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# ***JPRS Report***

# **East Europe**

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# East Europe

JPRS-EER-88-014

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## BULGARIA

### **Decree Renaming, Upgrading Interior Ministry's Training School**

22000007 Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian  
4 Aug 87 pp 1-2

[Ukase No 2415 on reorganizing the Georgi Dimitrov Higher Special School of the Ministry of Internal Affairs into the Georgi Dimitrov Higher Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs]

[Text]

### **State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic**

In accordance with the stipulations of Article 94, point 2, paragraph 2, of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, and Article 2, paragraph 3, of the Law on Higher Education, the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic promulgates the following

### **Ukase No 2415 on Reorganizing the Georgi Dimitrov Higher Special School of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Into the Georgi Dimitrov Higher Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs**

Article 1. The Georgi Dimitrov Higher Special School of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will become the Georgi Dimitrov Higher Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs as of 1 September 1987. It will train and retrain cadres and will engage in scientific research and application to meet the requirements of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Article 2.(1) The Georgi Dimitrov Higher Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will have the following departments: State Security, People's Militia and Fire Prevention.

(2) The departments will organize correspondence training as well.

(3) The institute will have units engaged in scientific research and application.

Article 3. The following subjects will be offered at the Georgi Dimitrov Higher Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs:

1. State Security Department: "Protection of the Security of the Bulgarian People's Republic;"
2. People's Militia Department: "Maintenance of Public Order and Struggle Against Crime in the Bulgarian People's Republic;"
3. Fire Prevention Department: "Fire Prevention Equipment and Safety."

4.(1) Students enrolled in the State Security and People's Militia Departments will take the full course of all subject taught at the school of law of the Kliment Okhridski Sofia University. Graduates will have the civilian specialty of "law," with the title "jurist." Graduates of the Fire Prevention Department will have the civil specialty of "water supply and sewers," with the title of "water supply and sewers construction engineer."

(2) The curriculums of the departments will be set in accordance with stipulated procedure, after coordination with the Ministry of Public Education and, for the specialty "law" also with the Unified Center for Sciences of the State and Law.

(3) In order to become qualified as lawyers, graduates of the State Security and People's Militia Departments will undergo the necessary practical training in accordance with the program of the Ministry of Justice for graduates of the law school of Kliment Okhridski Sofia University.

Article 5. Enrollment for students at the Georgi Dimitrov Higher Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will be based on the regulation of the minister of public education on the enrollment of students in higher educational establishments and the instruction of the minister of internal affairs on cadre work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Article 6.(1) Students attending the Georgi Dimitrov Higher Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will have the status of students attending higher military academies. They will sign a contract stipulating that after graduation they will serve in the agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs no less than 15 years.

(2) Students expelled in the course of their training for poor grades or disciplinary infractions or those who have failed to fulfill their contractual obligations as per the preceding paragraph or else dismissed for disciplinary reasons will refund to the Ministry of Internal Affairs the cost of their education.

Article 7.(1) Enrolled students who have not completed their regular military service will attend the People's Reserve Officers School of the Ministry of National Defense for 1 year of training paid for by the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

(2) After completion of their first year and their graduation, the students will continue their military service at the Georgi Dimitrov Higher Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, where they will train in accordance with the curriculums of the respective subjects. The military service of the students will be considered completed after their second year of training.

(3) Should a student be expelled or leave he will serve the balance of his military service in the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Article 8. Students who have graduated from the Georgi Dimitrov Higher Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will be commissioned as officers in accordance with their specialty, as per the Law on Universal Military Service in the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Law on the People's Militia and the Law on Fire Prevention. They will be appointed to the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to positions requiring higher education.

#### Provisional and Concluding Stipulations

1. Graduates of the Georgi Dimitrov Higher Special School of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and graduates of the Georgi Dimitrov Higher Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs at the end of the 1987/1988 school year may, by permission of the minister of internal affairs, coordinated with the minister of public education, take the necessary supplementary examinations based on the curriculums as per Article 4, paragraph 2, of the Georgi Dimitrov Higher Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for a civilian specialty. In such cases Article 6, paragraph 1, second sentence, will apply.

2. The present Ukase annuls Ukase No 796 of the National Assembly Presidium of 1969 and Ukase No 686 of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic of 1975.

3. The minister of internal affairs will issue a regulation on the organization of the training process at the Georgi Dimitrov Higher Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

4. The implementation of this Ukase is assigned to the minister of internal affairs.

Issued in Sofia on 29 July 1987 and sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: T. Zhivkov

Secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: N. Manolov

05003

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

#### Wider Implications of Soviet Restructuring Explained

24000021 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech  
12 Nov 87 p 2

[Text] This year's anniversary celebrations of the October Revolution, a revolution which V. I. Lenin called a "dialectic leap forward in history," understandably stimulate reflections and discussions about its living, contemporary legacy which manifests itself in the practical politics of a number of movements and parties. Human

knowledge is broadened, it is increased in volume and content, and many now have a better understanding of the theoretical and practical contribution of October 1917.

This is a learning process which has its own necessary connections and imperatives, and which brings about within its framework the maturation of the intellect. It made the greatest strides, however, in the question of war and peace, where there is a general consensus on ideas and positions. A progressive movement, a broad and numerically growing coalition of democratic and anti-war forces, is reaching on this crucial question of the present times the unity that is so essential. A common point of view is a prerequisite for the ability to act, for the efficacy of the struggle for peace. To remove the danger of war and, in the first place, the nuclear weapons—a decision which permeates the thoughts of humanity and incites them to action.

In the course of the history of mankind, many political movements and individuals expressed their opposition to war, often expressed it in masterly philosophical arguments, condemned it as unnecessary and an evil which must be eliminated from international relations once and for all. Such voices, speaking out with an urgency never heard before in the past, can be heard even now. But for the first time the longings and wishes of the people have been transmuted into a program document during the October Revolution which—in the words of a poet—declared war on war: in its first declaration, in the Leninist Peace Manifesto. And this is precisely the point. To turn word into action, give it the strength of human endeavor, focus all the resources and energies of society on achieving peace, on ensuring a creative future for everyone. That was achieved by soviet society. Here, too, it assumed the role of a pioneer. The Peace Manifesto became basic to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union as a precept which, in accord with the principles of the Marxist-Leninist teachings, develops, enriches, and incorporates other progressive ideas, and carries out the tasks of the present.

Man released the enormous power hidden in the atom and misused it to produce destructive weapons. The nuclear age profoundly changes the concept of war and peace. Nuclear war is criminal, its task is to liquidate, nuclear weapons are suicidal. The only politically correct attitude, a humanistic duty, is to totally reject the possibility of a nuclear war; it must not take place, and the logical means by which to achieve this noble goal is the destruction of nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries continue to write new peace manifestos. Proposals, which offer comprehensible and realistic solutions to the problem which only fanatics and extreme reactionaries, people who lost faith in the future of mankind, hold to be insoluble, to be our destiny. A humanistic belief in the intellect and ability of man, in his power to rid himself of this deadly danger, unites millions upon millions of the

inhabitants of this planet into peace coalitions. It is highly important that members of the new peace groups and movements, which have an unusually intensive political charge, are held together by the belief that it is possible to settle international relations and find a way to solve universal problems so that life on Earth will offer dignity for mankind and relations between countries and nations will respond to peoples' interests and needs. Such was also the meaning of the unique meeting of the delegations of 178 political parties and movements which took place in Moscow just during the time of the October celebrations.

The program of peaceful coexistence between countries and states, which has been theoretically worked out by the KSSS, is a great challenge, it mobilizes, it provides dynamics. It builds on strengthened trust in the international field, it calls for rejecting the concept of enmity, it removes hate and suspicion from international relations.

The KSSS has now also presented a new program, in which social changes known as restructuring are one of the cornerstones—necessarily a buttress—of a new ascent of the ideas of socialism in the world. From the consistent Marxist-Leninist approach to the creative role of the working man and the Communist Party also flows the influence of the example, the attraction of the program, and its impact on social development where it is transformed into real life, into fact. The point at issue for us collectively is that socialism in every country, and in its totality as a worldwide social system, becomes stronger, more appealing. This is fully consistent with the basic credo of the restructuring—more socialism, more democracy!

Socialist Czechoslovakia entered the stream of restructuring which, from the time dimension aspect, is only beginning. We joined the pioneers. Such is the revolutionary tradition of our communist party, such is the will of our people. Soviet restructuring, as has been said many times already, is an inspiration to us, a stimulus, it brings us invaluable experiences which are helping us in the work we are engaged in—Czechoslovak restructuring.

The 17th Congress of the KSC worked out the concept of accelerating socio-economic development and social restructuring, the 4th and 5th Plena of the Central Committee of the Party formulated the action steps of the effort. We are searching, thinking, discussing, and watching closely how our friends are faring. They, same as we, are searching and experimenting, and the collective experiences give rise to useful collective knowledge.

The General Secretary of the KSC Central Committee and President of Czechoslovakia, Gustav Husak stated at the plenum held at the Prague castle on the occasion of the anniversary celebrations of the October Revolution: "Czechoslovak Communists, all of our people, warmly welcome and fully support the program of revolutionary restructuring. They see it as a source of motivation and

experiences for accomplishing our current tasks. It gives us deep satisfaction that in implementing the resolutions of the 27th Congress of the KSSS and the 17th Congress of the KSC our cooperation continues to deepen, strengthen, and enters a higher level. There is full unity of views on all questions between our two fraternal parties."

As is well known, Comrade Gustav Husak informed our public during the celebratory plenum about the meeting he had during his visit to Moscow with the General Secretary of the KSSS Central Committee. "Comrade Gorbachev expressed his conviction," said Comrade Husak, "that we, too, will be able to bring about successfully deep changes in the economy and the entire society, that our educated, skilled, and politically mature people will accomplish the tasks they set out for themselves. He expressed his confidence in the Czechoslovak people and in our leadership."

We are not going to travel a well-trodden, comfortable road; on the contrary, it will be full of hazards, but it will lead forward. This we said openly and honestly. But we are rich in mutual assistance, trust, comradely sympathy, all that is encompassed in the two-way line of communication between us and the Soviet Union. Our Soviet friends know from their own experiences how complicated is the task we have undertaken, they stand behind us, we will always find them supportive.

Restructuring is an international endeavor. We were among the first ones to initiate it. We are going forward responsibly and soberly; we are evaluating and studying all circumstances; we do not underestimate or rush into things. Restructuring is a concept and a practical activity which engages the mind and the hearts of our people.

