is still in some use today, is described as follows: it combines good state of the art cooking qualities, small bulk, simple handling and great mobility in the field. Since originally food preparation while en route presented some difficulties, the cooking cauldron was modernized by the addition to the add-on heater ZD 3/1. This improved the capability for food preparation while en route. This field kitchen, which measured 2,900 mm in length, 1,600 mm in width and 1,700 mm in height, weighed 650 kg empty and 850 kg gross. It contained a 120 liter solid food cauldron (net capacity 100 liters, heating time 120 minutes with use of the DK), a 55 liter coffee urn (net capacity 50 liters, heatable in 70 minutes with DK), and a 5 liter reserve container. The 100/57 field kitchen had the capacity of providing subsistence to 60-120 recipients.

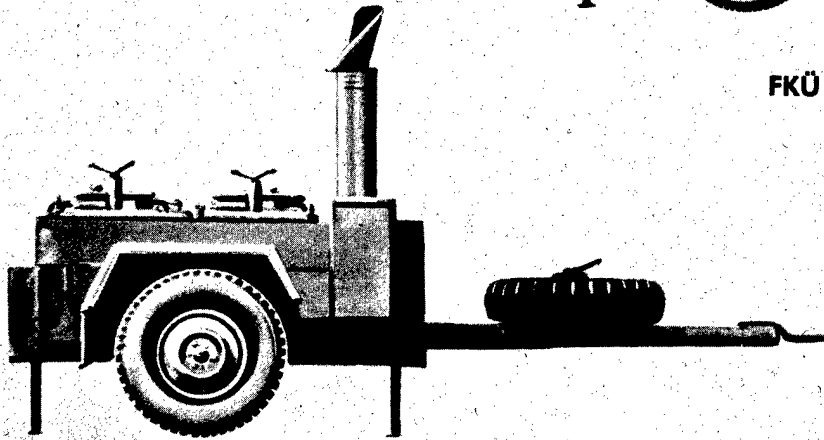
Field Kitchen 180/62 was intended for a greater number of recipients, i.e., 120-200; it evolved from the earlier model. The designers here made use of the 1.2-ton standard single-axle undercarriage which supported the dismountable field cooking range and the equipment containers. In this manner the FKUe 180/62's were able to function in a stationary dismounted



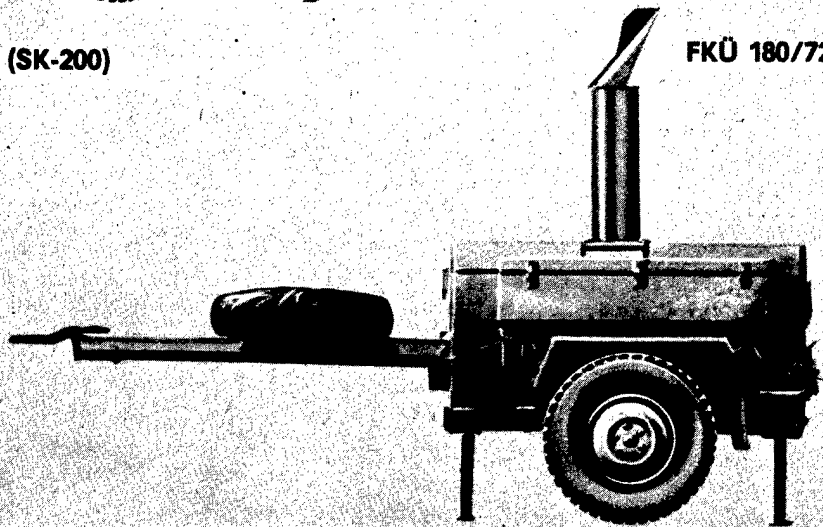
UdSSR 1941



FKÜ 100/57

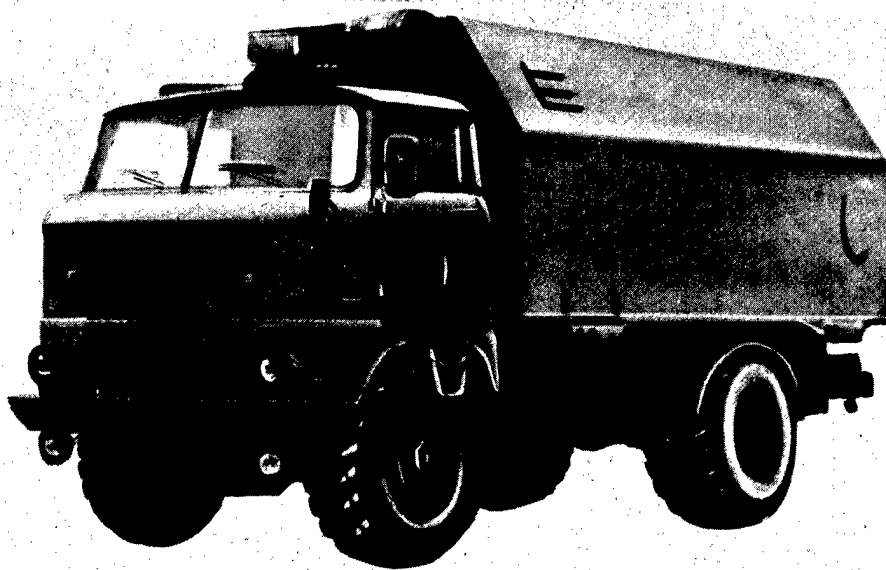


FKÜ 180/52 (SK-200)

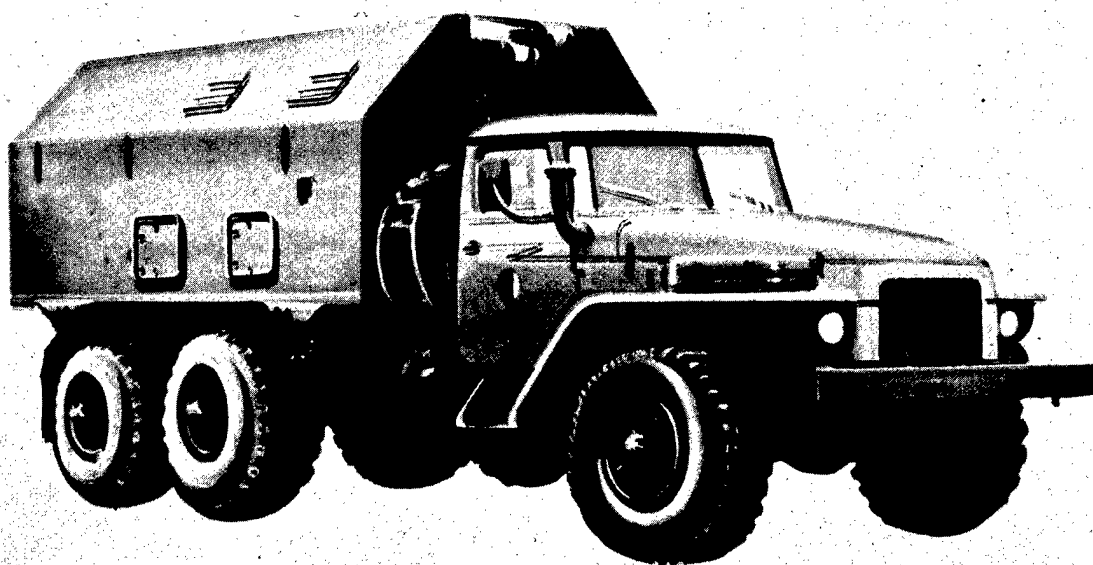


FKÜ 180/72



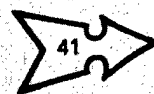


KÜE II auf Kfz W50



KÜE I auf Kfz Ural

 **Waffensammlung**



mode; in the meantime, the undercarriage could serve to transport a water container, a generator or other equipment. All the cauldrons of this field kitchen could be heated with diesel fuel via auxiliary heaters. Special LO type trucks which were gradually introduced improved the subsistence service's capabilities of feeding the troops in a steady, appropriate and sufficient manner. These special purpose vehicles were also known as LO-VTE. This acronym signified a "vehicle for food transport to serve as a work station for the cook and as a tractor for the field kitchen." The 180/62 field kitchen found further improvement in the FKUe 180/72, representing our final effort in the development of tractor drawn field kitchen equipment. This model too has the standard single-axle undercarriage and the dismantlable field cooking range with equipment containers and heater. The 180/72 field kitchen is 4,200 mm in length, 1,772 mm in width and 2,300 mm in height. Its empty weight is 1,260 kg and gross weight 1,600 kg. It contains one 190 liter solid food cauldron (usable capacity 175 liters, heating time 75 minutes); one 90 liter coffee urn (usable capacity 70 liters, heating time 60 minutes); one 45 liter roasting container (net capacity 35 liters, heating time 45 minutes) and 5 liter reserve container. It can provide subsistence to a total of 150-200 persons. The field kitchen consists of three sections which are interchangeable and which can be combined in a number of variations. The number of cooking vessels can be varied depending on the strength of the unit to be served, or on special situations. The data shown above apply to the standard configuration. Heating with solid fuels is optional. Since this was originally thought to be a very exceptional case, the heating plant has in the meantime been modified in such a way that during training or maintenance operations diesel fuel can be conserved because solid fuels can now be used exclusively.

During the 1980/81 training year a new concept surfaced in the NVA subsistence service: KueE 1. That is an abbreviation for "Kuecheneinrichtung (Cooking Facility) 1"--the most modern version of the "goulash cannon." True, not one bit of the good, old trailered field kitchen remains here. Rather, the entire facility is inside a container which is known in all branches of the service as LAK /leicht absetzbarer Koffer/, meaning easily dismantlable container, which is transported by a URAL 375/DC. However, it is theoretically possible to transport the LAK (here the LAK II model) on any vehicle having container-tiedown equipment. This type of field kitchen technology is known as a combination of subordinate field kitchen and subsistence transport facility. It protects cook personnel against weather extremes. This has not only considerably improved personnel service and living conditions; it has produced much greater mobility and maneuverability by accommodating the equipment on a vehicle with full terrain capability, and it provides good protection against the effects of weapons of mass destruction: the container can be hermetically sealed. Its ventilation filters prevent the entry of radioactive dust and chemical warfare agents.

A built-in gasoline-driven generator provides electricity. In addition, 380/220V electricity can be drawn from outside sources. Another advantage

lies in the fact that apart from the standardized container, standardized modules of the 180/72 field kitchen were used as well. Thus the KueE 1 contains two 90 liter cauldrons in the cooking section and two 45 liter cauldrons in the roasting section. In addition, the container which can be dismantled in the field (thus freeing the carrier vehicle for other tasks) contains a 150 liter water container, a separate 50 liter meat compartment, a work table and a double sink, two cupboards for stowing food supplies, each containing one milk can and spice box and other accessories. The cooking facility measures 4,300 mm in length, 2,500 mm in width and 2,000 mm in height. Its empty weight is 3,050 kg; gross weight 4,050 kg. It can provide subsistence to a total of 150 recipients.

Obviously this more complex and larger facility requires a higher level of training in the personnel assigned to it. The experts are of the opinion that in the overall picture the members of the subsistence service possess, in the 180/72 field kitchen and in the Cooking Facility 1, modern field cooking equipment which enables them to fulfill their mission at any time.

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CSO: 2300/12

## NATIONAL THEATER RECONSTRUCTION SOLICITS PUBLIC CONTRIBUTIONS

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 23 Sep 83 p 1

[Public announcement signed by Gyula Kallai, president of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, Ferenc Kallai, president of the Hungarian Theatrical Arts Association, Jozef Bognar, president of the World Federation of Hungarians, Miklos Hubay, president of the Hungarian Writers' Association and Bela Borvendeg, president of the Association of Hungarian Architects]

[Text] In the name of the Patriotic People's Front, the World Federation of Hungarians, the Hungarian Theatrical Arts Association and the Association of Hungarian Architects we appeal to the people of our country and to Hungarians living abroad to make a contribution to help us build a worthy new home for our National Theater.

Our first National Theater was the product of the reform era and was destined to serve as the champion of ideas calling for a national renewal and social progress, and to be a highly visible center of national dramatic literature and theatrical arts and of the cultivation of the Hungarian language. Its first home had been built with the help of contributions from every segment of that period's Hungarian society and, guided by the spirit of the reform era, the theater served for decades as a promoter of the cause of Hungarian culture and social progress. The subsequent solution providing a home for its company first at the People's Theater on Blaha Lujza square and later in the building of the former Hungarian Theater located on a square named arter Sandor Hevesi, could only be considered a temporary one.