12605

#### **Jakes' Appointment Placed in Perspective**

*23000040 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German  
25 Dec 87 p 4*

[Article by Christian Schmidt-Haeuer: "Remodeling Bohemian-Style"]

[Text] Prague's long night began at 4 am on 21 August 1968. Down below, in front of party headquarters on the Moldau, Soviet paratroopers wearing their maroon berets and blue-and-white striped navy blouses were keeping us back with their submachine guns cocked. Up above, in the offices of the party leaders, the lights were still on; nine of the leaders had remained behind in the aftermath of desperate discussions and proclamations by the presidium (i.e. the Politburo). Eight of them, including Dubcek, Smrkovsky, Kriegel and Mlynar, sat there as if petrified. The ninth man's main occupation was watching the other eight. He was a member of the party faction which had helped prepare the Soviet intervention and bury the Prague reforms. His name was and is Milos Jakes.

Last week, the now 65 year-old Jakes took over from Gustav Husak who had held the top job for 18 years. 8 months after the Soviet invasion Husak, who is almost 75 today, assumed the top party post. On the morning of that day, 17 April 1969, there was snow on the ground in Prague. The frost had returned—symbolic of what was to follow. Husak turned Czechoslovakia into a concrete pillar of the Brezhnev doctrine which established the principle of limited sovereignty of the socialist countries.

Jakes has now been given a contrary assignment, i.e. he is supposed to mix the concrete for Moscow's remodeling plans in a new way and to open up the party he himself once purged to "new thinking." Are we to assume that this is another case of Saul turning into Paul? Or have things come to such a pass, as one observer who likes to speculate has put it, that it is not Gorbachev but his adversary Ligachev who "would rather see Jakes occupy the top spot in Prague than Strougal?"

The answer is both simpler and more in the Czechoslovak pattern. Jakes, a Czech, is a compromise candidate just like Novotny, a Czech, and Dubcek, a Slovak, was. Everyone in the party, for that matter, considered Dubcek an insignificant apparatchik when springtime and winter chill hung in the balance early in 1968. Husak, another Slovak, remained a compromise candidate as he swayed back and forth between the reformers and the "Russites" in 1969 and ultimately liquidated Dubcek's brand of glasnost out of a sheer lust for the power that goes with the top party post.

Considering the situation left behind by Husak, compromise candidate Jakes would seem to be the best man the Moscow reformers could find and were able to install in the face of the opposition by the CPCZ ultra-dogmatic elements. They have spent a great deal of time building up Jakes, a Czech, who at least is not fossilized and has always moved with the times. The actual changing of the guard was initiated about a year ago because the personnel problems and those of an ideological and economic nature were the most serious in Prague whereas they posed merely solitary or combined obstacles to Gorbachev's reform policies in the other socialist countries. What does the changeover from Husak to Jakes signify under these circumstances?

1. The carefully prepared interim solution serves as an example to men like Kadar, Honecker and Zhivkov who are Husak's age.

2. This careful attempt to include Czechoslovak society in the political mainstream once more is meant to repair the damage which turned Czechoslovakia into a "Biafra of the spirit," as Louis Aragon once said, and led to the political and cultural devastation of a European nation with a rich historical heritage. The fact, after all, is that the blemish left behind by Brezhnev and Husak is surpassed only by Ceausescu's Romania.

3. The change at the top is to make possible a moderate, though still negative, interpretation of the Prague Spring. The 1968 program of action approved by the CPCZ which will mark its 20th anniversary in April has to all intents and purposes been largely rehabilitated by Gorbachev's "perestroika" policies.

4. A "comprehensive reform of the economy and of society" is to be instituted by 1991—above all in order to arrest Czechoslovakia's industrial decline.

Alexander Dubcek himself represents a special problem for this new attempt to move ahead. Though less experienced than Gorbachev but by no means less sincere in his convictions, Dubcek tried to introduce "socialism with a human face." Today, Dubcek lives in Bratislava as a pensioner. But reform communists everywhere remember him and he himself sees to it that he is not forgotten. Thus, the question of whether a cautious opening in Czechoslovakia might not undermine the stability of all of Eastern Europe has led to additional disputes between reformers and conservatives, even inside the Kremlin.

The 70th anniversary of the October Revolution clearly demonstrated how explosive these disputes can be. There were three congratulatory telegrams from Czechoslovakia which reached Moscow all at once: one from the party, one from Dubcek and the third from old representatives of the reform policy. But the Czechoslovak chief of state and general secretary of the party failed to attend the October parade. Husak had left Moscow nursing a cold, brought on no doubt by CPSU ideologist Georgiy Smirnov, a member of Gorbachev's inner circle, who had publicly stated that there is a need "to review the questions of 1968 and of the invasion" along with other issues.

In contrast to Kadar and Jaruzelski, the Husak regime pursued only one aim, i.e. not to review the question of the causes for the national protest and to nip any recurrence of the Prague Spring in the bud. Misanthropic Husak was neither an ideological firebrand, nor a vengeful dogmatist. It is to his credit that he at least did not make the leaders of the reform movement stand trial. Still, he ran the country at all times as a cynical advocate of his own lust for power.

Compared to Husak (who will stay on as chief of state), Jakes, a one-time electrical engineer, is a man of lesser stature, stubbornness and rigor. Jakes is not an independent thinker or a reformer in his own right, nor is he as haughty as Husak. For all these reasons, the Moscow reformers are likely to find him easier to deal with than his predecessor. Dubcek called him a good communist at one time; a man he greatly enjoyed sharing his room with at the Moscow party training institute. A similarly close friendship seems to have existed between Jakes, a long-time occupant of the interior ministry, and the KGB.

These good contacts helped Jakes when former KGB chief Andropov assumed the Kremlin leadership in 1983 and came out with the first announcements of reform. Andropov, who was Soviet ambassador to Hungary at the time of the 1956 uprising, had opted for Kadar at the time. Now that he headed the Soviet regime Jakes began to be mentioned as a possible successor to unbending Gustav Husak. To be sure, Prime Minister Strougal was viewed as Prague's first and most forceful proponent of economic reforms; but there was no real chance of getting him selected in the face of stubborn opposition by the hardline clique around Central Committee Secretary Bilak.

The actual move to clear the air was made early this year when the party newspaper RUDE PRAVO reprinted Gorbachev's sensational January speech on party democratization in its entirety to everyone's surprise. In the following week [Foreign Minister] Shevardnadze arrived in Prague; a week after that, it was Defense Minister Sokolov and 2 weeks later Lev Saikov, a member of the Politburo and a central committee secretary, visited the CSSR capital. None of the three Moscow emissaries paid a call on Bilak, the CPCZ Central Committee secretary actually responsible for international relations. Shevardnadze met with Strougal; Saikov was constantly being accompanied by Jakes. Speaking to a large gathering of Prague functionaries, the powerful Moscow central committee secretary called on those present "to synchronize their watches." He surprised the meeting by announcing a visit by Gorbachev and issued a guideline which seemed to be addressed specifically to Jakes and for his benefit. "There are some communists who would like to change in the spirit of perestroika," he said. "We cooperate with them, integrate them and teach them how to think and act in new ways."

Gorbachev arrived in April—a few days later than originally scheduled. The unexpected delay appears to have been due to demands by the CPCZ conservative wing to adopt a more cautious approach in Czechoslovakia. Speculations regarding a partial withdrawal of Soviet troops proved to be without foundation. Still, in the course of his 1-hour pilgrimage to Prague's Powder Tower, Gorbachev told the crowd: "Society must prepare itself for dignified change."

Has this change been consummated now that Jakes has taken over as party chief? Moscow hopes that Jakes will accomplish something that Husak never even attempted, in contrast to Kadar, i.e. to win the people over rather than buy them off politically by providing them with a better quality of consumer goods. In the final analysis, this policy proved to be self-defeating in spite of all the surface signs of "normalization." The ample supply of consumer goods and the picturesque, renovated facades along the Old Town Ring with its crooked streets where the emperors once employed alchemists to make gold for them and where black marketeers try to sell silver watches today cannot hide the fact that the industrial strength and the psychological stamina of this politically

alienated people have constantly been declining. Will the change in Prague put an end to the long night and will there be more daylight along the Moldau?

09478

## HUNGARY

**Berecz Discusses Need for New Ideology**  
*18070054a Moscow POLITICHESKOYE*  
*OBRAZOVANIYE*  
*in Russian No 12 Dec 87 signed to press 16 Nov 87*  
*pp 114-120*

[Article by MSZMP Central Committee Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Janos Berecz: "Urgent Problems in the Development of Socialism in Hungary"]

[Text] The founders of scientific socialism left us a rich and vital theoretical legacy. However, in their works they never strove for univocality in the interpretation of future socialist society and the principles by which it functions. In turn, even Lenin insistently underscored that "we cannot provide a characterization for socialism; we do not know and we cannot say what socialism will be and when it will attain finished forms. To say that the era of social revolution has started and to state what we have done and what we want to do—this we do know, and this we state..." (Complete Collected Works Vol 36, p 65).

Guided by Lenin's methodological propositions, after almost 3 years of preparation, in February 1987 the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] held a theoretical conference "Urgent Problems of the Development of Socialism in Our Country." More than 400 state workers, representatives of the mass public organizations and economic leaders took part.

At the start of the conference many were asking the following questions: can we expect that as the result of discussion we will get a clearer, unified idea about socialism?; is a scientifically sound, theoretically balanced synthesis of the important features of our social system possible? Today we can state that the conference enriched our knowledge and we have a clearer idea of the stage of development at which we find ourselves and the direction for our further advance. Naturally, we have not set ourselves the task of creating a ready-made theory of socialism; we have already dealt with the childhood diseases of dogmatic and messianic illusions. And in the final analysis ideas about the future are shaped by social practice. It can never be the final idea, but it is a reflection of the situation today, and it therefore requires constant improvement.

Theoretical conferences play an important role in the ideological work of the MSZMP. Over the past 5 years 15 such conferences have been held, on development in the countryside, on the position and role of the intelligentsia and youth in society, on the dialectic in the development of historical awareness, on the development of party



democracy, on the interconnection between the principles of economic policy and its practical implementation, on the social requirements for technical development, on the international ideological struggle, on capitalism in the Eighties and so forth. In general these conferences have effectively promoted a situation in which our propaganda has responded to the urgent questions of our development in a scientifically sound way and within the framework of a unified approach and in accordance with political practice, and has provided a stimulus for action. They have also helped in generalizing and making use of new scientific achievements and experience in the teaching of Marxism-Leninism in mass political work. Life has shown the usefulness of such conferences from the standpoint of developing theory, because they help in studying in greater depth questions of practical work and in the theoretical consideration of those questions.