The cause of our country's first theater was, from the start, a common cause and it has continued to be that to this day, despite a century of changes that have affected history and the theatrical arts. The time has come for our socialist society to erect a new home for our national theater that will befittingly serve our continued cultural development.

Our government had arrived at the decision in principle some time ago to make the century-long plan to provide a permanent location for the National Theater a reality. Now, conscious of the national importance of this cause and inspired by a renewed social demand, our state has made the final decision to start construction of the new theater using considerable central resources. Hence, encouraged by earlier displays of generosity, we are calling on all those who consider the welfare of our national theatrical arts, and therefore of Hungarian culture to be a cause of their own to also make whatever financial contri-

tribution they can afford in order to enhance the earliest possible completion of our new National Theater.

Let our National Theater have a permanent home so that it can, under worthy conditions and providing the quality demanded by our times, expressing all the things which humanity and the Hungarian people want to say about themselves, about their situation and about their future.

Dated September 1983, on the 100th anniversary of the premiere of "The Tragedy of Man."

(signed) Gyula Kallai  
President  
National Council of  
the Patriotic People's Front

Ferenc Kallai  
President  
Hungarian Theatrical  
Arts Association

Jozsef Bogнар  
President  
World Federation of Hungarians

Miklos Hubay  
President  
Hungarian Writers' Association

Bela Borvendeg  
President  
Association of Hungarian  
Architects

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HUNGARY

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR IN PRC--Beijing, 21 Sep (MTI)--Laszlo Ivan, the new Hungarian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of China, paid Premier Zhao Ziyang an introductory visit in Beijing Tuesday. [Text] [LD220112 Budapest MTI in English 1057 GMT 21 Sep 83]

AMBASSADOR TO PDRY--Budapest, 21 Sep (MTI)--Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, Prime Minister Gyorgy Lazar and Antal Apro, president of the National Assembly, met Ferenc Szabo, the future Hungarian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, in Budapest Wednesday. Ferenc Szabo is shortly to take up his post. [Text] [LD220112 Budapest MTI in English 1724 GMT 21 Sep 83]

CSO: 2020/10

## PZPR SECRETARIAT OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON TASKS, ACTIVITY

Warsaw TRUBYNA LUDU in Polish 21 Sep 83 p 3

[Interview with Col Boguslaw Kolodziejczak, office director, PZPR Central Committee Secretariat, by Stanislaw Reperowicz: "Our Task - To Assist in a Thorough and Timely Execution of Party Resolutions"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] According to our readers, systematic publishing in TRUBYNA LUDU of interviews with the heads of PZPR Central Committee departments is an important source of knowledge about current activities of the executive organs of the party and the party apparatus with regard to the execution of the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress and Central Committee plenary meetings. I would like to begin this interview by a presentation on your part of the most important tasks carried out by the organizational unit headed by you, Colonel.

[Answer] The traditional name, Office of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, refers to only some tasks that we carry out. We are a department which serves the party leadership: we organize meetings of the Secretariat, Politburo, and Central Committee. We perform a coordinating function in the preparation of materials, informing about the decisions of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat and about the execution of suggestions made at the Central Committee plenary meetings. Additionally, we submit to the party leadership reports based on the work of the Central Committee Bureau of Letters and Inspection.

I wish to note that my department also serves all Central Committee members within the framework of their high party function and the needs of their political work. This is the result of changes in the party since the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress, which elevated the position and importance of the party elected organs. The idea is, among others, to furnish each Central Committee member with continuous, broad, fast, and objective information about the most important problems in the country and the international situation regardless of his place of residence--whether in the capital or in a remote part of the country--and place of work, whether in the government or in a plant behind a machine.

That function is performed by the Central Committee Bureau of Works, which additionally organizes consultative meetings of the Central Committee Secretariat with the Central Committee members depending on the needs and at the instruction of the party leadership. As our experience has demonstrated, this form of work has proven its value in practice and it proves that the Central Committee members actively participate in working out decisions of strategic importance.

[Question] In the process of managing this unit you come in contact not only with the members of elected party echelons, but also with the full-time party functionaries, the so-called party apparatus: employees of the voivodship, city, rural, and enterprise party committees. What are your feelings about the experiences from that cooperation?

[Answer] As we know, in the 1970's there were certain errors made in the personnel policy in our country; they affected the party apparatus as well. During the reports-election campaign in the party preceding the Ninth Party Congress many comments, both justified and unjustified due to the excitement and hot atmosphere of the times, were addressed to that apparatus. Much has changed since then. As we know, there has been a basic change in the leading cadres, both at the elective and full-time levels.

I wish to emphasize, however, that the party performed a just self-evaluation of its cadres. This found its concrete expression in the Ninth Party Congress' resolution, which directed to "execute the new principles of activity of the party apparatus and cadre selection, contained in the Statute, to implement the principle of its service function with regard to the basic echelons and organizations in eliminating the practice of substituting elective organs and the state apparatus and in eliminating activities outside and against collegial decisions of the party leadership."

These instructions of the Ninth Party Congress are being implemented. The tasks of our party are enormous and difficult. Only the party can lead the country out of the crisis, but--as the Ninth Party Congress shows--this can be done only by a renewed party, which has at its disposal an apparatus capable of executing the defined program of renewal. It must be composed of people who are sensitive to all human problems, and who are true to ideals critical, and bold. It was not accidental that the selection criteria, spelled out by the Party Statute, were made stricter.

Today, from the perspective of time and class battles fought, it must be stated that a considerable part of the party apparatus played an important role in the process of socialist renewal. Both before the introduction of martial law and when it was in effect, thousands of full-time employees of the party apparatus--and the veterans were joined by the new members--defended the ideals of socialist Poland on the farthest outposts. They remained at their posts days and nights. They were attacked by anti-socialist extremists and persecuted, often dependent on their own resourcefulness. And yet they had strength and courage to oppose wild rumors, spread by subversive radio stations, underground publications, and hostile leaflets, attacking the party, the state, our alliances, and socialism.

It is true that some of the party functionaries were unable to bear the great moral and even physical strain and left the ranks. They were replaced by others. Many of the newcomers had no experience in party work, but they passed their test in battle and proved themselves in those extraordinary conditions.

[Question] Sensitivity to human problems is closely related to the attitude of party functionaries toward letters and interventions, which reach party committees every day and thus constitute an expression of trust in the party, which is guided by the principles of social justice.

[Answer] As I have already stated these matters are also within the purview of our department's activities. But not only there. The Central Committee resolution obligated all party echelons to consider thoroughly complaints, requests, and petitions. The Central Committee yearly receives tens of thousands of them and none is left without a response. I wish to emphasize here that Army Gen W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, personally reads all letters addressed to him and answers many of them himself.

[Question] Comrade, you began working at the Central Committee 2 years ago. What did you do prior to that?

[Answer] I became a professional soldier 35 years ago, and a year earlier I had joined the party. Since then I have been a lecturer at the General Staff Academy, employee of the Ministry of National Defense headquarters, and military journalist. I consider my present position as a great privilege and an expression of great confidence in me. I try to prove it with my work. I wish to emphasize that I was very warmly greeted here and that both at the Central Committee and in the field I have met many outstanding, wise, experienced, and devoted employees of the party apparatus. Truthfully, I cannot imagine performing my functions without their friendliness and assistance.

[Question] You are not the only officer employed at the Central Committee.

[Answer] Yes, there are a few of us here. This is not the first such change in the personnel policy and, therefore, there is nothing strange in it. The military is the armed support of the party, and the party in the armed forces is a recognized part of our party which is governed by the same statute and which executes the same resolutions. Party organizations in the armed forces have brought up--and still do--many party functionaries. Each year many young people, drafted to military service, join the party; after completing their service they continue to be active members of the PZPR--sometimes as functionaries--in their places of work and residence. Even after 1980, in the period of the greatest crisis, the party ranks in the armed forces continued to grow.

I wish to recall that the party organizations in the armed forces have always been in close contact with the local party echelons on the territories where they were stationed. This is the way it was and still is. During the

past decades the party functionaries in military uniforms have been elected to local civilian party echelons. It is true that during the crisis after 1980 this cooperation became even closer. The party functionaries in military uniforms got actively involved in lecturing, discussions in enterprises, etc. Small wonder that prior to the Ninth Party Congress more than a dozen local civilian party organizations entrusted responsible positions of secretaries of voivodship, city, and rural party committees to professional soldiers, who were PZPR functionaries on their territories.

[Question] Comrade, which of your tasks do you consider the most important?

[Answer] I would like for my department to fulfill all of its obligations. I would like us to be in step with the fast tempo of work of our party leadership, continuously undertaking important, new, and urgent tasks.

That fast tempo is the result of the Central Committee resolutions, the implementation of which means securing the party's governing role in the state, leading role in society, and its servility toward the nation. That role can be fulfilled only by a renewed party, or as the first secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, stated: "The same party, but different." And the progress of this process is dependent on the activities of all party members.

[Interviewer] thank you for the interview.

8609

CSO: 2600/23

## PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

## Ideological Knowledge--Key to Attitude

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 15 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (mag); passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Problems of ideological work arising in the context of the approaching academic year were the leading topic of yesterday's deliberations of the district, city, and gmina party echelons, of the deputy regional directors of party work centers, and of the directors of ideological education centers in the Gdansk voivodship. The meeting took place in the PZPR Provincial Committee in Gdansk. It was chaired by the secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, Edward Kijek.

The director of the Ideological Department of the Provincial Committee, Jerzy Tarasiewicz, spoke about the tasks of individual echelons connected with the conduct of ideological training in 1983-84. The basic forms of training are: training for candidates, young members of PZPR (under 35), general training in party organizations, and group training with courses conducted within the framework of evening universities of Marxism-Leninism.

/After a difficult period in 1980-81, one can presently note, as Jerzy Tarasiewicz stated, a clear progress in the organization of training. The attendance has improved and the frequency of training meetings has increased. There are, however, continuing difficulties with securing an appropriate training cadre, especially in the smallest organizations and in the rural community./

A novelty in the current year of ideological education will be a recommendation that--wherever this will prove necessary--common training meetings be held by two or three small organizations. /The Ideological Department of the Provincial Committee guarantees systematic additional schooling of the members of the lecturing groups of individual echelons and regional centers./ Thank you.

The Study Program on Party Knowledge, designed above all for the reserve cadres of party activists, will also constitute a new form of training. Comrade Tarasiewicz also emphasized the fact that the care for an appropriate level and organization of party training is not only a concern of the workers on the ideological front, but of the party as a whole. He reiterated that /during the coming year it will be the responsibility of every employee of the party apparatus not only to prepare and attend training sessions, but also to hold at least one meeting devoted to ideological topics./

In further deliberations, the director of the Department of Science and Education of the Provincial Committee, Zygfryd Mielewczyk, presented an evaluation of preparations for the new educational year in Gdansk schools, while the director of the Propaganda Department of the Provincial Committee, Edward Matowski, characterized current activities of the political opponent.

The Secretary of the Provincial Committee, Edward Kijek, presented a long-term evaluation of the sociopolitical situation in the province and the ensuing tasks for party echelons and organizations. He emphasized that the functioning of the economy will be in the near future a decisive factor influencing the development of the situation in the region and in the country.

Irregularities in the implementation of the economic reform in some enterprises slow down the process of normalization of social life and are being exploited by the political opponent. /"In order to counteract this, it is necessary," remarked the secretary of the Provincial Committee, "to use the existing labor force resources and the motivational character of the wage scale in a more rational fashion, and to raise the efficiency of actions of the economic management activists."/

Because there are no real prospects for increasing the present level of employment in occupations and specialties in which there is a shortage of workers, the management and cadre services in the workplaces should, in the near future, pay particular attention to the improvement of the discipline and organization of work, and to better utilization of working time.

Funds gained through the implementation of motivational wage scales should be used to a greater extent for social goals also outside actual enterprises: for example, for the rebuilding of social infrastructure guaranteeing the working people an adequate level of medical care, rest and recreation.

Speaking about the qualifications of the present management cadres, Comrade Edward Kijek stressed that, after the lifting of martial law, /one can observe in some enterprises a return to negative, autocratic forms of management, and even attempts by management of enterprises to dominate enterprise party organizations. The secretary of the Provincial Committee asserted that this should be prevented by systematic reviews of management cadres conducted by parent agencies (governors of the appropriate ministry departments). Such reviews will result in a natural selection of people

who are incompetent or who do not ensure the proper fulfillment of duties/. At the same time, reserve cadres of management activists should be created in the enterprises, and trained also by appropriate organs of ideological education.

#### Assessment of Party Activities in Large Plants

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 16 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Marian Szczurek: "Deliberations of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of PZPR."]

According to the tradition of field trip meetings of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee, the meeting began with visits by individual members of the board to party organizations in Kedzierzyn-Kozle. These meetings allowed for a better appraisal of current difficulties and problems among specific work teams, milieus, and in general, among the inhabitants of this second largest (after Opole) urban agglomeration in the province, which also constitutes the biggest industrial center and concentrates the largest number of workers in the Opole province.

Although the Institute for Heavy Organic Synthesis [ISCO] in the Silesian Sheet Metal Works is a scientific research institution, it could not exist and work without the large industry on which it feeds (and vice versa). Once already, some 2 years ago, there was a threat that the institution would fold down, but presently everything indicates that the value of production this year (approximately 2 billion zlotys) will be greater than ever before (it is more than twice as much as the previous year, which was also quite good), and there can be no worries about future orders.

After a meeting with the Executive Board of the local party organization, the first secretary of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR, Eugeniusz Morz, was, together with the secretary of the City Committee of the PZPR, Stefania Szparowa, shown around the plant by the deputy director for scientific and research affairs of ISCO, Prof Jerzy Wasilewski and the first secretary of the basic party organization at ISCO, engineer Jerzy Romanowski. Secretary Morz rated highly both the level of scientific research in ISOC, which brings significant benefits to the national economy, and the activities of the local basic party organization which plays an important role in the institute and strengthens its authority.

During the following joint meeting of the Executive Boards of the Provincial and City Committees of the PZPR, many critical remarks, suggestions, and questions (gathered during the day) had been raised. They were answered by the representatives of both city political and administrative authorities and by the representatives of province administration which included the governor of Opole, Zbigniew Mikolajewicz.

As a result of earlier systematic control conducted by a group nominated by the Secretariat of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR, the work of the Kedzierzyn-Kozle party organization in the period from the last reporting-election conference until July 31 of this year had been examined. Basic statistical data show that the city organization decreased from 7130 members and candidate members on 31 December 1981 to 5808 on 31 July 1983. Sixty-eight candidates were accepted from August 1980 to July 1983. It is judged that after 13 December the work of the majority of basic party organizations improved, in that meetings were held more regularly, and attendance, though still unsatisfactory, has improved, oscillating on the average around 60 percent. Moreover, meetings in some basic party organizations are held rarely or not at all.

Not all the elements determining the standards of work in a given basic party organization can be expressed by statistical indicators: the topics and level of meetings or courses, for example. One of the most common shortcomings is the replacement of so-called "current topics" of long-range problems ensuring from the work plans, as well as the scarcity of honest controls over the fulfillment of resolutions, both those taken by the local organization and those from superior organs.

One can also imagine better mobilization of members and candidates for party membership in the basic organizations than that currently achieved in the Kedzierzyn-Kozle city organization. This basically takes the form of a party conversation, used by the City Committee of the PZPR, which also holds talks with the management cadres and with mid-level supervisors. As a result the degree of consolidation differs in the individual basic party organizations, depending on their size, on the level of activity of the leadership of the organization and of its individual members, on relations between the management of a given enterprise or institution, and the basic party organization, and finally on the general atmosphere among the workforce.

The entirety of all the more important manifestations of socioeconomic life in Kedzierzyn-Kozle constituted the subject of discussion. As a result of remarks made earlier and especially as a result of suggestions worked out during the discussion, the draft of the Provincial Committee's resolution concerning the evaluation of the activities of the city party organization in Kedzierzyn-Kozle was returned for a second elaboration which would take into account, in a systematic manner, these remarks and suggestions.

The general impression from many hours of discussion can be summarized as follows: Obviously nothing can be corrected from day to day; it is very difficult today to be optimistic, it is not easy to make promises without backing, but, because the difficult situation in Kedzierzyn-Kozle has been observed as a whole and in fuller light, it will be possible in the current conditions to make better decisions, whose gradual implementation will lead eventually to better living and working conditions in the city. Although this might be difficult to accept for the local people,

it is necessary that they be fully aware of the fact that the largest possible number of problems should be solved with local, Kedzierzyn-Kozle, forces, with local inventiveness and on local initiative.

Acting on the principle that the critical activity of the press constitutes one of its basic duties, the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee decided to examine more closely the effectiveness of this activity. In this connection the editorial boards of TRYBUNA OPOLSKA and of the Regional Broadcasting Station of Polish Radio and Television presented materials concerning the quality and effectiveness of criticisms presented in various journalistic formats, in the newspaper and on the air. Unfortunately, both editorial boards have had equally unpleasant experiences as far as both the fact of criticism and the quality of reaction to it were concerned. Too often criticisms are passed over in silence or answered in a demagogic manner (by reference to the putative fact that press criticism slanders the otherwise untarnished reputation of the enterprise or group, by wielding arguments about the supposed "non-political" nature of the given topic, by the overuse of questions such as "and whom does this benefit?", "was it really necessary to write about it?", "where is constructive criticism?", etc.). Alternatively, the reaction is simply aggressive and aims to render impossible the gathering of information, etc. Our colleagues from the radio station face a different problem. Since they work with such ephemeral medium as the airwaves, they could never be sure whether the institution or enterprise which was being criticized noticed criticisms and would answer it. Recently, however, institutional solutions of this problem have been worked out.

During the discussion, in the course of which representatives of TRYBUNA OPOLSKA and of Polish Radio and Television provided the Executive Board with some additional clarifications, several important conclusions were reached. For example, it was suggested that party organizations in offices, institutions, and enterprises should keep a closer watch on proper reactions to press and radio critiques of their workplaces, with the proviso that a formal answer to charges is far less important than the prompt and efficient elimination of improprieties, defects, or shortcomings which have been pointed out.

The functioning of criticism could be made significantly more efficient if all control units and bodies were to inform the editorial boards systematically of the effects of actions which they had conducted, as well as of the concrete recommendations made after the control.

The Executive Board approved the network and organization of the Evening University of Marxism and Leninism at the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Opole for the 1983-84 school year. Also under discussion were materials for the next plenary meeting of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR, which will deal with the issues of strengthening order and discipline and with the struggle against manifestations of social pathology.

## Return to Roots - Ideological Value of Socialism

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 16 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Tolpyho]

[Text] As the XIII Plenum of the Central Committee of the PZPR draws near, one can more and more often hear questions about the real state of the party, about its ideological, political, and organizational performance. Discussions about these three areas--ideological, political and organizational--which determine the existence of the party, are also (or even above all) connected with the process by which the PZPR regains the initiative and its proper place in society.

Ideology constitutes the primary element in the functioning of the party. Today, as never before, it is necessary to demonstrate the enormous role and relevance of Marxism and Leninism. The historical role of the PZPR as the worker's party is based, on the one hand, on the conscious steering of discontent and radicalism of the working people and on the elimination of nihilism and demagoguery, and, on the other hand, it is based on the initiation of reforms and social actions aiming to combat passivity and conservatism of bureaucratized institutions.

In order for the party to be faithful to itself it must possess an appropriate scientific-theoretical foundation. It is primarily from such sources that one expects popularizations of the thought and of the works of the classics of scientific socialism, not only in the form of re-editions of their works, but also in the form of studies of ideological, political and socioeconomic problems relevant in today's world. /The practice, common until now, of citing the thoughts of Marx, Engels and Lenin by pulling them out of their temporal and textual contexts, creates the danger of acceptance without discussion, and results in an ideology which no longer functions as a formative element of social consciousness but becomes instead an ally of thoughts foreign to Marxism./

The development of the social sciences and education of theoreticians and practitioners of political activity constitute the basis for the creation of scientific theoretical foundations. It is expected that the Academy of Social Sciences, whose creation was initiated at the XII Plenum of the Central Committee, will constitute the main center of Marxist-Leninist thought in Poland, and that it will forge cadres for the social sciences.

What should be asked of the social sciences in the near future? Above all, we expect an ideological declaration of the PZPR which will be elaborated in such a way as to define unequivocally the directions of party activities, its political and ideological strategy, attitudes of party members and candidates, and methods of action for basic party organizations in various milieus--from the highest echelons to the basic party units. The draft of

the declaration, "What we are fighting for, where we are heading," was an attempt to formulate such a document. Work on this declaration, after a sharp critique of the original version, is taking too long. The XIII Plenum of the Central Committee should respond concretely to this general social expectation.

The present activity of the PZPR must be deeply rooted in the 100-year old tradition of the Polish workers' movement. Vague announcements that specialists are working on this subject cannot satisfy anybody. As soon as possible, the citizen must receive a description of the history of his nation and state which would be consonant with the present state of historical and political knowledge, which would fill the "blank spaces" and definitively explain problems which are interpreted in various ways in various social circles.

Despite many years of persuasions that Polish society has reached the stage of an advanced socialist society, today we must withdraw this designation, which in our case refers to the future. At the same time, the character of the socialist state and the stage achieved by Polish society have to be thoroughly elucidated.

Theoretical elaborations must also take into account the main problems of party and state policies, among them, for example, the concept of a fighting party in the period of the practical realization of the idea of national reconciliation and the permanent and unified course of action between the state and the church.

/The administrative structure of the party is subordinated to its ideological and political goals. The organizational structure is defined by statutory norms and by the principles of democratic centralism./

The strength of the party, from the point of view of the composition of its membership, is decided by its working-class character. The representative nature of the echelons and of the executive bodies, the functioning of experienced workers' activists, and the participation of workers in the party apparatus, all have basic significance. The process of strengthening the ideological-political and organizational unity of the PZPR brought with it the necessity of purifying the ranks of the party. This had a negative effect, insofar as it lowered the number of workers in many organizations. One can also observe the removal of devoted party activists from certain party positions. Often, they do not have the expected support of political and administrative managers of enterprises and institutions. An analysis of these phenomena requires that actions be taken in order to rebuild the party ranks. Obviously, this does not mean a new mass "recruitment," but rather it requires that the psychological threshold formed as a result of the sudden fall in the size of the party be overcome. Admissions into the party, which are becoming more and more frequent with the passage of time, cannot allow us to relax in the maintenance of definite criteria of acceptance. Every owner of a party card has to be free of justified charges of dishonesty.

The state of the party cadres plays an important role. They cannot be randomly chosen people, nor people who have no practice in human inter-relationships. The size of the party apparatus (especially on the lowest ranks) and its remuneration are controversial. A five-person staffing of an echelon in a city of 50,000 inhabitants and a 3,000-member party organization is insufficient. It is also difficult to apply selective criteria for full-time workers when a monthly salary of the party apparatus is very different from the possibilities of earnings in other workplaces. It is worthwhile to consider the model of other socialist countries, these problems, as well as the advisability of full-time first secretaries in the larger basic party organizations.

/It is time to use stricter criteria and to have higher expectations, time to act on the slogan of "the same party, but only better." It is true that the policy of national reconciliation, and the ensuing need for compromises, delay a decisive formulation of the problems of disciplining the society. But, sooner or later, the party has to take up this problem, starting with itself, that is, with perfecting the leading role of party members in every milieu./ One is a member of the party out of one's own free will, and therefore, the party has the right to expect proof of party loyalty from everybody in every situation and at all times. The access is, relatively speaking, easiest in the case of party activists, who--with minor exceptions--are able to mobilize. But too large a proportion of the remaining members of the party adopts a spectator attitude. Access to all members of the party continues to be too sporadic. It does not constitute a continuous process, and as a result, it does not inspire the addressee.

The party must be more decisive in its defense of the good name of honest party activists and members; it must nip all intrigues and rows in the bud; it must bring into the light of day all authors of slander as well as their intentions. The creation of mechanisms for such procedures is generally expected.

/Cadre policy is an important element of strengthening the authority of the party./ The criticized nomenklatura has been done away with. But the vacuum thus created has not been replaced by any other procedural model. Individual party echelons, depending on the conditions of the milieu, act in different ways and with different results. Thus, there is a need for the central party authorities to define the manner in which the party is to influence personnel policy. The party has the right and the responsibility to evaluate the attitude and the results of work of all management cadres, and that includes those who are not party members. Greater attention has to be paid to middle and lower supervisory personnel, who have a significant influence on the sociopolitical atmosphere in the individual organizational units of workplaces. The possibilities of horizontal promotion, in accordance with the principle "better pay for better work," have to be created.