At earlier meetings we had dealt with particular fields of social life. In recent years, however, the struggle between the two opposing social systems has intensified. Because of this a broader, comprehensive approach to the problems of social development was needed. A conference that took place 2 years ago covered the realities of capitalism and how crisis situations within its framework are being overcome in the Eighties, and the opportunities available to that system. The important theoretical conclusions reached by the conference have exerted a significant influence on practical political-propaganda work, and have also positively affected teaching in the social disciplines. These conclusions have evoked an international response.

The convening of a conference on socialism and its development in Hungary was dictated by a whole series of circumstances. Interest is growing in the problems of further developing our socialist society and MSZMP policy, which is aimed consistently at deepening socialist democracy and expanding openness [glasnost] in public life. People are troubled about the reasons for the stagnation in economic development, the opportunities available to overcome the difficulties, and the prospects for the future. Under the effect of the worsening economic problems, particularly in the last 2 years, alarm and uncertainty have intensified. Some strata in society are reacting adversely to new economic and social processes.

Today, Hungarian society is living through a period of important changes. The accelerated processes of social development, the scientific and technical revolution, and the greater interdependence between countries and peoples, to mention only these factors, are challenging all of society and each person individually. Many old questions that had been considered resolved now need answers under the new conditions. Moreover, quite new problems are arising. A search oriented on experiment and on the priority of variety in scenarios and solutions is therefore quite natural. With respect to evaluating

reality and the opportunities for society's further development, people are being influenced by the most diverse factors, but it remains a fact that the overwhelming majority of our people link their own future with socialism and believe in this future. Particular attention is therefore being paid to what promotes a renewal of socialism and what takes place at the initiative of the party.

Significant changes are taking place today in many countries of the world socialist system. In this regard, the experience of the Soviet Union is particularly important. The nature of problems and the search for ways of renewal in the socialist countries have much in common. The fact that in some countries similar kinds of tasks are being resolved is, in our view, also a factor that makes it possible to make use of the advantages of the socialist social system.

The processes taking place in the Soviet Union are for us an important stimulus in our work, and they are extending our international field of activity. The interconnection between the process of reform in Hungary and the present changes in the USSR is even more important. The closeness of these processes has deep roots. We are following with close attention the broad perestrojka in the Soviet Union aimed at accelerating socioeconomic development, deepening socialist democracy and renewing all public life. The program drawn up by the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequently enriched by the CPSU Central Committee January and June (1987) plenums, whose key elements are renewal and acceleration, perestrojka and glasnost, is of enormous international significance.

The changes in public life in the Soviet Union and in CPSU policy, stemming from their spiritual stimulus, are exerting a beneficial effect on the Hungarian reality. In the present situation it is particularly important that each socialist country recognize its own priority task and help to make the national experience in the building of socialism generally available. It is obvious to us that the success in perestrojka and renewal in the Soviet Union is of decisive importance for the further destiny of socialism, and also for the fate of peace and international security.

We must generalize and consider theoretically the rich experience gained in the building of socialism in Hungary, particularly the experience of the last three decades, so as to utilize it in further work and pass it on to new generations. At the same time we are confident that the results of socioeconomic renewal in Hungary will not only serve the cause of a better future for our people but also to some extent also promote the cause of socialism and general human progress.

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At the present stage in the development of Hungarian society we are relying on results achieved, and we are amending them wherever necessary. Our development

and the international situation require this. It is important to make decisions on how we should effect renewal in a sound way, with an accurate knowledge of the reality, and by carefully weighing the consequences. Theoretical work, of course, plays an important and crucial role in analyzing and defining alternatives for social development. In order to achieve success it is essential that all workers on this front combine their efforts and conduct theoretical studies of the problems concerning the country's development. The theoretical conference, which analyzed the range of problems in the development of socialism in Hungary in five main directions, namely, historical development, the economy, social relations, the system of political institutions, and ideology, has become an important milestone in this work.

After the theoretical conference we summed up the results of the opinions that had been expressed. In all, almost 180 reports were presented. Three basic ideas ran through all reports. In summary they may be characterized as follows: socialism, self-management and reform.

1. We have at our disposal rich experience and knowledge about the development of socialism in recent years. However, an oversimplified and largely illusory idea about socialism has been preserved in public opinion and in the everyday consciousness. Here, people are encountering a social reality different from the one we proclaimed previously relying, or more accurately referring to, the classics. On the other hand, over the past 40 years we have reached two important conclusions that exert a major influence on our ideas about socialism.

The first of these is that capitalism has turned out to be a more viable system than it seemed at the beginning of this century. In light of this, the problem of competition between the two social systems is more complex. The second conclusion is that practice in the building of socialism and its theoretical comprehension have turned out to be much more complex than earlier oversimplified ideas. During the course of the building of socialism, along with the undoubted achievements, mistakes have been made and there have been distortions and sometimes even criminal actions, and crisis periods have had to be overcome in a number of countries. With respect to theory, consideration must be given to the fact that the social sciences, and also the natural sciences, which promote the enrichment of our ideas about socialism, have been significantly developed.

It is not only the treasure house of the Hungarian experience that has been filled with new knowledge, acquired with difficulty, about the development of socialism and its problems. The experience of world socialism has been enriched. The international ideal of socialism is being developed on the national soil and is advancing along the tortuous paths that Lenin talked about. Of course, the building of socialism in Hungary

has been linked inseparably with the development of world socialism; a fruitful system of links between the socialist countries has been put in place and is being developed.

The development of new approaches to the theoretical problems of socialism has become an urgent social need. At the conference we did not try to provide a final answer to all questions but we did try at least to formulate certain approaches and thus provide a stimulus for our theoretical and ideological work. More than one conference will still be needed for the scholars, propagandists, teachers and all of us to acquire the necessary new experience and greater in-depth knowledge about ways to perfect socialist society.

Socialism is a very important and key category that takes priority over all other categories of the social sciences and is the premise for various viewpoints. Why must this seemingly obvious thesis be underscored? Because we consider it essential to note that changes are possible in the concept of socialism, but for the MSZMP and the Hungarian people, the building of socialism remains the invariable goal.

It is obvious that the edifice of socialism is not finished. This, however, does not reduce the significance of the path that we have trod and does not cast doubt on the meaning of our activity. It is our profound conviction that a one-sided approach to the successes achieved without due consideration of the still unresolved problems is a source of serious error. But it is also true that underestimation of our work and achievements over several decades entails the kind of destruction of values that hides the path that has been trod and the prospects for the future. We know that we face great and difficult tasks in the building of socialism. To resolve them along with using the experience that we have accumulated, what is required is constant adaptation to new demands, sure political actions, labor directed toward the creation of real values, and belief in the socialist motherland.

Today the economy is the key question in the development of socialism in Hungary. In this connection, the problems advanced to the forefront at the conference included appraisal of the path trod and the shaping of new approaches to existing problems. One key factor in the polemic was analysis of the reasons for the lagging behind the processes taking place in the world economy. Those taking part in the discussion agreed that only an economic policy based on the mechanism of selective development, with strict observance of the allocation of assets earmarked for technical development, and also attentive consideration of the country's availability of resources and its economic possibilities, can be successful. During the course of discussion the successes of agrarian policy in Hungary were underscored.

There was almost complete agreement that in the problem of ownership under the conditions of socialism, a number of fundamental questions are still awaiting clarification on the theoretical plane. Close attention was

paid to the role of large state enterprises, small-scale ownership and private activity in the economy. Great importance attaches to the fact that the meeting came to an understanding on the practice and ideas of socialist entrepreneurship. It was emphasized that under the conditions of the new system, socialist entrepreneurship is a law and a possibility, because only creative collectives that strive for renewal and for a greater number of people are capable of historic accomplishments.

Socialism cannot be identified with a society of people who are forced to execute given decisions. The role of the human factor is important both in technical development and in entrepreneurship. It is now particularly important to mobilize reserves and the extra energy hidden in subjective factors since we cannot set our hopes only in long-term processes in the economic sphere.

The thought was supported that for successful development in the process of renewing society and providing it with the necessary public support we must clarify and explain a number of important categories. One important and debated question is now understanding the interconnection between conformity to plan, commodity production and the law of value. Many problems are involved in how, on the basis of theoretical generalization of practical experience and improved practical work, we shall be able in fact to include the processes of commodity production in the conscious process of the building of socialism. From this standpoint, theoretical work on the concept of socialist management of the market is of extraordinary importance.

2. In our times, but particularly in the countries building socialism, one important issue is the methods, direction and goals of the development of democracy. It is an obvious truth that by dint of its quintessential nature, socialism is democratic power. Accordingly, the development of democracy is a law-governed pattern in the building of socialism. The way to exercise power is through gradual development of self-management by the people on the basis of extended socialist democracy. The final stage along our historical path is public self-management in its Marxist sense. At each stage of development we must move in this direction and take the steps that are justified by the existing conditions. It is therefore clear that self-management cannot be introduced just by a single legislative act. The MSZMP has always acted as the sponsor of measures that stimulate and support the foundation of self-management in the various spheres of public life. In particular, we have introduced these forms in the cooperatives, local councils and educational establishments. Since 1984 the enterprise councils in economic organizations have been shaped in the same spirit.

The following question arises: in what direction is socialist democracy developing and do we have any kind of pluralism? In Hungary, instead of the monopoly position

for Marxism-Leninism that was established in the Sixties, we have set ourselves the goal of hegemony for Marxism-Leninism. This has been seen in the fact that other ideological trends are now present in our society. They include religion, which has a tradition of centuries. Obviously, with regard to religion we must show tolerance, while we must strive for cooperation with its institutions and with believers, based on an allied policy. We think that the main form of ideological struggle should be discussion, while the basis for change in people's world outlook is hypothecated upon the level of development in society.

During the course of work on the reform of the Hungarian system of economic management that has been going on since 1968 it has been recognized that in our society a diversity of interests exists, including public, group and personal interests. Today we know that the articulation of interests is still more complex than we had imagined. Thus we recognize the differentiation and diversity in the system of interests. We also think that realization of any interest should not be to the detriment of society as a whole. Of course, practice in society is not always agreed on this line. Enough examples could be cited of how difficult and demanding it is to agree different interests and orient them in the direction of the leading social interest.