12495  
CSO: 2600/21

## COMMISSION CHAIRMAN REPORTS ON TRADE UNION PROGRESS

LD052323 Warsaw PAP in English 2119 GMT 5 Oct 83

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Oct--Trade unions, which affiliate nearly 3.3 million people at present, are Poland's biggest social organization, said the chairman of the social consultative commission for trade unions at the Council of State at its session here today.

According to his report, the great majority of the trade union rank-and-file and members of authorities are blue-collar workers.

The degree of development of the movement varies between geographical regions of Poland and industries, the report said. For instance, in metallurgy and mining, trade unions operate in practically all the work establishments, while there are no trade unions in about 40 percent of Polish universities (and such sectors as the health service, cultural establishments, and work cooperatives).

The process of establishing national trade union organizations advances much faster than has been expected. It is likely that as many as 80 such organizations will be set up. So far, fifteen have been authorized by the Council of State to start operation already this year.

The discussion at the important meeting of trade unionists in Baildon steel-mill held in late August as well as other such sessions showed that the main interest of the unions is focused on the issue of collective labour contracts. Practically all the national-level organizations have made it their number one task to reach new contracts. However, conditions created by the economic reform make it necessary to work out a new model of collective bargaining.

According to the opinion voiced at today's meeting by Labour Minister Stanislaw Ciosek, negotiations would concern master contracts for whole industries which would then serve as the basis for concluding collective work contracts in individual enterprises. The parties to the latter would be workers' self-management and general manager on the one side, and factory-level trade unions on the other. The whole concept will worked out in detail after consulting the trade unionists.

Another important postulate advanced by most unionists concerns the elaboration of a system of genuine consultations. The matter is all the more urgent in

view of the need to hold consultations soon on the main assumptions of the economic law for 1984, the proposals on retail price increases on some food-stuffs, and changes in the wage system.

The consultative commission stated that one of its most pressing tasks is to interpret the laws defining the question of mutual relations between workers' self-management bodies and trade unions, in order to avert possible overlapping of their powers.

CSO: 2020/13

## COMMENTATOR DOUBTS LONG-TERM IMPLICATIONS OF PAPAL VISIT

Warsaw PERSPEKTWY in Polish No 37, 16 Sep 83 pp 18-19

[Article by Ryszard Swierkowski: "Prophecies"; For translation of cited article by Jan Szczepanski, see FBIS EASTERN EUROPE DAILY REPORT, Vol II, No 146, 28 July 1983, pp G2-G5.]

[Text] Pope Wojtyla returned to the Vatican, and General Jaruzelski remains in Warsaw. Has Poland changed after the pilgrimage that has evoked so much enthusiasm? Judging from the journey up to Wednesday, 22 June, the answer to this question appeared increasingly complicated and unclear. Writing thus, the Italian journalist Franc Barbieri of LA STAMPA probably turned out to be the greatest hot-headed futurologist among those who expected some kinds of extraordinary changes in Poland after the papal pilgrimage. Almost all of them anticipated and still anticipate such changes--only in the more distant future--so indisputably that a contrary opinion would appear to be outright impertinent. I will allow myself such impertinence because all of these predictions contain much of the typical Polish faith in supernatural forces and are rather forecasts of prophets in which "they dissect the future with the gleam of the eyes as with a sword." But in view of the capricious and very complicated nature of the discussed problems, not only the eye but also a looking glass would be useful here, or reflection aided by investigations and a more discriminating observation.

The mystical viewpoint that the papal pilgrimage would prompt the intervention of supernatural forces determining the fate of the country, that from it would issue some kind of unprecedented spiritual material that would become the timber for a ship, unknown to date, that would follow a Polish route, is just one more piece of evidence of irrationalism where the hard facts of life, the laws of economics and the realities of politics rule. But in Poland this has its antecedents in the age of persistent complete faith in the intervention of protective forces, in propitious intercession, and in the miraculous power of sacrifices, suffering and redemption. The

modern prophets practicing "holy prophecies about the troubles of the moment" do not have to refer to anything--they know and leave it to faith. And if they do refer to anything, it is the 1979 pilgrimage, which supposedly planted the seed against social evils. This version is so universally accepted that even many partisans of Marxist dialectics acknowledge it. It is more convincing to them, for example, than the fact that the opposite took place earlier in 1976 and later in various forms. This does not mean that the pilgrimage in general had no effect. But at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress the party presented an analysis of the source of the crisis and the reasons for the protests of the working class, and to date no one has presented any substantial material repudiating the value of these diagnoses.

#### It Is Difficult to Argue With Prophets

The foregoing is especially so when they are supplied with distinguishing signs and are lodged on the wings of mass euphoria. Prof Jan Szczepanski writes in his article "The Visit" (POLITYKA No 30, 23 July 1983) that the atmosphere surrounding the pope's visit created such strong social pressures on pronouncements that "no free thinker would venture to doubt any kind of thesis concerning the church and the pope." This thesis already raises doubts. But I submit more doubts with respect to the entire, otherwise interesting article on doubt because, in particular, in my opinion, in the professor's publication there are forecasts in the prognostic sphere for which no bases are known. The author writes that "many phenomena and processes generated by the pilgrimage of John Paul II to Poland in 1983 will appear only after several months have elapsed, and thus any attempt undertaken now (about 10 July) to analyze its course and effects must be simplified and superficial." Of course it is simplified but also hasty. Concerning the deep and far-reaching effects of the visit, the author writes in a non-argumentative tone, for example: "The effects of this second dimension ("massive," public) will appear in the decisions of the political leaders in Poland, in the resolutions of the Sejm and the State Council, in the activities of the episcopate, in the tone of delivered sermons, and in the tone and reactions of articles, and of radio and TV commentaries... However, the most important for us are those effects which will appear gradually in all areas of Polish life--beginning with the government and the bishops and reaching the lives of individual people, and then it will be seen what those millions truly received from contact with the pope... the visit will exert an influence on the course of ongoing phenomena and processes of religious, political and social life... the visit will effect in some way every citizen..."

After such statements, the professor reels off forecasts of more concrete effects in "various areas of public affairs in Poland," and I believe that only these "areas" are possible to consider objectively. Religious effects? Jan Szczepanski forecasts--correctly, in my opinion--that the tendency to build the church's material base will strengthen. But will the church's growing material infrastructure or that burst of religiousness increase the diffusion of religion in everyday life? Will it change moral aspects? Will it affect the work ethic and exert an influence on the behaviour of

religious people or, as the author asks: "Will religion remain only a matter of Sunday services, and everyday life continue in its non-religious ways?" Further on the author asks how this fervent religiousness can be reconciled with the many social plagues tormenting us. But it can be reconciled because--as is known--Polish Catholicism is a Catholicism that is quite superficial, primarily ceremonial, exerting minimal influence on the people's ethical standards and everyday living. I understand that the professor poses these questions, probably in a rhetorical sense, because any hypothesis that the future growth in religiousness will purge evil from everyday life simply would be naive. The church in Poland is a very strong political force, but its influence on the moral attitudes of the faithful is simply nil, and there is much evidence for this. I myself saw in Krakow how barely 1 hour after the meeting with the pope, the crowd that a short while before was ecstatically devout behaved so ruthlessly and brutally at the railroad station that an emergency ambulance was required. In Katowice I stood behind a priest who greeted the pope with the "V" sign, even though the primate clearly stated a long time ago what he thought about this sign. Among the plagues in which the influence of Catholic ethics would be useful in eliminating, the author names, for example, drunkenness. Appeals from the pulpit, like appeals in general, have accomplished nothing for ages because here the problem does not lie in sermons. Why have the antialcoholism statutes had so little effect here also? I believe it is because alcoholism--as Jan Czczepanski himself wrote in an essay contained in the book "Alcoholism in Culture and Custom"--is based in the sphere of privacy, in the microforms of social life which do not respond to such remedies as sermons or orders. It arises in another dimension: social, sociological, historical, habitual, mental and psychiatric as an escape from reality, from the pain of existence, as a sickness of addiction, as ceremonial drunkness associated with good times, drunkness to enable one to fantasize, for pleasure, for courage and the like. And it is not, as some say, some kind of eruption peculiar to our age or a practice of only some particular social stratum. Zbigniew Kuchowicz, a historian of customs, cites A. Radziwill, who wrote that during a solemn ceremony at which the Senate of the Republic was in attendance, only the mitre on top of the head of the bishop celebrating Mass was sober.

#### It Is Likewise With Other Plagues

In every society there is a difference between the personal pattern formulated in a codified norm and the real patterns of behaviour. Prognoses of affairs gravitating about the field of politics generate even greater doubts. Jan Szczepanski anticipates that between two trends (the first--observing that the strong, fanatic faith of the masses, the cult of Mary in its simplest forms, and the repudiation of all contacts with atheistic doctrine will rescue the church; and the second--the desire for a dialogue with Marxism and for an accord), the pope's visit will strengthen the first trend. Perhaps. But do not the times in which we live and especially the need for a dialogue of "all with all" to rescue the greatest values require changes of behavior here? In the long run would a dialogue with the world, the outspokenness of the church in the world (also in the philosophical plane) be conceivable if such a dialogue was lacking in Poland? In like manner, I would not judge beforehand--certainly for the

most distant future--religious matters. The author writes that transposing religiosity from the ceremonial, emotional plane to the intellectual plane would threaten the church, since it would allow equality of viewpoints. But what could the intelligentsia offer in such a case? This second, intellectual layer, designed for more exacting recipients, of which after all there is no lack even among the faithful in the peasant and working classes, has already been perceived in the papal homilies. Will it thus be possible in the long run to separate oneself from the intellectual plane? Will one be able to guide and especially direct oneself to where the civilizing processes enter into play as well as the demands of changing reality, if we define "reality" as a characteristic of phenomena to which we acknowledge an existence independent of our will, that does not change "on demand"? If so, only within certain limits. The author notes the increase in organized collective action where "priests become social leaders as well as political leaders in certain sectors." Is this not evidence of changes, the arousal of a political consciousness and thus the intellectualization of the church? Incidentally, the Vatican is disturbed about the growth of interest in politics by the clergy, and in the Latin American countries the pope criticized the theology of liberation. This masks various and difficult dilemmas for the church.

My doubts are greatly aroused also by the categorical statements postulated by the author relative to the party's relation to religion. Of course, an awareness of the social basis of religion is needed. But it is misleading to advise that "the problem can be resolved in practice by pointing out that religion is a private matter, that the party is not interested in a citizen's religious practices." But the party is interested. Durkheim's universally accepted statement that religion is the creation of society, that it arose on the basis of specific historical conditions, shows that combating it would be like the proverbial beating of one's head against a wall. But the kind of combat is what is of interest here. Socialism, in contrast to previous formations that arose impulsively, arose above all as an intellectual concept, as a philosophy, a scientific theory. For these reasons, people's ways of thinking, their philosophical and world-view orientations are not matters of indifference. It is not surprising that the party is and should be an instrument for the process of secularization. Secularization, at least as documented by the theories of D. Martin and C. Campbell, is not only the result of spontaneous and objective processes. It also is the result, at least to some extent, of the conscious actions of organizations guided by a secular ideology, promulgating secular viewpoints, a humanistic ethic and broadly perceived rationalism. Political factors and the activities of state institutions also are of some significance, of which an example might be the actions taken in France during the Revolution, which to date are recognized as the main reasons for the anti-clericalism of French society.

#### I Do Not Intend to Negate

I do not intend to negate the influence of the papal visit on Polish contemporary affairs. A short time ago I wrote about the value of the pope's words while on Polish soil concerning peace, the dignity of work and

the right to freedom, dignity and justice. The visit was an example of the courage of a dialogue under difficult circumstances, which by itself should stimulate thoughts about an understanding. It also was an element in opening Poland to the world, especially that part of it which was progressing toward an act of brutal interference. As in all matters, here, too, moderation and realism are needed. Of course, everyone has the right to subjective diagnoses and prognoses; however, they should be weighed, especially in publications committed to the authority of science. During the journalistic journey with the pope, I took along the book by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman entitled "The Social Formation of Reality." More by chance than intuition, this book turned out to be a help in maintaining a reserved distance relative to the collective ecstasy of those 8 days. The book is a sociological analysis of everyday life. In association with the theme discussed here, its main thought deserves to be mentioned and remembered. The authors write that among the many realities there is one which appears to man as reality par excellence. It is the reality of everyday life. In everyday life it appears as the greatest activity of consciousness, which means that everyday life affects consciousness in the most overpowering, intensive and persistent way. In comparison to this reality, other realities, though they be more unusual, always appear as limited areas of importance, as enclaves within the basic reality, characterized by restricted meanings and methods of experiences. "Base reality encloses them mostly from all sides, and awareness returns as if from an excursion." Reality "put on stage," artificial transpositions outside the bounds of ordinariness regardless of the intensity with which they were exerted a few moments earlier, appear pale, ephemeral and improvised. This illusion or temporary elation disposes man to other conceptions or expectations.