The following question is also rightly asked: if we recognize the articulation of interests in society, is this not seen also in political life? Obviously it is, because differentiation and diversity of interests with a search for ways to resolve the problems of a specific situation are seen in the different alternatives. This is possible and necessary, although it is a complex process. In this connection, at the theoretical conference the opinion was expressed that at the present stage historically in Hungary, when the building of socialism has a single pole and center of power, the realization and representation of differing interests are possible. The exercise of power should be effected within the framework of a comprehensively developing system of institutions in which a leading role is played by the party. Moreover, it is essential that the exercise of power rely on cooperation between the various social groups and that it enable the various interests to be represented in the political institutions and help the advance toward a common goal.

The profound and multifaceted process of public self-management also requires further democratization of the party itself. What is the essential nature of this process? If the local party organizations resolve their own problems with greater independence, then other local organizations will operate more democratically, relying to an increasing degree on all the members of society. The next step along this path should be a division of labor between the party and the state, and also between the various organizations, that expresses more broadly and better the special features of the various public institutions.

3. Relations between the building of socialism and the reform were a leading theme at the conference. The common opinion was formed that in Hungary today the reform is a means and a form, and even the substance of public life.

We understand the reform as an important and all-embracing restructuring of all aspects of life at the stage of social development following the victory of the socialist revolution. In our country, the party has always been the initiator of reform in the process of the building of socialism. We also quite rightly assign to the reform the changes that have been made since 1956. And now for three decades we have been pursuing a policy of constant renewal. Since the late Fifties the MSZMP has been following the course of reform, both in thinking and in practice. There is no doubt that bitter historical experience provided the impetus for this. Today, looking back we are convinced how essential it is to show political boldness and inner conviction in order to recognize that the country needs reform for its own advance.

With the work on the reform and the development of socialist democracy and the re-thinking of its role in society, the party has provided and still provides an independent answer to the questions that we face in our time and in our specific situation. The MSZMP is accomplishing a reform that merges organically with our socialist development and is simultaneously capable of rebuffing conservatism and reformist anarchism.

The party considers that consistent, dynamic development of the process of reform is essential. It must be carried out on the basis of the ideas of socialism and its gains. The reform provides an opportunity for seeking out new ways and decisions and for realizing them in practice in order to correct positions that have not withstood the test of time, and in order to make use of the potential of socialism. Proceeding from this, the party constrains itself from any actions that complicate work on the reform or that hold back this process. At the same time, it acts against attempts to make use of the slogan of reform, either openly or in a masked way, in order to weaken the socialist system.

During the course of the search for decisions and during the development of the reform process we are engaged in a continuing dialogue that serves the interests of the whole of Hungarian society. We give due consideration to any valuable suggestion or opinion. In this way the idea of the reform is enriched and gains the support of the people.

The essence of our position may be expressed thus: a unity of stability and changes in the building of socialism, bold acceleration of the process of reform, and also the shaping of the kind of concept of reform that involves all spheres of life and renews the economy and society as a whole.

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We did important scientific and political work at the conference devoted to the development of socialism in Hungary. The conference mobilized large theoretical forces and noticeably enriched our knowledge. It was typified by the systematic approach to analysis of the problems. This was seen, on the one hand, in the diversity of the issues discussed; and on the other, by the fact that the views of the historians, economists, sociologists, party workers, political figures, theoreticians and practical people coincided and formed a synthesis. The discussion was extraordinarily lively and passionate, but was permeated with the spirit of forbearance, and on the whole the conference was distinguished by an atmosphere of friendly participation and mutual understanding. As a result, the considerable value of the theoretically sound positions on the main questions in the development of socialism in Hungary was crystallized.

Much was said concerning the responsibility of science and the need for science and politics to be more close interconnected. A field of contact, namely political ideology, must necessarily lie between the social sciences, which analyze reality, and the political organs, which make the decisions. In this connection emphasis was laid on the common and mutual responsibility of political figures, scientists and practical people for the country's spiritual and material prosperity. It was a question of the influence of ideological systems on the shaping of awareness. A demand was formulated to create a new style of work for the mass media that is in line with our ideals, and also relies on our traditions. We generalized the results of scientific studies and practical experience in the building of socialism in Hungary.

The conference showed that the MSZMP possesses a clear and creative concept of the development of socialism. Our party is not the slave of ossified and outworn ideas but takes into account the demands of both today and tomorrow. Of course, the conference did not set itself the goal of drawing up an entire program of action but it did provide diverse and useful material for work on the program for socioeconomic development adopted by the 2 July 1987 MSZMP Central Committee Plenum. Its main aim is, by renewing all spheres of public and economic life, to provide new impetus for the building of socialism, insure the necessary sources for economic growth, and surpass the average level of the country's economic development. We are convinced that the development program, as formulated by our MSZMP General Secretary Janos Kadar, will become "a combat program for communists in the years immediately ahead, and its implementation will become the concern of the entire nation and will be an embodiment of our socialist goals and the happiness of our people."

### **Reform Efforts Hindered by Politburo Kadar Majority**

2300043a Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER  
ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Jan 88 p 10

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Bypassing the People—Not Any More—Some Regulations, Some Politicians in Hungary Felt To Be Obsolete"]

[Text] Budapest, 17 January—The Hungarian Parliament passed a resolution in December which will make it more difficult for the presidial council in the future to pass laws on its own, thereby circumventing parliamentary procedure. This decision by parliament is a contentious one since Janos Kadar, the party general secretary, has consistently resorted to presidial council as a means of transforming his personal views virtually unopposed into binding legislation. In the general accepted view, the presidial council is regarded as Kadar's personal tool. The brake which parliament applied was thus a brake on Kadar himself and his style of leadership.

#### **An Unappreciated Warning Voice**

In Budapest, more and more people are saying that the Kadar era is just about over politically. Although they may not always agree with one another, the "crown princes" have already taken over the reins. And the 75 year-old general secretary has taken on the unenviable role of a "warning voice" fraught with resentment, somewhat similar to the one being played by [former chancellor Bruno] Kreisky in neighboring Austria. Only a year ago, many Hungarians felt that the country should continue to take advantage of Kadar's great prestige, particularly in the "fraternal" socialist countries. These days, the feeling seems to be that there is no real need for him to become directly involved and that the title of "honorary president" of the party might be enough of a recognition of his achievements. In June, a so-called little party congress will convene, which is officially being referred to as a "national party conference."

Along with Kadar himself, his lieutenants in the Politburo are also regarded as "superannuated." This includes men such as Nemeth, Lazar, Gaspar and Ovari and even Havasi, the present party secretary for Budapest as well as Marothy, who has since been moved aside and given a cabinet post. This Kadar "bloc," it is said, is preventing the Politburo from making much needed decisions. Since the central committee has already been revitalized, the Politburo should follow suit, i.e. the majority on that body should be composed of those who are in fact now responsible for making the decisions and exercising political leadership. Sources close to Minister President Grosz in particular are saying that he will be unable to discharge his difficult duties in the long run, if his decision-making powers continue to be restricted and hampered "from above." There are dichotomies evident even within the party apparatus. Central Committee Secretary Berecz is the most powerful member of the

apparatus but his formal job solely includes responsibility for ideology and agitprop. At the same time, former minister president Lazar, who now holds the post of deputy general secretary of the party, is playing a lesser role in the apparatus. Those "at the top," it is also being said, are the ones primarily responsible for the mistakes of the past.

All the signs seem to indicate that important decisions are in the offing in Budapest this year. Political life is intensifying and accelerating in ways that would scarcely have been imaginable a few short years ago. But now the spotlight is not on economic reform but on political reform. Those who, to all intents and purposes, have shouldered the political responsibility appear to have recognized that they cannot rule the country in opposition to or at least without regard to the people in view of the urgency of the programs to be carried out and the sacrifices to be asked of the people in order to make the reforms succeed. A wide range of political moves toward openness appear to be inevitable. Relaxation of travel and currency restrictions are just one part of this. Even more important is the emerging "pluralism of institutions," i.e. the greater weight to be assigned to diverse institutions within the state and in public life, e.g. the government, the parliament, the local authorities, the "patriotic popular front," the labor unions, etc. and the potential of these various segments of society to lend voice to their particular interests. General Secretary Poszgay of the "Popular Front" is doing some spade work along these lines and Grosz seems to be in agreement with him rather than with Berecz who, as administrator of the party apparatus, is forced to find his own way. According to Budapest sources, "the top" is also putting up resistance to this newly emerging political model.

#### **Criticism From Prague**

The criticism voiced by the more dogmatic "fraternal countries" which is directed against these political reforms now and no longer against economic reform shows that these are serious-minded efforts. In this regard, [Milos] Jakes, the new general secretary of the CPCz, already has a bad reputation in Budapest. Last summer, while still head of the economic commission of the party's central committee, Jakes is said to have sharply criticized the liberalization of travel in Hungary and to have announced steps aimed at routing Czech travelers via the Soviet Union instead of Hungary on their way to Romania and Bulgaria. Jakes justified this move by saying that Hungarian passports which can be used freely for travel to the West were now being traded on the black market just like Yugoslav passports. It is to be assumed that relations between Hungary and Czechoslovakia cannot develop favorably under Jakes. Budapest sources note, however, that 5 million Czechoslovaks come to Hungary to shop each year while only 2 million Hungarians go to Czechoslovakia. This in itself speaks volumes about conditions in the two countries.

Hungary is prepared to make forints available to Czechoslovak travelers and border crossers but asks that Czechoslovakia supply goods in return.

All of a sudden, relations between Hungary and Poland have improved markedly, despite the business-minded Polish tourists. The two countries agree on the need for reforming the CEMA system. Now, Hungary has also found some allies in Warsaw in the matter of political reform. Moscow is not putting out signals for a slow-down. These days, Hungary is even acting as a pace-maker in the field of foreign policy. Budapest followed the Warsaw trip by Foreign Minister [Hans-Dietrich] Genscher with great interest and on 15 January [Juergen] Warnke, Bonn's minister of transport, put his signature to an inland shipping agreement which permits West Berlin vessels to fly the FRG flag. By contrast, no such agreement on the flagging issue seems possible with Czechoslovakia as yet.