11899

CSO: 2600/11

## DISCUSSION OF UNION MEMBERS REPORTED

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 12 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by Bernard Walenski: "What Do the Party Members Talk About?"]

[Text] Initiators of the factory party discussion forum, PZPR Plant Committee secretaries at the Glucholazy Paper Works, Stanislaw Rogalski and Michal Zelek, put forth some questions for its beginning: Is the path of renewal followed by us a right one? Has trust between party and population increased? What remains to be done in order to make party's authority in the state and among the population grow?

Those are important questions, one can say, the most important ones today. Did the forum's participants find an answer to them? They had no illusions about the possibility of working out a recipe that would be good and effective everywhere and for all cases. They left the factory club hall, however, with a conviction that their two-hour talk should help the party in the workplace and in Glucholazy, above all [it should help] Glucholazy and its population, although their pronouncements still contained more criticism of what exists now than proposals for desired change. But even just making oneself and others aware of mistakes is useful, because it is difficult to fight them unless one does this. And there are still more than enough errors. Working people can see them from their positions at work, and they find fault with those who sit behind various desks for not being able to see them from there; quite often, though, they simply do not want to notice them.

The discussion at the forum touched upon many, even very many issues. For lack of space not all of them can be presented here; I chose, therefore, only some fragments of those pronouncements divided into three basic thematic groups: the workplace, the town, and everything that reaches beyond its borders.

#### In the Factory

The number of party members has dropped, hence they are sometimes quite lonely during a discussion, and places which are not manned by us are eagerly filled by others. We must, therefore, intensify our concern for increasing our ranks, we should recruit first of all young employees.

Unfortunately, there are even cases of party members agitating non-party members against the party, instead of defending it. Why have we not parted with such individuals yet? Because we want to give everybody a chance to think independently about himself and to change his attitude, although, naturally, we cannot and will not wait too long.

Let us not be afraid of purging more individuals. It is better to have a smaller army, but one that is well armed. Young people have recently undergone a diversified, albeit accelerated, political education. When we discuss the party they ask: whom do you have there? And they show specific individuals who are not exemplary members.

Whom do we want to be for the young people: a custodian, a teacher, a mentor, or an older partner? We are telling them too often: you see, at your age we already... And they reply: if you treat us just so, we will then follow our own way. We have to part with this mentor approach, lest we never come to understanding with young people. Only what is it to be replaced with?

Even worse than these mentor methods in dealing with young people is the fact that most people just talk about the need to do something, but hardly anybody tries to actually do something.

In the majority of the OOP's [departmental party organizations] the attendance of meetings is too low. There are too many party bums among us. If they do not want to be with us--they do not have to. It is better to let them go and stop tarnishing our image.

For years our workplaces have experienced difficulties in filling all the job positions, which has to do with difficult working conditions and low salaries. Out of necessity unprepared people are being engaged in production, with resulting quantitative and qualitative achievements which are lower than they could be, and this is felt in the pockets of all the employees.

People who work in a four-shift system demand changes in salaries. The present ones are out of proportion with their effort and the time spent away from their families.

In 1981 we did not strike, we worked non-stop full speed. And now we are hit hard, because our production has not risen noticeably. This hurts our pockets. Those who in 1981 by their strike activity caused the economy to reach bottom now have good chances for improvement and an increase in their incomes.

In the Town

The rolls made in Glucholazy should be called... martyrs [meczennicami]--they look so miserable, and they taste even worse. It looks like there is a saboteur in the bakery.

If one wants to buy those "martyrs" one has to arrive at the store at 7 am, because later on there are no rolls left.

Comrades (this is addressed to the City-Gmina Committee secretary)--why don't you do something so that we can exchange our food coupons locally, instead of [having to] travel for this purpose to Prudnik, Nysa, or Opole. Are we supposed to survive only on health-resort air?

Out of necessity I travel around Poland and I can see what is in the stores in other places and what is in ours. In our PSS [General Consumers' Cooperative] stores there is even no mineral water, but it is available nearby at a private store. Where does he get it from? Why does a private owner make a profit from his trade, while state or cooperative firms have losses?

The gmina manager [naczelnik] said at our meeting that there will be no more permits for private shops, while on Batory street a private shop is being built again. Let there be private business, since we need competition, but this private shopkeeper should make his goods himself, instead of obtaining them through speculation or contraband. Besides, speaking of prices--isn't there really a limit to them? Private shopkeepers will again stuff their pockets at our expense before the state finds out what is going on.

There is a shortage of teachers and other specialists with higher education in our schools, while it turns out that holders of master's degrees, whose training was paid with our workers' money, open boutiques and ice cream parlors. Who issues their permits?

We are all familiar with poor work of PSS and the Department of Trade of the Town and Gmina Office. How can it be different if its head, who, incidentally, is not an expert on retail trade, lives in Nysa, and buys everything she needs there? Is there nobody in Glucholazy who can hold this post?

I suggest that the job of supplying the town be turned over to the Gmina Cooperative, because PSS's performance has been disappointing for too long a time. To allow three tons of meat to spoil, while there is never enough of it in the stores, exceeded all bounds.

We live in a health resort with a spring, but not only do we have no mineral water, but no ordinary drinking and washing water as well.

A detour to the Paper Works: what kind of wise guy had this idea? How can you close a street without preparing an alternative route first? Besides, digging the streets during the tourist season is a criminal act, to say the least. If they were only doing something: they tore down the streets, the gardens, even the protective river banks, and they are not doing anything. And people are saying: look, it is the communists who waste money in such a way!

If things continue the way they are now in 10 years Glucholazy will lose its status not only as a health resort, but even as a town.

It is difficult to live here, but it is difficult to die, too. If somebody dies in a hospital they put him in a place where one would not even have the heart to lay a dead dog.

Supposedly Glucholazy is the gem of the Opole region. If this is so, what does the remaining part of the voivodship look like?

Higher and Highermost

Internal party information has improved considerably. This helps us a lot; party members--those who desire--are better armed with political arguments. But the press is getting worse and worse again. It skips too many issues, or informs about them late, when people learn about them from foreign radio stations.

The party press should fight, forestall the enemy's moves, not just answer him, but often it fails even to do this.

To begin with, there is an insufficient number of copies printed. Already early in the morning there are no papers at the newsstands. We are not surprised that people look for information in the store lines, but where will they look for them when eventually there are no more lines?

Much has changed in our party, but one thing remains: working people meet party functionaries more often not in order to talk to them but to hear their reports. If the party wants to win and consolidate confidence, then its secretaries must move more frequently among the people, in the departments.

At the Katowice meeting of unionists it was said that a payroll should be made of "hard" money. I agree, but we cannot have a flow of easy money nearby that comes from social funds for those who do not want to work and attempt to have an easy life at somebody else's expense.

I gave loans to People's Poland twice because it was experiencing a difficult situation. Now its situation is even worse, but young people have no qualms about taking loans from it. A young employee of ours asked me recently when our workplace will amortize his "MM" [young married] loan. I checked what kind of an employee he is. It turns out that he is one of those who does not want to work even one extra hour, naturally not without pay. We do not help young people--we demoralize them.

Before making a decision the authorities must think it over carefully, otherwise we are faced with an absurd situation. I will give you a personal example: two years ago I could have chosen early retirement, since I had 40 years of work at that time. I felt well and I did not want to accept anything for nothing. Now I feel worse, and even if I have 42 years of employment already I cannot retire because the authorities have changed their regulations.

A trustworthy bank is a strong attribute. We have worked hard all our life and we have managed to save a few pennies. Then came inflation. All the prices rose almost fivefold, while the PKO [General Savings Bank] revalues our money by merely one fifth. How can people have confidence in such a bank?

We cannot agree with the Sejm commission's verdict which clears Gierek of responsibility for the Polish crisis. Each manager is responsible for everything that takes place in his workplace, except maybe for a case when he gave an order that was executed differently, contrary to his will. But, after all, Gierek himself presided over the state's economic policy. If the first secretary of a party that guides the state is not responsible for anything then it will be hard to explain to the people what our guiding role consists in.

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The above are some of the issues discussed by party members: workers, employees of the workplace administration, retirees. Those are voices that one cannot avoid hearing over which one cannot avoid pondering.

9644

CSO: 2600/1339

## CEAUSESCU RECEIVES FRENCH PUBLISHER HAMELET

AU132032 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1912 GMT 13 Oct 83

[Text] Bucharest (AGERPRES) 13 October--On Thursday, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received editor Michel P. Hamelet and his wife, MME Yvonne Hamelet, now visiting Romania.

Expressing his satisfaction at meeting again with the Romanian head of state, the guest presented Romania's president with a homage-paying copy of the book "Ceausescu's True Romania," he recently published at Nagel Publishers in Paris. The French editor showed that the book was written as a sign of high valuation for the personality of Romania's president, for his renewing thinking and activity put at the service of the Romanian people's welfare and happiness, of the consolidation of the friendship and collaboration among peoples, of the cause of detente security and disarmament, of the building of a world without nuclear weapons and wars, a world of peace, understanding and collaboration among all the nations of the world. The guest also showed that the new book dedicated to Romania met the growing interest evinced by the French public opinion in Romania, in her home and foreign policy, in President Nicolae Ceausescu's particular role in building a new life for the Romanian people, in his prestigious contribution to the settlement of the contemporary world's major issues.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked [the guest] for the copy offered to him and stressed that the publication of that new book dedicated to Romanian contemporary realities was another contribution to getting France better acquainted with Romania to further strengthening the traditional friendship between the two peoples.

The interview passed in a cordial atmosphere.

CSO: 2020/12

## ILIE VERDET, COMMUNIST PARTY DELEGATION VISITING FINLAND

## Verdet Meets Finnish CP Leader

AU122042 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2016 GMT 12 Oct 83

[Text] Helsinki (AGERPRES) 12 October--A delegation of the Romanian Communist Party, headed by Ilie Verdet, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, now visiting Finland, invited by the Central Committee of the Finnish Communist Party, called on Jouko Kajanoja, chairman of the party.

The interview occasioned an exchange of salutes between RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu and the leader of the Finnish Communist Party.

During the interview that passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere, the sides informed mutually of the preoccupations and achievements of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Finnish Communist Party and exchanged views on some topical international issues and on problems of the communist and working class movement, highlighting the need for a union of the efforts of the working masses, of all the democratic and progressive forces in view of halting the arms race, of disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, for achievement of a new economic order, for security and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

At the same time the sides manifest satisfaction at the good relations of friendship and collaboration between the two parties and the joint wish to expand and strengthen them continuously in the future, to the interest of both peoples, of the cause of peace, detente, security, progress and collaboration among nations.

## Verdet Meets Finnish Prime Minister

AU131338 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1237 GMT 13 Oct 83

[Text] Bucharest (AGERPRES) 13 October--Ilie Verdet, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, head of the RCP delegation that is paying a visit to Finland at the invitation of the CC of the Finnish Communist Party, had an interview with Kalevi Sorsa, chairman of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, prime minister.

The interview occasioned an exchange of messages between Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, president of Romania, and Kalevi Sorsa.

Satisfaction was expressed during the talk at the fine relations between the Romanian Communist Party and the Finnish Social Democratic Party, just as the wish to further develop them for the benefit of the two peoples and countries, of the cause of peace, security and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

Likewise, the need was stressed to use all existing resources and possibilities to diversify and deepen the economic relations and commercial exchanges between the two countries, in the interest of the Romanian and Finnish peoples, of international understanding and collaboration.

Aspects of the international situation being approached, the necessity was highlighted to do everything possible so as to step out of the current tension in the international life, stop the arms race and pass to disarmament, especially to nuclear disarmament, prevent the emplacement of new medium range missiles in Europe, strengthen security and peace on the European Continent and throughout the world.

The head of the RCP delegation also met Paavo Vaeyrynen, chairman of the Centre Party, minister for foreign affairs of Finland, when messages of salute were exchanged between Nicolae Ceausescu and the chairman of that party.

During the interview, questions were approached related to the bilateral relations, as well as to aspects of the current international situation.

The interviews passed in a cordial atmosphere.

CSO: 2020/12

## NEW BOOK REAFFIRMS ROOTS IN TRANSYLVANIA

AU121532 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1421 GMT 12 Oct 83

["Transylvania--An Ancient Romanian Land"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 12 Oct (AGERPRES)--The Military Publishing House of Bucharest is printing the book "Transylvania--An Ancient Romanian Land" by Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceausescu. Under the headline "65 Years Since the Foundation of the Unitary Romanian National State" SCINTEIA TINERETULUI of 12 October publishes excerpts from the Romanian historian's book which highlights the idea that the Romanian people, through its forerunners, has been inhabiting the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic territory from time immemorial, the Geto-Dacians being mentioned in written sources as early as 2,500 years ago. Referring to the ethnogenesis of the Romanian people, the excerpts reproduced by the Bucharest newspaper reads inter alia:

The basic idea to be traced in highly important sources and in assessments by Romanian and foreign men of science and letters is that the Romanian people came into being and asserted itself about two millennia ago and not in the 9th, 10th or 13th century as some foreign historians assessed, inspired by interest alien to science and objective truth. In contrast with such non-scientific and tendentious assertions one should most energetically stress the historical truth according to which the Romanian people is a direct, legitimate and uninterrupted continuation of the Dacian people who, in the period of their direct contact with Roman civilization, brought over by the Roman administration and colonists, took over from the Romans their language and elements of their civilization. The historical outcome of this synthesis was the Romanian people and civilization. Naturally, the biological and ethnical physiognomy and other elements that characterize a people are basically Dacian and they fully imposed themselves in its contact with other peoples, especially with the Romans.

Undoubtedly, the Romanian people is not a biological product; it took over the Latin language and other elements of the material and spiritual life during the period of the Roman rule, that is in the 1st-3rd centuries.

The Romanian people has always remained the same, unitary and homogeneous, in its hearth. Neither the Huns, Petchenegs, Tartars, Cumans and Ottomans nor other tribes that crossed the territory of ancient Dacia left their

imprint on it. Nevertheless, the Romanian people was subject to greater or smaller influences, assimilated what was worth being assimilated from those with whom they came into contact along the centuries. But for all those the Romanian civilization was a permanent source of borrowings, well known being its superiority owing to its illustrious heritage, a developed political and socioeconomic life whose salient features are permanence, the Romanians' indestructible link with the land they have always inhabited.

The withdrawal of the Romans legions and administration from Dacia south of the Danube did not mean the migration of the Romanians. That was not possible. As a matter of fact renowned Romanian and foreign historians proved, on the basis of highly important sources, linguistic and archaeological evidence, the impossibility of such a fact.

CSO: 2020/11

## BRIEFS

SDUF NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETS--Bucharest, 7 Oct (AGERPRES)--In its 7 October session, the Executive Bureau of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF] adopted measures for an enhanced contribution of the SDUF councils, of the socialist democracy and unity organizations and other component organizations to the implementation of the programme endorsed by the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, to the translation into fact of the indications given by RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu at the working meeting on organizational and political-educative matters. The Executive Bureau also surveyed the stage of solving the proposals made by citizens during the electoral campaign in November 1982, the way in which local meetings proceeded on exchange of experience of the representatives of control exercised by working people, and debated the activity carried out for the admission of citizens to the socialist democracy and unity organization which includes more than 3.9 million members. [Text] [AU072037 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 7 Oct 83]

NETHERLANDS MILITARY SHIPS DEPART--The Netherlands "De Ruyter" and "Van Kinsbergen" military ships which visited the port of Constanta between 6-10 October this year left Romanian territorial waters on 10 October. During their visit to Romania, the crew of the ships visited historic monuments, cultural establishments and tourist attractions in the City of Constanta and the Romanian Black Sea Shore. [Text] [AU121410 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 11 Oct 83 p 3]

DASCALESCU GREET'S ISRAEL'S SHAMIR--Bucharest (AGERPRES) 13 October--Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, addressed a congratulatory telegram to Yitzhaq Shamir, prime minister of the State of Israel, on his taking over office. [Text] [AU132031 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 13 Oct 83]

CSO: 2020/12

## MARKOVIC SPEAKS ON POLITICAL, ECONOMIC SITUATION

LD132305 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2105 GMT 13 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, 13 October (TANJUG)--Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, spoke tonight at a meeting of the political aktiv of the Vracar Municipality in Belgrade, organized by the municipal board of the Federation of Associations of Veterans of War of National Liberation of Vracar.

Dragoslav Markovic spoke about our sociopolitical and economic situation. He spoke in particular about relations inside the League of Communists and the activity of the League of Communists' members in the efforts to overcome current present difficulties.

For us there is no alternative to our self-managing socialist society, Dragoslav Markovic said. Self-management must mean work, order and a high degree of responsibility.

Dragoslav Markovic particularly condemned formalism in the work of organizations of the League of Communists and said that communists should everywhere guarantee the efficient work of all the institutions of the system on the overall functioning of which our further development depends.

Dragoslav Markovic devoted part of his speech to unity in the League of Communists, which was also the subject of most of the questions asked during the conversation with the members of the aktiv following the speech.

Dragoslav Markovic recalled the principle of democratic centralism and expressed the view that the adoption of decisions should be followed by an attitude marked by discipline and full responsibility.

Dragoslav Markovic went on to say that with regard to relations between the LCY and the Republic Leagues of Communists there should in principle be no contradiction between the independence enjoyed by the Republic Leagues of Communists and the concept of a unified LCY, but that in his view this is often the case in practice.

A number of questions concerned the problem of responsibility for mistakes made particularly in economic policy, and Dragoslav Markovic said that he believes we are entering a period of public sanctions for irresponsible behavior at all levels. Markovic also devoted a considerable part of his speech to problems in the functioning of the sociopolitical system and to economic trends.

ARMY CULTURAL LIFE MEETING HELD IN BELGRADE

Mamula Attends

LD122335 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1438 GMT 12 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, 12 October (TANJUG)--A 2-day consultative meeting on the cultural life and cultural activities in the Yugoslav People's Army opened in Belgrade today in the presence of Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense.

The meeting, chaired by Colonel General Milan Daljevic, assistant federal secretary for national defense, is analyzing the results achieved and the current policy and practice of the cultural activities in the Yugoslav People's Army and studying measures and actions which should be undertaken to make these activities more meaningful, richer and fuller in order to strengthen the cohesion of the ideological unity and combat readiness of the units, to consolidate further the links between the people and the army and to deepen its popular and revolutionary character as a united and common armed force of all SFRY nations and nationalities.

In his introductory report, Maj Gen Svetozar Oro, head of the political administration, pointed to the most essential characteristic of the situation, the basic problems and directions of promoting cultural life in the Yugoslav People's Army in keeping with modern conditions and the increased demands of its members.

Several reports were submitted during the day on the cultural life of cadets in military schools and academies, soldiers and sailors and on the work of the Yugoslav People's Army homes, army clubs, musical service, museums, libraries, archeological and other cultural institutions in the army.

The consultative meeting is attended by military leaders, political and cultural workers from the units and institutions of the Yugoslav People's Army and some cultural workers from all parts of our country. The meeting continues tomorrow.

## Daljevic Speech

LD132118 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1623 GMT 13 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, 13 October (TANJUG)--The 2-day consultative meeting on the cultural life and activities in the Yugoslav People's Army was concluded in Belgrade today. The meeting was attended by Miljan Radovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Col Gen Dane Cuic, president of the Committee of the LC Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army.

The meeting analyzed in detail current experiences of the cultural policy in the Yugoslav People's Army. Eleven reports were submitted and the discussion produced numerous proposals for promoting this activity. The meeting dealt in detail with the questions of the cultural life of cadets in military schools and academies and of soldiers in their units. The work and role of Yugoslav People's Army homes, army clubs and libraries, the musical service and institutions dealing with cultural activities in the army was also discussed.

At the end of the meeting, Col Gen Milan Daljevic, assistant federal secretary for national defense, addressed the participants.

"We have a fairly modern concept of cultural life in the units of the Yugoslav People's Army, Daljevic said. The most important cadre and material conditions are ensured. We consider that what we have achieved with regard to the necessary ideological and also even higher aesthetical level in the cultural life of our units represents a specially worthy achievement. The organized activities in this field are planned and considerably contribute to moral-political education, to raising the level of general and military education, to socialization and the aesthetic-artistic education of the members of the Yugoslav People's Army."

Speaking about contemporary world trends and trends in our culture and the influences emanating from these trends, Daljevic said that abuse of culture has assumed world proportions today and that it has become an unavoidable element of an ever more intensive special war. In our cultural field too, Daljevic said, we are increasingly seeing bureaucratic-dogmatic, nationalist, bourgeois-liberalist and so-called ultra-left elements who make every effort to legalize the status of opposition and to win the right to exploit the cultural and other institutions of our society. There are also ever more frequent attempts to devalue the achievements of our revolution, while the League of Communists is accused of falsifying our history. Under the pretext of searching for a so-called new approach and contemporary expression, some creative workers are avoiding essential truths about our recent past. The need to develop defensive mechanisms has not been taken sufficiently into consideration, Daljevic said, and recalled that communists too sit in the publishing councils and that these bodies are not carrying out their social role everywhere.

To ensure full ideological content and Marxist-based socialist orientation in cultural activities in the Yugoslav People's Army is an essentially important question and our most important obligation. I especially wish to stress the

need for a still more pronounced working class approach in culture, Daljevic said in continuation. This means that greater attention must be paid to fostering culture, work, comradeship, mutual trust, responsibility and ethical and other values which express the interests and views of workers--self-managers. Together with classic values, common and general Yugoslav values deserve our greatest care. We must not allow, anywhere and at any time, the devaluation of our policy and practice of equality, brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities, or the feeling of being Yugoslav, understood in Tito's sense, and Yugoslav socialist patriotism to be pushed into second place.

Speaking about the material basis of culture in the army, Daljevic said that in this field there should be a balance between what is necessary and what society and the army could provide in conditions of economic stabilization. Solutions must be found in a redistribution of available resources and in their rational use. Much can be done by ourselves without special resources, which is illustrated by numerous examples in the units which we heard of at this meeting. In the forthcoming period, as to date, the army will insist on the further expansion of links and cultural cooperation with youth, schools and cultural institutions in towns that have army garrisons.

In conclusion, Daljevic recalled that there were 218 doctors of science and 708 masters of arts in the Yugoslav People's Army and that the army contribution to the general Yugoslav culture was reflected in the fact that from 1945 to 1982, 500,000 soldiers in the Yugoslav People's Army learned how to read and write, about 100,000 acquired technical knowledge about building machines, 400,000 soldiers passed driving tests in the army and a large number of soldiers were trained for various technical jobs in our economy.

CSO: 2800/40

SOFIA DAILY CARRIES ATA CRITICISM OF MACEDONIAN EXERCISES

LD122252 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1608 GMT 12 Oct 83

[TANJUG headline by Milo Djukic: "Bulgaria Flirts with Tirana"]

[Text] Belgrade, 12 October (TANJUG)--Without a single word of dissociation, the Sofia daily NARODNA ARMIYA (People's Army) has carried a commentary by the Albanian news agency ATA asserting that the manoeuvres held in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia from 13-14 September "caused tension and represented a danger to neighbouring countries," as well as that "they were not in keeping with Yugoslav's proclamations about good-neighbourliness and peace in the Balkans."

In its article headline "Albania Protests," the organ of the Bulgarian Ministry of Defence also carried ATA's claim that as many as 50,000 soldiers and officers had taken part in the exercises instead of 22,000 as "officially announced by the Yugoslav side."

Neither the Defence Ministry organ nor any other Bulgarian newspaper has deemed it worthwhile to publish Yugoslavia's reply to the Albanian charges in this respect.

NARODNA ARMIYA also found it unnecessary to convey the observations of Bulgarian General Mitev who had attended the manoeuvres in his capacity as observer--the fact which was not reported in Bulgaria at all.

Nor have the Bulgarians been told that Yugoslavia, out of respect for the Helsinki documents, invited all European countries to send observers to the manoeuvres although it was under no obligation to do so because of their scope.

The Sofia press has glossed over all these facts. What's more, it has kept from its own public the fact that up to now Bulgaria has never invited foreign observers to manoeuvres held on its territory, such as the "Shield 82" exercises.

The inference from this citation of Albanian sources on the part of NARODNA ARMIYA is that the daily either subscribes to their views or at least finds.

Albania's fabrications and anti-Yugoslav stands to its advantage. Or does this mean that Bulgaria falls in with the position, publicly announced by Albania, that no military exercises must be held in Yugoslavia, especially on parts of its territory such as the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, without prior consent of the two countries.

The framework of the greater-Albania aspirations to parts of Yugoslavia, this conduct may also be viewed in the context of the well-known greater-Bulgaria pretensions.