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## POLAND

### North Korean CP Journal Editorial Visit

26000042g Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
30 Sep 87 p 3

[Text] On the invitation of the editorial staff of NOWE DROGI, a visit was made to Poland by a delegation from the editorial staff of KOLLODZA, the theoretical-political organ of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party [KC PPK]. Led by First Deputy Editor-in-Chief Kan Son Sop, the delegation attended meetings held by the PZPR Central Committee and by party cells in the Krakow and Nowy Sad voivodships, where they were acquainted with PZPR activities designed to bring about socialist changes in the PRL. The Korean guests conducted talks with Andrzej Dobrucki, deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee department of socio-economic policy, and with Gen Bde Mieczyslaw Michalik, deputy chief of the Polish Army's Main Political Directorate [GZP WP]. During their meeting at NOWE DROGI, a plan calling for further cooperation between the two editorial staffs was agreed upon as a result of a PZPR and PPK program for mutual cooperation. The delegation met with PZPR Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski at the end of the visit. Their meeting stressed the importance of ideological-theoretical cooperation between the two parties and the role that party journals play in that cooperation. Ambassador Pak Sang Am of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was also present.

13090/12232

### Swedish Ecological Cooperation

26000042e Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
30 Sep 87 p 2

[Text] On 29 September the minister of environmental protection and natural resources, Stefan Jarzebski, met with Ambassador Goet Svenson of Sweden and Lars Thorell, director of the Technology Department of the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency.

The discussion centered on increasing and realizing mutual cooperation in protecting the environment, particularly air quality and the Baltic Sea. The meeting resulted from last years visit to Poland by Brigette Dahl, the Swedish minister of environmental protection and energy.

13090/12232

## Defense Committee Meetings Reported

### Wloclawek Youth Crime Problem

26000030 Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish  
5-6 Sep 87 p 2

[Article: Meeting of the Wloclawek Voivodship Defense Committee—Too Little Concern for Public Property—Disturbing Increase of Delinquency Among Minors]

[Text] The problems of security and public safety in the Wloclawek voivodship were the subjects of working analysis by the Voivodship Defense Committee.

During the session, led by Wloclawek voivode Tadeusz Gembicki, the progress of the socio-political normalization process in the Kujawski-Dobrzynski region was outlined. At the same time, the problems which require more energetic action for further progress were emphasized.

Some occurrences and facts from the economy have negative repercussions on what is still generally a positive picture. In particular, these include situations still tolerated by some industry directors such as poor labor discipline, waste, organizational paralysis, and little action toward integration of the principles and mechanisms of the economic reform's second stage.

There are still incidents of carelessness regarding the technical state and the security of factory property. This is confirmed by inspections carried out the citizen's militia. During a 7-month period, 318 cases of inadequate securing of objects have been discovered. It is symptomatic that the militia must go to great lengths to persuade the owners of commercial establishments to install modern and more effective security systems.

During the discussions, increased delinquency among minors, including serious crimes (among them there were 11 registered cases of rape) was disconcertedly noted.

That Pope John Paul II's third pilgrimage to Poland was peaceful was seen as very important. The religious ceremonies during the beautification of Michal Kozal also took place in a peaceful atmosphere.

At the end of the session, the Wloclawski Voivodship Defense Committee formulated tasks to obtain further beneficial political and economic changes in the Wloclawek voivodship.

### **Defense Measures Discussed**

26000030 *Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish*  
23 Sep 87 p 2

[Article: Meeting of the Krakow Voivodship Defense Committee]

[Text] The Krakow Voivodship Defense Committee held a field session yesterday in Nowa Huta. The meeting was chaired by Tadeusz Salwa, mayor of Krakow.

Using information gathered through inspections, the committee evaluated the state of preparedness in the defense system in the Krakow voivodship. In addition, the committee designated tasks for improving standards and greater efficiency in this area.

The committee also acquainted itself with the state of security in Krakow and in the voivodship.

### **Social, Economic Situation Viewed**

23000030 *Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish*  
2 Oct 87 p 7

[Article: Voivodship Defense Committee Session—Meetings of the Bielsko-Biala and Nowy Sacz Voivodship Defense Committees]

[Text] The Voivodship Defense Committee in Bielsko-Biala, in a field session held in the rural township of Lipowa, appraised socio-economic activity in the township. It also recognized the initiatives of the residents, who in a social work action built many new roads, fire stations, and water and gas mains.

The Nowy Sacz Voivodship Defense Committee, in a field session held in Gorlice, discussed the execution of tasks in the area of civil defense in that city.

### **Local Economy, Investments Viewed**

26000030 *Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish*  
9 Oct 87 p 2

[Article: Voivodship Defense Committee Session]

[Text] The Piotrkow Trybunalski and Wloclawek Voivodship Defense Committees met. The Piotrkow Voivodship Defense Committee discussed economic and defense problems, and discussed in detail problems demanding urgent solutions concerning capital investment in the public sector. Vice Premier Manfred Gorywoda took part in the discussions.

### **Winter Market Preparations**

26000030 *Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish*  
17 Sep 87 pp 1, 5

[Article: Meeting of the Tarnow Voivodship Defense Committee in Tarnow—Trade Preparations for the Fall and Winter]

[Text] Yesterday the Voivodship Defense Committee met in Tarnow and evaluated the preparedness of Tarnow trade for the fall and winter. The session was chaired by Tarnow voivode Stanislaw Nowak. Taking part in the meeting were: Brigadier General Edward Drzazga, head of the Institute of Technology under the Office of the Council of Ministers and chief audit inspector in the Office of the Council of Ministers; Wladyslaw Plewniak, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee; and Mieczyslaw Menzynski, chairman of the voivodship People's Council. Trade preparations for the coming winter are proceeding according to plan. The market place will be well stocked in basic foodstuffs and dairy products with the exception of hard cheeses. Clothing and footwear deliveries will be at the same level as last year. Supplies of warm underclothing will improve, however, the purchase of men's heavy overcoats will be the most difficult to obtain. This winter there should be no shortage of potatoes, vegetables, and apples because trade has stockpiled greater amounts of supplies as well as improved storage conditions. As in the past, this year's coal allocation for the voivodship will not completely cover the existing demand. However, the situation for heating supplies will not be worse than last winter.

The Voivodship Defense Committee recommended that stores increase their efforts to improve consumer goods by acquiring supplies from small producers, Polonia firms, and through the exchange of foreign goods not requiring hard currencies.

The Voivodship Defense Committee summed up the results of the first phase of this year's operation "Posesja." It also familiarized itself with the inspection actions of the second phase of the operation to be carried out in the voivodship from 15 to 29 October.

13073/12232

### **State Nuclear Agency Report on Researchers**

26000042c *Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish*  
No 38, 20 Sep 87 p 2

[Text] The Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] has released a report on the effectiveness of work performed during 1981-1986 by the scientific-research institutions of the State Nuclear Agency. The report concludes that scientific-research and training results of the following four institutions have hitherto not been fully utilized: The Institute of Atomic Energy and the Institute of Nuclear Studies in Swierk, the Institute of Nuclear Chemistry and Technology in Warsaw, and the Institute

of Nuclear Physics in Krakow. The application of study results (in 1983-86) ranged from less than 4 percent at the Institute of Nuclear Chemistry and Technology to 19 percent at the Institute of Nuclear Physics. Our atomic scientists, however, are respected abroad. Some 15 workers from the Institute of Nuclear Physics remained abroad in 1981-85 and 18 workers from the Institute of Atomic Energy were abroad in 1983-86.

13090/12232

### October Anniversary Spurs Commentary on New Socialist Road

#### 'New Thinking' Theses Elaborated

26000041 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
8 Oct 87 p 4

[Article by Professor Stefan Opara, secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee: "New Roads of Marxism—The Ideology of Reconstruction"]

[Text] We are celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution at a time of radical reforms and ideological changes in the Soviet Union.

These changes are so fundamental that in the words of Mikhail Gorbachev, we are dealing with "truly revolutionary changes". The interest taken in these changes is proportional to the role of the first socialist state as well as the significance that the growth of the USSR has to the prospects of socialism. Various political forces around the world have tried to give their own interpretation to the substance of the Soviet "perestrojka" [reconstruction]. Even in Poland, it is widely believed that the reforms in the USSR indicate a departure from the principles of Marxism and the idea of "utopia" and that they are also associated with the acceptance of capitalist ideas and practices.

Knowledge about the real theoretical premises of the Soviet reconstruction is especially important to the Polish reforms and continuing ideological struggle.

From an ideological point of view, the leading principle of Soviet renewal is the postulate of a "new style of thinking" submitted by G.Y. Smirnov in his article "The Revolutionary Essence of Renewal" (PRAVDA, 13 March 1987). In this article, the author stated: "At this time, one of the most popular ideas...is that of a 'new way of thinking.' These words reflect the revolutionary character of our times, the need to accelerate the country's social and economic growth and the drive to reach a completely new level of socialist development of Soviet Society. The new way of thinking...is a concept that concerns...the creation of a new mechanism of management, the definition of priorities in scientific and

technical progress, transition to full economic cost-accounting and self-financing and the reorientation of social policy to meet the needs of the people, etc. This is also a conceptual realization of the revolutionary essence of the renewal process."

"New thinking" is not an ideology of narrow pragmatism replacing Marxism or scientific socialism. I will try to defend this thesis by elaborating its chief ideas.

The change to dialectic method is the first and methodologically fundamental characteristic of the ideology of reconstruction. "The new style of thinking that everyone must adopt is dialectical thinking," said Mikhail Gorbachev in a speech to a conference of directors of social sciences faculties. However, what does it mean to use dialectics to analyze social phenomena?

First of all, that means perceiving the forms and content of social life in motion and in its growth and changes. The base and superstructure, the functions of state, the party, rules of economic life and law must not be regarded as eternal and unchanging but as historically conditioned and subject to natural laws of growth. By the same token, ideological formulas should be regarded not as holy writ setting forth eternal truths. Ideas are historically defined and the product of times and conditions. They can change along with the social forces that give them their strength and immediacy.

Second, to employ dialectics is to assume that conflicts and contradictions are the essence of every phenomenon and the key to an understanding of all growth, including the growth of socialism. In his essay, "On Socialism", V. Lenin wrote: "In order to understand all world processes in their 'self-movement', their spontaneous development and in their very life as they are, it is necessary to see them as a unity of opposites." This truth has been forgotten by many scholars inclined to see socialism's growth processes in terms of harmony, absence of conflict, unity, etc. The emergence of social conflicts and crises in socialism is, to those who do not understand dialectics, something of a surprise which is alien to the nature of socialism. "New thinking" does away with this rustic and nondialectical image of socialism. This is where dialectics clashes with socialism. While the dogmatic individual sees the strength of socialism as unchanging formulas, practices, and social principles, the dialectic thinker regards all of these as forms of stagnation. While the dogmatic feels threatened by reform and changes in the style of thinking and action, the dialectic sees these as natural signs of the light and growth of socialism.