Furthermore, this policy may be aimed at reminding Tirana and the world at large that the "Bulgarian-Albanian friendship and cooperation treaty" remains formally in effect.

If this is so, the conduct of the Sofia daily is clear: This wooing is among other things, a means of putting Bulgaria's message across to Albania.

CSO: 2800/40

## SURVEY RESEARCHES CAUSES OF LOW PRODUCTIVITY

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1707, 18 Sep 83  
pp 10-13

[Article by Milan Milosevic based on survey conducted under the direction of Ljuba Stojic: "How To Account for the Idleness of the Working People"]

[Text] Of the 12 months in the year Yugoslavs on the average spend 1 month on annual vacation, another month in sick leave, absences and from the workplace for all or part of the day, and they spend only 10 months "performing their work tasks and duties." The survey which we are presenting to the readers suggests a considerably less favorable picture of utilization of the employed work force. A high percentage of those we talked to, as is evident in our detailed tables, say that they work somewhere around half of the working hours.

Vanja Vrsaljko of Zagreb, a university student, describes our workplace atmosphere this way: "People come in, they have something to eat, they pass the time of day--they work on the average 4 hours a day--more in the factories."

How to account for the idleness of the working people? Is it that certain economic mechanisms have failed and certain important connections have ruptured, or should the reasons be sought in the absence of incentives? Are we actually dealing with the well-known saying--No one can pay me so little that I can't work less?

It is interesting that in the several hundred responses which we analyzed in this survey there really is not very much protest about idleness. When there is not enough work, when production has been interrupted, the division into workers and idlers has little point, said one person we talked to.

In the period from 1953 to 1975 the socialized sector of the Yugoslav economy achieved a 3.5-percent average annual growth of productivity. At the end of the eighth decade, however, there were some strange ups and downs in the productivity rate. In 1976 it fell to the level of 1.7 percent, 2 years later it again rose to 4 percent, and in 1979 dropped to 2.7 percent, and then when we began the eighth [sic] decade with our quick mincing steps, over the last 3 years, it [productivity] has been dropping. That is, it has no longer been possible to speak about the growth of productivity or the growth

rate of productivity, but rather about its decline: -0.4 percent, -1.5, -1.4 percent.

Many people now feel that the causes of low productivity are actually well known, but that determination to correct them is lacking. These past few days the news has come in from Kragujevac that because of low production and business difficulties the party members have first called the names of the people in that large collective [Crvena Zastava] holding the most responsible positions. A large number of the responses suggest that in solving the problem of low productivity that order should be followed from top down....

A considerably larger number of those we spoke with, however, feel that they personally have no incentive to work more. That segment of our sample we found in a Belgrade metal manufacturing work organization one after the other rejected the thesis that the workers have a greater incentive to work in the present crisis than they did previously. In making the case for their responses they usually demand greater responsibility and a fairer division of income.

#### Litmus Paper

The stormy debate which has resounded in recent weeks over the so-called welfare cards offered an additional motive and occasion for this probing of public opinion. There have been people who did not show much restraint in declaring the ad hoc measures of social welfare policy to be a sign of hypocrisy, which at first seemed strange. But this episode should not be attributed to the tendentiousness of the media, nor to the rumors in the city--this was actually the litmus paper which revealed behind the emotional outpourings at least two demands coming from the industrial shops: 1) "productive work should be paid more" and the related, but by no means the same, 2) "stricter respect of the principle of distribution according to work."

A convincing majority in our survey in a work organization feels that the motivation to work would be increased the most if it were possible to obtain a higher personal income by doing more work. Those we talked to in a Belgrade metal manufacturing organization actually vacillated between the answer to the effect that "the most important thing now is to stick to the principle of remuneration according to work" (46 percent) and the response "the standard of living of the lowest paid should be protected" (42 percent). However, 77 percent of the respondents in the work organization feel that those with the lowest personal incomes are being paid too little.

The fact that the rise of prices has hurt most those with the lowest incomes must be honored with full seriousness. It is no wonder, then, that the idea that the burden of stabilization should be distributed more fairly was a frequently recurring motif in the responses to our questions. It is obvious that it is difficult for some of the poorer-paid strata of workers to withstand the pressure of prices and the drop of the standard of living. It is certain, at least on the basis of our survey, that all worker strata have become convinced that personal incomes can no longer withstand the pressure.

## In the Direction of Leveling

We might expect that at a time when the standard of living is dropping egalitarian motives would be stronger and there would be more advocates of the ideology of equal stomachs. It appears, however, that in spite of the evident pressure toward raising personal incomes, which is put ahead of solidarity toward individuals, there is a certain vacillation, but most consistently insist on the motto: Remuneration According to Work, which in our context is a constructive and progressive attitude. Recently in the discussions of the documents of the "Krajger Commission" it was estimated that in Yugoslavia the amount of money representing personal incomes over and above that received by the poorest paid represents only 15 percent of the total, while over the last decade remuneration according to work has actually been the most frequent political topic. Which means that only those 15 percent separate us from the situation "where everyone has the same pay." There are quite a few people who think that it is in this period that matters have gone in the other direction toward leveling.

The July report of the Federal Bureau of Statistics on the net personal income according to the level of specialized training supports this assertion. In 1966 the unskilled worker's personal income was 494 dinars, and the average personal income of the college graduate 1,335. In 1981 the unskilled worker received 6,945 and the college graduate 16,940 dinars. The spread has obviously diminished. This can perhaps be best seen if we look at a table of index levels. If we take the average personal income as 100, in 1966 the income of the college graduate was 182.9, and that of the unskilled worker 67.7. In spite of the campaign of the trade unions for better pay to the average work of the lowest category of workers, in 1981 they had moved up only a tiny bit, climbing up on that ladder to the level of 68.4, but at the same time the college graduate had fallen to 166 (17 index points). Many people see in this price drop of the best-qualified people an important cause of the loss of motivation. It is interesting that over that same period another important category of creative people--the highly skilled worker--has "experienced a drop in price"--from a level of 126.6 this category dropped over that period to 119.6 on the index scale. Motivation depends largely on how astutely, skillfully and successfully this professional competition is run.

## The Storm Over Distribution

It can, of course, be objected that this statistical picture does not accurately reflect our storm over distribution which is more the result of the balance of power among OUR's [organizations of associated labor] than of real criteria. Many of those we spoke with described distribution as hubbub, demagoguery and banditry. Can this kind of development be explained solely by the fact that demagoguery has become a property of all social categories, or are there some deeper and more general causes of this kind of development of the situation? It is evident that all these individual differences which the statistics erase and people remember, mixed up with cases of improper distribution, have greatly diminished the potential of the principle: However much you work, that is how much you will have. A more profound answer, however, would probably be to the effect that this is only a consequence of the absence

of economic laws. In any case, one feels a strong note of resentment because of the differences. Aleksa Rankovic, 33-year-old final inspector on a line in which parts are machined, wrote without comment on the questionnaire nothing more than "ratio 1:6." That is what it should be! Yes or no?

There were few people among those we spoke with in the factory who feel that personal incomes of those workers with the highest skills are too high.

A certain solidarity typical of producers, then, is affecting the specialists. They do not have the special stamp they once had. This does not mean that there is no awareness of their being underutilized.

Over the last 5 years there has been a significant growth of the potential of labor and knowledge. The employed labor force in the socialized sector has increased from 4.7 million in 1975 to 5.87 million in 1981. "In 1975 there were only 2.8 million specialized people in the economy, but in 1980 there were 3.7 million. However, the time and specialization of those people are underutilized, so that their contribution to economic development and to the quality of economic activity is less than it might be," Ljuba Zeremski, director of the Federal Bureau of Social Planning, has written in the journal DIREKTOR. She cites the results of a poll by the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia to the effect that educated people spent more than 40 percent of their time on tasks which objectively require a lower level of specialized training. A 30-year-old metal lathe operator we spoke to summed up this topic like this: "The directors purchase the production supplies, and there is nothing for the specialist to do."

In the journal DIREKTOR the economist Boris Kovac notes that the average utilization of workers with university training has dropped--in 1980 it was 68 percent, while in 1972 it was 75 percent.

Those we spoke with are not blaming this fact on the specialists as a separate stratum, but they are very harsh in their criticism of the organization of work and of responsibility for the functioning of the economy. In that context all of 72 percent of the respondents in the work organization where we conducted the survey said that in their case there is work that is done to no purpose! On the one hand, then, we have wastefulness, and on the other failure to use potential energy.

#### Why Do We Work So Little?

To what extent does the general climate determine the behavior and work of individuals? "If others are not working, I can't either." This is an answer that occurred in only 21 percent of the average population and 12 percent of the worker population. A majority said that their fellow workers had a constructive effect on them, the workers most frequently said that they have to work to keep pace with the others. This does after all indicate a constructive atmosphere. The state of mind concerning distribution, as we have said, is described in far more serious terms. It seems to be easier to work than to divide up what has been earned.

Asked to fill out our questionnaire, Predrag Alekic, professor in the School of Economics at Belgrade University, wrote that the principal reason why people are now working less than previously is the lack of respect for the principle of distribution according to work, and he repeated the sentence in several of the subsequent blanks.

Marija Todorovic, secretary for labor in the Republic of Serbia, feels that the key to a way out of low productivity lies in that part of the questionnaire in which answers are given to the question of what might motivate people to work. She gives preference, as did our respondents, to the principle: higher personal incomes for more work and to consciousness, which comes immediately after financial incentives on our list. She qualifies, however, by saying that this is not consciousness with a big C, but rather she is referring to a sense of responsibility for the whole and for the end result. People now feel deprived of the possibility of having an influence, she says, and the way out lies precisely in their having to insist on being made familiar with the circumstances confronted by the OOUR [basic organization of associated labor], the economy and society, their insisting on having an insight into the kind of responsibility with which decisions are made, policy conducted and income invested. In and of itself the demand for higher personal incomes for a larger amount of work probably could not lead to a way out, she feels.

It is obvious that an answer to the question of why we work so little cannot be sought solely in the microcommunity of the OOUR, but must be resolved at the level of society at large. If our probe reflects the state of mind realistically, then it can be said that there is a general reassessment taking place and that there is an evident sense of expectation, filled with demands for responsibility. The example of Kragujevac which we referred to concerning responsibility is just an illustration.

In spite of the conventional and traditional trade union demand, a very committed social consciousness is revealed in our sample, and insistence on a more clearly expressed essential unity. Many people refer to fragmentation and division as the cause of the blockade. One person we talked to said: "If it is to get in motion, the organism must have a backbone."

Along with all the dissatisfaction, there prevails a realism which would seem to have been described most vividly by a retired woman from Osijek, who gave this answer to the question of what might stimulate us: "Only the goodwill to look reality in the face. No one can drive anyone to work. It is hard on the one being driven and the one who is driving. Nothing comes of that."

Of course, that will still take more than goodwill.