Radical reform to accelerate the growth of socialism is the chief characteristics of "new thinking" in the political and economic sphere. This is not a speculative task because it is one that arises from the objective internal (better fulfillment of social needs) and external (economic and military competition, the imperialistic threat)



needs. Economic reform is of fundamental significance because in accordance with Marx's teachings, it is conditions that influence all other areas of social life.

What is necessary is improvement of socialist production relations and the creation of new possibilities for the growth of productive forces under socialism through a change from extensive to intensive methods of management, improvement of both the quality and quantity of production, better efficiency through reduced materials and energy consumption, greater innovation and enterprise, and quicker assimilation of scientific and technical progress. For these goals to be attained, it is necessary to change the formulas for central planning and ministry supervision, encourage enterprise independence and self-management, start using economic criteria for evaluating businesses and improve the ratio of goods to money. A reform process which attacks the existing system of group interests and stereotyped thinking of management personnel will not be carried out without interference. As M. Gorbachev stated: "Unfortunately, it has become fairly commonplace to think that every change of mechanism is a departure from socialist principle. In connection with this, it is necessary to stress the following: the ultimate criterium for improving management and the entire system of socialist production relations should be greater social and economic growth and the strengthening of socialism in practice."

This also means overcoming inertia, stagnation and conservatism which is absolutely essential to popularization of "new thinking" and the realization of reconstruction. In order to correctly evaluate this problem, it is worth remembering that for more than 50 years, the basic principles of social and economic life in the USSR have not undergone substantial change. As G.Y. Smirnov wrote in the cited article, "We were so enchanted with centralized forms and methods of management in the 1930's which, somewhat modernized later on, came to be regarded as the only correct and complete attribute of a socialist order." This type of conservatism led the enemies of socialism to openly declare that in Poland, for example, this system could not by its very nature be reformed and that the only means of correcting its faults was to overthrow the order.

Criticism, openness and speaking the truth are the next attributes of the "new style of thinking" in this period of renewal. In these ideas one can also discern a connection to the living methodological traditions of classical Marxism. It is no coincidence that M. Gorbachev referred to Lenin's statement that "our strength lies in telling the truth" and that "the basic responsibility of those that want to find the means to human happiness is to not deceive themselves and to have the courage to openly acknowledge that which is."

Speaking the truth is popularizing the real achievements of socialism but also self-critically pointing out its faults and unresolved conflicts. Unquestionably, one of the

signs of the poor practice of socialist was allowing the enemies of socialism a monopoly on criticism whereas the "new thinking" allows important and constructive criticism of socialism.

Under the openness and truthfulness of contemporary Soviet journalism, one can see two waves of criticism. One of these is directed at the past and the elimination of "blank spaces" and distortions of history, especially those concerning the period of the personality cult. The second critical wave is carrying force of modern reconstruction and involves the revelation of errors and faults, inertia and bureaucratism in various spheres of life in today's Soviet society.

Democratism and humanism are closely associated with this process and they manifest themselves in the belief that the creative activity of working people combined with the processes of democratization is the driving force for the growth of socialism. In accordance with humanist tradition, the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [CPSU] defines socialism as a society on whose standard is written "Everything in the name of man—everything for the good of man". At the same time, socialism is characterized as an order that honors the rights of man and human dignity. Real democracy, extensive and equal participation of citizens in the management of production, social and state affairs was also named as one of the other definitive traits of socialism.

The new Program of the CPSU has also placed an emphasis on socialist self-government of society.

Self-government is understood not as the development of new structures (aside from the party and trade unions) but as the growth of the working people's participation in political life with the party as "the highest form of social and political organization of self-rule" gaining greater strength in its leadership role. This involves increasing the requirements for the political, organizational and ideological activity of the party and the task of "rebuilding party work" which should above all find its expression in:

—the growth of political requirements on party members;

—consolidation of a creative atmosphere and growth of self-criticism;

—a search for new solutions to social, economic, scientific, technical, ideological, and educational problems.

The search for new solutions concerns more than just internal problems. The Soviet Union is a country with great political influence on the fate of the modern world. That is why an important element of the new thinking is an innovative attitude toward the global problems of the modern world. This found its expression in certain documents of the 27th Congress of the CPSU that

profoundly analyzed the chief global conflicts and in the Soviet Union's peace offensive aimed at liquidating the threat of nuclear destruction of civilization by the end of this century. These peace initiatives have greatly enhanced the authority of the Soviet Union and have unmasked the policies of the militaristic forces of imperialism.

Peace efforts cannot be examined only on the political scale because they require, in the words of M. Gorbachev, "a keen look at the dialectics of events and their objective logic" and at the same time, they also demand the rejection of many myths and prejudices in the thinking of the governing circles of the leading capitalist countries. This places before Marxist theory the important task of developing a new peace philosophy to support peace policy.

Over the several decades in which there have been accumulated the nuclear weapons capable of destroying life on Earth, there has appeared a new and clear-cut criterium for real humanism. Socialism's traditional desire for peace has become a contemporary source of hope for the salvation of human civilization. The struggle for peace has gone from being a local problem to becoming a global problem and also a dramatic criterium for elementary humanism. The contemporary situation, in which for the first time in history the alternative to global peace is global self-annihilation, requires changes in many theoretical and ideological attitudes.

The chief ideas of "new thinking" presented in this essay assume and require the creative development of Marxism. Through their ties to the revolutionary practice of renewal and their rejection of barren scholastics and dogmatism, the Marxist social sciences have gained a new chance for growth. "Scholastics, doctrinairism and dogma," said M. Gorbachev at the 27th CPSU Congress, "always cramped a real growth in knowledge. They lead to a stagnation in thought at a dead end where science becomes abstracted from real life and its growth is arrested. The truth lies not in declarations and rules but in scientific discussion and debate."

One can therefore say that the "new thinking" is a sign of the creative growth of Marxism-Leninism. It is therefore a type of thinking new in its content but one which is also based on dialectics and forms the cornerstone of Marxist methodology.

#### **Marxist Development Theories Underutilized**

26000041 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
12 Oct 87 p 5

[Article by Marek Jaworski: "Discussions Among Marxists—Between Practice and Philosophy"]

[Text] Today, we find ourselves in a current of profound changes of our entire economic, social, and political organism. A similar process with specific differences for different countries can also be observed in the other

socialist states. It therefore has certain universal properties and expresses certain needs common to societies trying to build socialism and obstructed by obsolete structures and mechanisms.

What relation do the present changes have to Marxist-Leninist theory? Can Marxist scholars explain, justify, and support them?

#### **Plans and Formulas**

I recently listened to a debate between the representatives of 14 publishers of theoretical and political journals of socialist countries which was organized by the editors of NOWE DROGI in honor of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. This debate provided interesting food for thought.

Marxist scholars have a deep feeling of theoretical neglect and intellectual petrification which have also accompanied a long period of system stagnation. "The search for a way forward," said S.V. Kolenikov of the Soviet Union, "in many cases was hindered by the long-lasting backwardness in theory and well-known plans and formulas that did not reflect the new reality."

"The ties between parts of the system were awakened," said Jozef Lipiec, "and this simultaneously deepened the gap between theory and ideology and policy. Policy steadily gained in importance while theory was eroded and petrified and ideology became increasingly subject to dogma. There were many causes of this but the most significant one was the growing dominance of policy. The most important question one can ask here is whether this dominance finds confirmation in Marxist theory and whether it is confirmed in the manner defined by the ideology of socialism." "Theoreticians," continued J. Lipiec, "increasingly concurred on the second and third plan but the demand for their work continuously decreased. Theory could develop only within certain bounds set by politicians and the same was true for ideology. Ideological plans piously propounded through the years became a brake on the growth and expression of common needs."

#### **Crisis of Ideology?**

A very interesting diagnosis of the state of modern Marxism was given by Stanislaw Rainko. Presenting the weaknesses of today's Marxist thought, he also expressed his belief that the time is coming when its theoretical silence will be ended. Further support is offered not by the internal possibilities for the growth of Marxism but by real progress in various areas of science.

The question of Marxism as an ideology looks somewhat different as the crisis is much more discernible outlines here.

"In the worker's movement," said S. Rainko, "we must deal with a far-advanced practical and ideological ferment manifested among other things by Eurocommunism. The societies of real socialism can note outstanding and undeniable achievements but their developments also exhibited signs of difficulty and retardation. Everything indicates that these difficulties are not coincidental in nature but are actually associated with the need to evaluate the entire system of our current economic, political, and social practices. In connection with the processes of scientific and technical revolution, the composition of character of the working class is also changing. There has emerged a new type of hired worker who falls within both the class of technicians and engineers as well as of scientific workers whose place of employment is industrial institutes and laboratories. There are some important shifts occurring within the labor force whose value is determined by element of long-term and complex education as well as its intellectual predisposition. Some say that this is actually the emergence of a new working class.

"Therefore, some have openly begun to ask what ideological function Marxism can have in meeting the needs of the modern world.

"Marxism has not ceased by any means to be a great and important ideology of modern times or a factor in our hopes. However, these phenomena must be a challenge to the entire communist movement. Indeed, real solutions can only be attained through practice and that means new practice because that is what is demanded by our changing times and the future.

"Whatever is not beneficial for Marxism as an ideology," continues S. Rainko, "can however have value to Marxism as a theory. Outwardly, that may seem to be a paradox. In essence, the need to analyze the sources of crisis, seek solutions and anticipate new roads for growth are powerful incentives to Marxist thought. At one time, these were also the sources of Leninism.

### The Same but Not Quite the Same

From the presented discussion between Marxist theorists and ideologues, I have obviously selected only a few themes that I found most interesting even if they were the most subjective. There were still quite a few other interesting statements. As an example of one of these, I would like to quote the idea expressed by Adam Lopatka in his report on Marxism-Leninism's attitude toward religion, churches, and religious people, an idea that expands upon Engel's thesis that religion is an expression of people's helplessness against the forces that rule them. "In the socialist countries," he noted, "there continues to emerge both natural and social causes of religion. One such social cause is the helplessness of many people in the face of bureaucratic excess and distortion."

Many speakers like J. Barrios of El Salvador discussing the experiences of communist parties in Latin America stressed that their present work to transform reality must be accompanied by an adequate reconstruction of a philosophy of reality that preserves the integrity of Marxism and socialism by not undermining their foundations. At the same time, certain characteristics of Marxism and socialism must also change along with reality.

"There exists a need to reconstruct our formulations," said Ladislav Tomasek of Czechoslovakia, "or update Leninist principles of understanding social reality. The reconstruction of Marxism-Leninism does not imply any negation of the basic elements of its structure or values but just the opposite—it is a fulfillment of its real and full substance, a call to serve people, socialism and the cause of revolution and to abandon dogmatism and its product, the abstraction of theory from practice.

"The personality of socialism is determined by a growth dynamic based on the principle of the agreement between the nature of productive forces and the relationship between production and social fairness.

Much attention was devoted to the question of the conflicts that occur within a socialist social formation. "This is a matter of the 'decongestion' of conflicts," said S.V. Kolesnikov, "that are the basic element of hindrance mechanisms and also one of the creation of a clear and efficient mechanism for accelerating progress and improving social efficiency through extensive activation of the public."

Today, there are many such discussions, both international and domestic, of Marxism as theory and ideology. The efforts to achieve creative growth of Marxism-Leninism are everywhere accompanied by the belief that the present crisis within the socialist formation offers new horizons and gives theoretical thought a new impulse comparable in strength to that of 70 years ago.

12261/06662

### Minister Addresses Youth Activists, PZPR Members Leaving Military 26000020b Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 24 Sep 87 pp 1, 5

[Text] They are still soldiers today after a 2-year military service in National Air Defense Forces units, but after a dozen or so days the reservists will return to their families. Many of them will be going to their first jobs, and others will be returning to places where they were employed prior to being called up for the military.

In the course of 2 years, as time passed from the moment they first stepped through the barracks doors they became experienced soldiers, able not only to operate

modern equipment and to perform independently a responsible battle task which was repeatedly assigned to them during training exercises and tours of battle duty or at firing ranges.

The best of them, leading ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] politically active members and attaining very good evaluations in the process of combat training, were accepted into the ranks of the PZPR during their military service.

Among those who, leading in service, training, and work, deserved a word of social recognition were ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] Directorate member of the first OPK [National Air Defense] plm unit "Warszawa," PZPR candidate Pfc Kazimierz Karwowski. Fulfilling the function of an equipment mechanic, he always attained very good evaluations in his work; Pfc Slawomir Blaszkę from the air unit always met the obligations of a senior radio mechanic in exemplary fashion, setting a good example for his younger colleagues. He attained the second class of military specialist and earned the bronze WZ [Model Soldier] badge and the gold WOSF badge. He also fulfilled the duties of a squad commander, which he performed adequately. Chosen "leading soldier of the month" several times, he is the best reader and sports organizer in the unit at the garrison; Senior Cpl Robert Suralinski from the rocketry unit has the bronze "Model Commander" badge and bronze WZ [Model Soldier] badge, and is also a military specialist, a DSS [Socialist Service Team] squad commander, who distinguished himself at sharpshooting at a firing range in the USSR.

Minister of Youth Affairs Aleksander Kwasniewski met with soldiers, PZPR members, and PZPR candidates going into the reserves. A representative of the OPK [National Air Defense] Military command, Gen Tadeusz Jemiolo, was present.

During a direct conversation with participants in the meeting, of which the main goal was to acquaint them with basic normative documents resulting from resolutions on the essential participation of youth in the state, social, economic, and cultural life of the country, Minister Kwasniewski addressed himself to these problems which are virtually interesting to all adult youth, including those in the military. Among other things he discussed the material situation, questions of employment and housing, and problems of youth, especially of gifted ones, and rest and recreation.

Addressing himself to question concerning activities of youth organizations in the country, the minister highly evaluated the maturity and principled attitudes shown by members of the Polish Army youth organization, which always is in the vanguard of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] youth aktiv.

Wishing the meeting participants an auspicious start in their independent life and work in the civilian sector, the minister emphasized that successful implementation of the second stage of economic reform depends in large measure on the active participation of young people in these processes.

13324/12232

#### **PZPR Members Fined, Removed**

*26000042d Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 40, 4 Oct 87 p 2*

[Text] The PZPR control-revisory committees examined close to 3,890 cases in the first half of 1987. They fined over 1,000 party members of whom 176 were removed from the PZPR ranks. Forty-six percent of those fines imposed were for violation of ethical norms binding party members, and over 44 percent for inefficiency and waste. The committee also threw out the cases of 201 comrades for lack of evidence.

13090/12232

#### **Party Activities Calendar 17-30 August 1987**

*26000038a Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 18 Sep 87 p 21*

[Text]

#### **Party Chronicle, 17-30 August 1987**

##### **Political Bureau Meetings**

18 August. The Politburo met with representatives of the OPZZ [National Confederation of Trade Unions] and government to discuss the status of social and domestic activities in places of work and especially work safety and conditions and worker health care.

The Politburo also learned about the course of a meeting between the chairman of the Council of State and initiators of the brigade work system and the conclusions reached at that meeting.

##### **Conferences and Meetings**

18 August. Politburo Members and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski received a visit from representatives of the International Federation of Philosophical Societies led by the federation chairman, Venant Cauchy.

Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek received a visiting Soviet group of leaders of agro-industrial complexes, kolkhozes, associations of agro-industrial districts and central agricultural management organs. The director of the Central Committee Agricultural Department, Kazimierz Grzesiak, also took part in this meeting.

19 August. First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received a visit from Azonhiho Martin Dobon, member of the Benin People's Revolutionary Party Politburo and minister of agriculture of Benin. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek was also present.

20 August. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek received a delegation of the Chinese People's Society for Peace and Disarmament with its vice-chairman, Ou Tangliang. Professor Hieronim Kubiak, chairman of the National Peace Committee, and Chinese Ambassador Pei Yuanying were also present.

21 August. Politburo Member, Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission Jozef Czyrek received a delegation from the America Council for Commemoration of the Holocaust which had come to Poland for an international academic conference devoted to the death camps of Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka.

#### In Party Instances and Organizations

19 August. Politburo Member and OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz visited the 16,000-man work force of the Starachowice Truck Factory.

21 August. Politburo Member and Defense Minister General of the Army Florian Siwicki met with participants of the "Vanguard of the 21st Century" camp at Wenecja in [illegible word] in Bydgoszcz Voivodeship.

26 August. Central Committee Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek took part in ceremonies [illegible words].

27 August. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek visited the participants to a ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] camp for working-class youth at Wilkasy in Suwalki Voivodeship.

Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk met with participants to the "Vanguard of the 21st Century" camp at Sielpi near Konskie in Kielce Voivodeship.

Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek visited Zulawy to learn about the state of the harvest.

30 August. In several cities, ceremonies were held for the promotion of graduates of higher officer's schools. In Lublin, the officer promotion ceremony at the Colonel Boleslaw Kowalski Signal Troops Higher Officer's School was conducted by Politburo Member and Defense Minister General Florian Siwicki.

Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla paid a 2-day working visit to Bydgoszcz where he learned about the harvest work being done at state agricultural farms and private farms and visited agricultural service establishments. The Central Committee secretary also met with participants to the "Vanguard of the 21st Century" camp and future students of the Higher Party School on Charzykowskie Lake.

#### Interparty Cooperation

25 August. First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski sent a congratulatory note to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the German Socialist Unity Party [SED] and chairman of the council of State of the German Democratic Republic, on the occasion of his 75th birthday.

25-28 August. Poland was visited by a delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee's Administrative Organs Department under its director, N. Savkin. The delegation was received by Politburo Member and Internal Affairs Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak and Central Committee Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek.

28 August. Ernest Kucza, director of the PZPR Central Committee Foreign Department, visited the German Democratic Republic. During a meeting with Guenter Siber, director of the Internal Relations Department of the German Socialist Unity Party's Central Committee, the state of realization of PZPR-SED cooperation and plans for 1988-89 were discussed. Ernest Kucza was also received by SED Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Werner Welfe.

12261/06662

#### Organizational Efficiency, Finances Discussed

26000042f Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
30 Sep 87 p 2

[Text] The results to date in reviewing social organizations, particularly those financed by the state budget, were discussed on 28 September in Warsaw. The discussion occurred during a meeting of chairmen of provincial ad hoc committees within the framework of the party-state commission for reviewing economic and state organizations.

13090/12232

#### Warsaw Garrison Hosts Grunwald Committee Meeting

26000020a Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish  
17 Sep 87 pp 1, 5

[Text] Recapitulating the course of Grunwald Tradition Week and adopting the organizational institutions and tasks of financing competitions held by the All-Polish Grunwald Committee were the main subjects of the

conference of the OKG [All-Polish Grunwald Committee] Commission for popularizing the Grunwald Tradition, which met on 16 September in the DWP [House of the Polish Army] Capital Garrison Club, "Behind the Iron Gate." The meeting was conducted by the first deputy minister of culture and art, Jerzy Bajdor.

Compared with last year, this year's Grunwald Tradition Week was richer in contents and organizational ventures, as emphasized during the meeting. The form of the athletic meets was improved, emphasizing especially the modern aspects of the Grunwald tradition, its ancillary function in the implementation of national duties, and the connection of the tradition with strengthening European security, especially in the context of Soviet and Polish peace initiatives.

Among these tasks was joining in the program of celebrations for the 45th anniversary of the People's Guard. The most important competition of this cycle was the All-Polish "Trail of History and Glory" youth relay race, held on the Polichno-Grunwald route. Nearly 12,000 boys and girls ran in it. More than 60,000 persons participated in concurrent voivodship athletic meets having varied and attractive programs.

Many undertakings had an educational or cognitive character. Members of the OKG [All-Polish Grunwald committee] Presidium and young men from the Order of the Grunwald Cross took part in the many camps and summer camps of the Grunwald Jamboree scouting campaign. There was a patriotic demonstration in the Grunwald fields and a joint parade by the Warminko-Mazurski Banner ZHP [Polish Scout Union] and soldiers from the Warsaw OW [military district], summing up the scholastic and educational achievements of WOW [Warsaw Military District] youth organizations.

Also emphasizing this is the fact that during the 16th Central Rally of the Polish Army Touring Aktiv, which met in Olsztyn and on the fields of Grunwald, an appeal was made to all PTTK [Polish Tourist and Local Students Society] members in the military that they celebrate the year commemorating the 45th anniversary of the people's WP [Polish Army] with intensive sightseeing activity and popularization of the Grunwald idea, connecting it with the tradition of the liberation of Berlin in 1945.

With the approval of commission members this year's new ventures met in Krakow, among other places, where on the initiative of the PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] and with the participation of PRON they implemented their own rich program of celebrations, including a demonstration before the Jagiello monument. Holding sports competitions, including a marathon race along the Grunwald-Olsztyn route or a soccer tournament for youth teams, was also announced.