[Box, pp 10-11]

#### The Stumbling Block

"The results of work are not appropriately remunerated, that is one of the elements that stands in the way of our progress. The stumbling block." (Dragan Matovic, 60-year-old pensioner from Belgrade, former member of the LCY)

"People are not sufficiently rewarded, and that is why they simply cannot survive from month to month. They receive too small an income to survive. The cost of living goes up 30 percent, and income 5 percent. People have reason to be dissatisfied, they are borrowing and doing without many things. The average man's survival is now in jeopardy." (Ruzana Kestler, 32-year-old market inspector from Pula)

"Those who are most to blame for this situation that has come about are clever in evading responsibility." (30-year-old metal lathe operator, member of the LCY)

"There is very little incentive, since regardless of work done the pay remains the same." (Milan Despotovic, 22-year-old metal lathe operator, member of the LCY)

"People are worried. People are working with greater seriousness, but they do not have adequate incentives. It is very hard to go from better to worse. We are poisoned with a lack of understanding. We are indeed all equal, but we do not all have equal privileges. That is why young people are dissatisfied." (59-year-old retired woman teacher of the Serbo-Croatian language from Zagreb)

"The stabilization is forcing people to work more. I explain this in terms of the economic situation, which demands better work if the work organization is to survive." (Stana Prokic, 44-year-old lawyer from Zrenjanin)

"The incentives are neither smaller nor greater. No one in my work organization is motivated. It is even thought that we will be taking lower personal incomes, since we have to set more aside--we have spent too much." (Ankica Soban, 48-year-old tax clerk from Klanjec, member of the LCY)

"Money itself is not the principal incentive, nor can we give people money incentives, since we do not have the money. After the war there was enthusiasm. Now it is late to stimulate people. Now it is just a question of one person taking from someone else. I personally cannot be stimulated either by position or glory or money. At this point we cannot find a real incentive." (Milorad Micovic, 55-year-old government officeworker in Belgrade, member of the LCY)

"Let the workers' voice be heard." (26-year-old metal lathe operator)

"For the people in supervisory positions to commit themselves much more to their work duty without long meetings." (39-year-old highly skilled metal lathe and drill press operator)

"More honest distribution of personal incomes." (Milan Despotovic, 22-year-old metal lathe operator, member of the LCY)

"Responsibility that would be rewarded and negligence publicly penalized." (31-year-old machine technician, member of the LCY)

"More realistic behavior, more modest salaries and other things by those people who should offer an example." (Djuro Delic, 47-year-old machine technician and superintendent, member of the LCY)

"Order from the highest to the lowest, discipline and an end to thievery." (Frane Varenina, 56-year-old retired chauffeur from Makarska, member of the LCY)

"I earned it, the production worker always earns his pay." (48-year-old worker, milling machine operator, member of the LCY)

"Why should I work, when others do not work? There is no real pay with this kind of production." (39-year-old worker, member of the LCY)

"When the worker next to me is working, it is hard for me to watch him make an effort while I sit there. We are young, and now is when we should work." (20-year-old machine fitter)

[Box, p 11]

"A Signal for Change" by Dr Radojica Bojanovic

Studies of work motivation of our workers over the last 10 years most often show that a majority of the workers is not sufficiently motivated to commit themselves in the work process and in making decisions about important work problems. Thus in a number of work organizations in Serbia about 50 percent or more than 50 percent of the workers have an indifferent or negative attitude toward making an effort on the job. In a sense, then, the crisis goes back further. Psychological studies have also established that the worker's effort on his job does not depend in our community solely on financial incentives, but also on perception of the entire psychosocial climate of the work organization and especially the way in which decisions are made. In addition, effort on the job is also a consequence of the climate of social relations, and most probably this is more important than anything else.

Work motivation, then, is not only a psychological category, but also a sociopolitical category.

The lack of motivation to work should be interpreted in terms of the workers' dissatisfaction with the distribution of income in the work organization and in society as a whole and in terms of the insufficient power of the direct producers and workers in general in the process of decisionmaking within the work organization and also in society at large. It also expresses the dissatisfaction of the workers at the existence of the huge bureaucratic apparatus, which also bears the greatest responsibility for the powerlessness of the workers in the decisionmaking process and for the inappropriate distribution. A number of studies (we might mention those by Rus, Zupanov and Valetic) have revealed that the workers in most of our work organizations estimate that their influence in the decisionmaking process is considerably less than the influence of the supervisory personnel.

All that we have mentioned acts as a disincentive in the work process. The effort of the bureaucracy to involve the workers in the production process, even now in the period of crisis, is not yielding results, since it is not backed up by a desire to change relations. Often the workers cannot influence distribution or the process of decisionmaking, but they are left with their effort on the job as an effective means of influencing events in society. As soon as social relations change for the better, a consequence will be that the workers will identify themselves to a greater extent with their work organization and there will be greater motivation to work. The insufficient motivation to work, then, must be a signal for a change of social relations (I mean by this above all greater participation of workers and people in general outside the political power centers in influencing events in society). If the changes do not come about, the crisis will continue.

[Box, p 13]

"Worker Poll" by Ljuba Stojic

For the first time since we have been doing surveys of this type (and this is our 21st) the workers have been more numerous than the specialists and office-workers, and even that says something about the topic of the poll.

A poll of the workers of one of the metal manufacturing factories, which typically shares the fate of our economy in this period, is a natural supplement to the survey on work incentives among citizens of the SFRY. The delicate nature of the topic requires us to preserve the anonymity of that work organization, but we can say that among those who filled out the questionnaire production workers were a majority (38 of the 43 polled): 36 were men and 26 were under age 35. A majority exercised the right to remain anonymous (35), as indeed also occurred in the telephone poll (51).

The survey was conducted by the following: Jasmina Sahinovic, Mirjana Alimpic, Miroslav Pavlovic, Mirjana Lazic, Ljiljana Jerinic and Dragan Babovic. Slobodan Lukic checked the sample of telephone numbers.

Work Incentives and the Crisis

"Now when our economy is in a period of crisis are people more stimulated to work at their regular job or less than before?"

<u>Answer</u>	<u>SFRY [general population]</u>	<u>Work Or- ganization</u>
People have less incentive now	37%	65%
No opportunity for better personal incomes	13%	14%
Poorer organization of work	7%	30%
Poor distribution of personal incomes	11%	23%
People are worried and passive	6%	14%

<u>Answer</u>	<u>SFRY</u> <u>[general</u> <u>population]</u>	<u>Work Or-</u> <u>ganization</u>
Same as before	34%	35%
More than before	29%	0%
The stabilization is driving people to work more	16%	
Awareness of the need for better work	9%	
Better criteria for measuring work	4%	

Possible Incentives

"In this situation what might be done to stimulate people to work better at their job?"

<u>Answer</u>	<u>SFRY</u>	<u>Work Or-</u> <u>ganization</u>
Better personal incomes for more work	51%	70%
Greater work discipline	23%	9%
Better organization of work	17%	23%
Better working conditions	12%	5%
Better living conditions	11%	2%
Better supervisors in the economy	10%	0%
Better human relations	7%	5%
Incentives are already good even now	3%	0%

Size of the Income Spread

"Is the income spread at present more realistic than it was some 5 or 6 years ago?"

<u>Answer</u>	<u>SFRY</u>	<u>Work Or-</u> <u>ganization</u>
The same as before	21%	30%
More realistic now	27%	12%
Unrealistically reduced	21%	28%
Unrealistically increased	31%	28%

"Earned Income"

"Speaking frankly, did you 'earn your pay' last month?"

<u>Answer</u>	<u>SFRY</u>	<u>Work Or-</u> <u>ganization</u>
I worked more than I got	17%	7%
I did earn it	62%	65%
I did not earn it (no explanation given)	16%	9%
It was not possible to work	5%	19%

Actual Work During Working Hours

"Approximately how many hours do you actually work on the job? (Why?)"

<u>Answer</u>	<u>SFRY</u>	<u>Work Or- ganization</u>
More than working hours	12%	0%
Full working hours	16%	39%
More than half of working hours	57%	44%
Half of working hours or less	10%	12%
I don't know	5%	5%

Results of Work or Protection of the Standard of Living

"What in your opinion is more important now: sticking to the principle of distribution according to work or protecting the standard of living of the poorest-paid workers?"

<u>Answer</u>	<u>Work Or- ganization*</u>
Hold to the principle of distribution according to work	46%
Protect the standard of living of the poorest-paid workers	42%
No answer	12%

\* These questions were put only in the work organization.

Personal Incomes of the Best-Qualified and Least-Qualified workers

"Do workers with the highest qualifications (in your OOUR) receive personal incomes which are too large, adequate or too small? And those with the lowest qualifications?"

<u>Answer</u>	<u>Workers With Highest Qual- ifications</u>	<u>Workers With Lowest Qual- ifications</u>
Too large	16%	5%
Sufficient	35%	14%
Too small	42%	77%
No answer	7%	5%

7045

CSO: 2800/18

## LCY PAPER DERIDES ANOTHER CASE OF RELIGIOUS APPARITION

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 23 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by D. Bartolovic]

[Text] Again a "miracle has taken place," again there is a "vision" of the Lady of the Madonna, if that pleases someone more. This time the apparition occurred in the Dalmatian karst, in the village of Gala, in the commune of Sinj. One female student and a worker "saw" the "mother of God"! They saw her and, of course, immediately proclaimed it to the people, to the faithful and unfortunate... Because it is important that the word get out, that everyone learn about the "apparition" of a Biblical personage--and a sufficient number of naive individuals will be found who will attach themselves to the vision of the mystic.

The new performance could begin like the old, well-known scenario of the most reactionary, Catholic, clerical activities of the Franciscan Order. We say new, because we have already experienced the premiere a couple of years ago in Medjugorje, in the Hercegovinan commune of Citluk. The "Lady appeared" there, seen by some children, who then immediately announced their vision, etc. The reactionary propaganda and political action of the clericalists could begin again... And it is beginning again! This time, it was at the end of August this year; the curious, and not only they, hurried to the village of Gala in order to convince themselves of that "apparition".

There exists, however, essential differences between the first and second performance: although there are common denominators, and the mode of revelation was for many similar--nevertheless, the premiere is one thing, and the reprise--and this time it was worse--is another.

First, the similarities: in both Medjugorje and the village of Gala the Madonna appeared in rugged terrain, allegedly designating by her surprise "arrival" the site of a shrine, a site where she will again appear and heal the wounds of the unfortunates who come there. So, various unfortunates, some grasping for the last straw, have begun to arrive and hope.

This performance's scenario, as we have already said, was worked out much earlier in accordance to the clerical strategy of that wing of the Franciscan Order. The goal was to set up shrines, where people would

begin to gather and then to utilize these gatherings for political manipulations and purposes. It is also known that a part of the Catholic (and other) clergy has never renounced such ambitions. They could never swallow the bitter pill known as "freedom of religion", that mixing into politics is not allowed. Nor could they swallow the pill that "religion is only for the religious." Furthermore, in Medjugorje children witnessed the "apparition" while in Gala a worker and a female student were chosen to be the main heroes. This is important because the children, unused to the real games of intrigue, were confused, and not even the best of them always knew how to interpret the readings taught to them in advance. Perhaps a more mature, and also more "conscious", worker and female student (hence, a representative of the intelligentsia), would have greater success.

Now, for the differences: Medjugorje was the premiere, and the premiere attracted greater interest. Moreover, the church never disassociated itself from the "Lady of Medjugorje", although this was announced from its official structures. In this reprise, however, as POLITIKA writes, "in their official offer to negotiate, church representatives in Sinj have stated approximately this: The Catholic church does not believe in such 'miracles' and disassociates itself from those who, for their own purposes, have launched some kind of Lady from Gala."

As far as Citluk is concerned, official circles from the Franciscan province claim that the clericalist powers, which wish to prolong the life of the "Madonna of Medjugorje" at all costs, are working on their own, and do not obey the Franciscan province, or other [church] officials.

Of course, they will undertake many additional measures, when they calculate how their action is failing. Then, priests and the poor from other countries and regions will be brought in; then, propaganda campaigns will be brought into full swing. They always want to create myths, myths from which, among other things, individuals can live well. It is true that in Medjugorje there is no longer sentiment for a "shrine", all this effort comes from the church; but even here, the priests constantly have their hands held out. With the "Lady of Gala," the leaders of this dirty business have miscalculated, because they wanted to extract as much money as possible from the crippled, poor, incurable, and even the curious. The people, believers and others, "read through" them. There is no longer such religious tourism in Gala.

Obviously, the errors of the premiere soberly influenced the reprise. The political activity was efficient, people recognized the clericalists' real motives and purposes very quickly. Almost no one comes any more to the "shrine of Gala."

But this also proves the claim that the reprise will probably be repeated at some other time, in some other karst region of our country, unless in the meantime the reactionaries and clericalists do not think up some new game with the faithful.

12217

CSO: 2800/13

## BRIEFS

SWISS MILITARY DELEGATION--Belgrade, 7 October (TANJUG)--Adm Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, today received Col Gen Joerg Zumskin, chief of the General Staff of the Swiss Armed Forces, in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. Colonel General Zumstein is visiting our country and armed forces at the head of a delegation representing his country's armed forces. The talks dealt with the further advancement of relations and cooperation between the armed forces of the two countries. Petar Gracanin, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, and other Yugoslav People's Army leaders took part in the meeting and talks held at the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. The talks were also attended by Alfred Hohl, Swiss ambassador to Yugoslavia. The chief of the General Staff of the Swiss Armed Forces and members of his delegation also visited the Josip Broz Tito Memorial Center today. Colonel General Zumstein laid a wreath at President Tito's grave and signed the memorial book. [Text][LD071833 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1141 GMT 7 Oct 83]

NEW BURMESE AMBASSADOR--Belgrade, 7 October (TANJUG)--At the Palace of the Federation today Mika Spiljak, president of SFRY Presidency, received U Tin Sein, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma to the SFRY, who presented his credentials. President Spiljak had a friendly conversation with the ambassador. The audience was also attended by Mirko Ostojic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs. [Text] [LD072240 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1341 GMT 7 Oct 83]

CSO: 2800/40

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