At the next point in the meeting organizational institutions and bases for financing competitions popularizing the Grunwald tradition in scientific research and architectural conservation of the Grunwald fields and paths were introduced, as were commissions for works in the domain of literature, music, theater, film, and applied art.

In the course of discussion a succession of valuable proposals and supplements to the project under consideration by the OKG [All-Polish Grunwald Committee] Presidium was made. These observations, including those dealing with financial questions and aimed at interesting a wide variety of social strata and groups, including Polonia, in the competition, concern those connected with culture and art.

13324/12232

**Abuse of Bureaucratic Privilege Subject to Fine**  
*26000042b Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 38, 20 Sep 87 p 2*

[Text] General Arms Czeslaw Kiszak announced that bureaucrats who abuse their position, neglect their responsibilities or commit crimes will be subject to a fine. Lieutenant Jan Burszewski, from the Provincial Office of Internal Affairs in Konin, recently was found in violation of the principle of professional ethics. While driving under the influence of alcohol, he struck a pedestrian who had the right of way. Authorities have begun proceedings to arrest Senior Sargeant Stanislaw Mijas from the Traffic Department in Szczecin. She was accepting bribes in exchange for returning driver's licenses taken away from drunk drivers.

13090/12232

**Academic Competitive Scholarships Available**  
*26000042a Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 38, 20 Sep 87 p 2*

[Text] New rules on awarding scholarships to students will go into effect on 1 October 1987. Scholarship amounts have been increased from 8,400 zloty to 10,000 zloty. At the same time, each student, from the second year on, who has passed all his courses and attained a grade point average of no less than 3.7, will continue to receive a scholarship for good academic achievement, irrespective of whether he is already receiving a socialist scholarship. Formerly, such a scholarship amounted to a sum between 2,520 and 5,880 zloty, while the present sum will range from 3,000 to 7,000 zloty. 13090/12232

**Subscription Satellite TV Considered**  
*26000042h Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 87 p 2*

[Text] Various types of subscriptions for various products is nothing new. This time, however, there is a proposal concerning satellite dishes for satellite TV reception.

An offer to deliver and install equipment for individual program reception was announced by the Electronics Engineering-Trade Center "Unitra-Serwis" in accordance with the Universal Electronic Equipment Research and Development Center, the State Teletransmitting Institutes "Telkom," the Foreign Trade Enterprise [PHZ] "Unitra," PTP "Unitra-Unitech," and the Warsaw Television Enterprises "Unitra-WZT."

Different design types are being offered. The basic model would consist of a satellite dish (1.5 meters in diameter) with stand and radiator, a single converter allowing for satellite signal reception, and a hand-operated tuner.

The estimated cost of the basic model will run somewhere in the vicinity of 300,000 zloty plus 300 dollars. Hard currency is essential in importing certain parts. Some of these parts must be imported from abroad until their production is possible in Poland.

The subscription fees were imposed in order that delivery be completed by the first half of 1988. It is currently projects that there is demand for 2,000 sets, although some suggest that demand will be greater.

The forementioned enterprises signed an agreement which refers to the production of Polish equipment after 2 years of subscriptions. "Telkom" is making preparations for the production of converters, "Unitra-Unitech" for the production of satellite dishes, and the Warsaw television Enterprises would begin producing tuners.

This attempt at stopping the flow of hard currency to foreign firms is interesting because the production of parts in Poland will make the total system less expensive.

13090/12232

## POLAND

### Senior Officials Target Youth in Military Career Publicity Drive

26000024b Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish  
28 Sep 87 pp 1, 5

[Article by Captain Leszek Ziolo: "With Youth Recommendation to the Reserves—They Return More Committed, Mature and Effective"]

[Text] (Own information) For the fourth time for several days before the latest class of enlisted troops go into the reserves, the directors of the National Defense Ministry invited to Warsaw the leading soldiers from all military districts and branches of service. Service and training headmen, exemplary soldiers and company commanders and ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] activists met with General of Arms Wlodzimierz Oliwa, chief quartermaster of the Polish Army and vice-minister of national defense, and Rear Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski, first deputy chief of the Polish Army Chief Political Directorate.

Also present were Brigadier General Marian Wroblewski, the deputy commander of the Warsaw Military District and district quartermaster, and Colonel Krzysztof Owczarek, deputy commander for political affairs in the Warsaw Military District. Captain Zbigniew Ciereszko, chairman of the Polish Army Youth Council also participated.

At the beginning of the meeting, the first deputy director of the Polish Army Chief Political Directorate said that the directors of the National Defense Ministry attach enormous importance to conversations with those who have fulfilled their civic duty in an exemplary manner. This is an important means of learning what soldiers completing their service think about everything that allows them to make effective use of their time in uniform.

In their responses, the soldiers (and more than 200 future reservists spoke up) brought up many important matters including the organization of training, disciplinary practice, living conditions in their units and the introduction of new elements to the soldier's ceremonial. They said that they are returning to civilian life as more mature individuals both spiritually and physically and with good civilian preparation.

Many of them had an opportunity to improve their vocational skills in the military and all gained experience working with other people, leading groups and in the good organization of work. Staff Corporals Dariusz Lawniczak and Adam Maksymiuk and Staff Sergeant Piotr Kosciarz spoke about this.

Much discussion was devoted to the role of the youth organization in units and subunits. Sharing their own experiences, ZSMP activists and party members said

that while in the army, they had gained the skills necessary for social work and that these skills should bear fruit in civilian establishments and institutions. Most of the meeting's participants were soldiers who had received a youth recommendation for work in ZSMP instances and circles as well as in public organizations.

The outgoing reservists listened attentively to what General of Arms Wlodzimierz Oliwa had to say about the value offered a young person by the hard and arduous school of military service, the ties of brotherhood forged during this service, civil maturity, independence and courage in making decisions. These are valuable traits for a person in any social environment and circumstances.

The general assured those present that their opinions about the course of their service, their recommendations and their views about how to improve the training process would all be considered in any decisions concerning the planning and organization of military life. The chief quartermaster of the Polish Army gave specific answers to questions raised during the discussion. He warmly congratulated these exemplary troops for their service achievements and wished them success in their civilian life and jobs.

The meeting's participants received letters of praise and souvenirs.

The Polish Army Youth Council took advantage of the visit of these activists and exemplary troops to acquaint them with the history of Warsaw. They visited the Polish Army Museum, Old Town and some new neighborhoods and saw some films. Furthermore, they also attended an uncommonly enriching meeting with the chairman of the Executive Board of the ZSMP, Jerzy Szmajdzinski, and members of the ZSMP leadership.

These soldier-headmen also lay wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and at the foot of the Kosciuszko Monument in Praga.

It is worth adding that after returning to their own units, these soldiers shared their impressions of the Warsaw visit with their colleagues. This was an occasion for deeper thought about what military service brings to the life of a young person.

Our representatives asked participants of this meeting to say what they thought about this subject.

Corporal Mariusz Weglerski from a railway and road construction unit: "I did my part in the construction of several bridges. The last one was over the Olza River in Cieszyn. These 2 years taught me to believe in myself and showed me that I can lead people. These are important and invaluable life experiences...."



Corporal Wieslaw Rybski from a unit of the Kosciuszko First Motor-Rifle Division: "I gained a lot of experience in social work. While I was in the army, I joined the PZPR and I saw from close up how the party organization works. I was invited to the 4th Central Committee Plenum. I am glad that I received a recommendation for work in the ZSMP. I will use my army experiences working at the Military Directorate of the ZSMP in Tarnow."

Corporal Zbigniew Glowacz of an aviation unit: "That was not wasted time for me at all. And I say that with total conviction although, like many of my colleagues, I did not have many opportunities to perfect my civilian vocation. I think that I prepared myself well for the role of soldier and that seems to be the most important thing. Furthermore, the army is a unique chance to learn how to live with others...."

Corporal Grzegorz Okrent from a unit of the Silesian Military District: "I agree with Zbigniew. Thanks to the army, I found an entirely new role in life. It turned out that I was one of the organizers of cultural life in my unit. I considered becoming a professional cultural organizer

and in June, I passed an examination for cultural studies at Silesian University and in a few days, I will take part in a ceremonial matriculation."

Staff Mate Jerzy Klawka from a naval technical group: "I seems I am a little different from what I was 2 years ago. What sort of person am I? Definitely more independent and mature. I have my own opinion about many things and I can, as they say, tell the grain from the chaff. Indeed, military was not always a piece of cake but the school that it provided was a valuable foretaste of independent life."

Corporal Jaroslaw Tomaszewski from a unit of the Pomeranian Military District: "I belong to the group of reservists for whom military service broadened their professional horizons. I am an electronics specialist and worked on the most modern equipment. That has turned out to be useful not only to myself. At my old job, they will receive me with open arms now that I've had such experience. In my ZSMP circle, they too will find nothing to complain about. I know how to work, how to get others involved, organize something interesting and propose unconventional ways of spending free time."

12261/06662

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### Comprehensive Wholesale Price Restructuring Discussed

24000028b Prague *HOSPODARSKE NOVINY* in Czech  
20 Nov 87 p 4

[Article by Eng Jan Klak, Technical and Economic Research Institute for Consumer Goods Industries, Prague: "Do We Measure Consistently?"]

[Text] All nationwide wholesale price adjustments that have been implemented to date have been motivated by the goal of standardizing the capital replacement environment for all socialist manufacturers. In addition, a majority of these adjustments were necessitated by the need to concentrate critical amounts of existing capital investment resources in order to implement central agency strategies for the development and restructuring of our national economy. The comprehensive wholesale price restructuring scheduled for 1989 contains a new, qualitatively different factor, in that one of its main objectives is to set a foundation for self-finance, full cost accounting, and the implementation of economic programs by state enterprises. An article by Minister Michal Sabolcik in *HOSPODARSKE NOVINY* No 39/1987, entitled Prices—A Standard and Mechanism for Manufacturers, Users, and Society, treats this nationwide price adjustment as the starting point for restructuring the economic mechanism. Even after reading this article it remains my opinion that two fundamental questions remain unresolved related to comprehensive wholesale price restructuring. One is the type of price to be used. Second and most important is that we have still not determined the profit margin that will be incorporated into these new prices. This is a critical issue for our long term economic development prospects.

The price formation methodology for comprehensive wholesale price restructuring contains two important elements not yet a part of economic practice. The first is an increase in payroll taxes from 20 to 50 percent. The second is the introduction of a uniform profit margin for all economic branches equal to 4.5 percent of production assets.

The need for higher payroll taxes is absolutely clear. The long term social costs of labor force replacement have simply been much higher than the resources so far generated to support it. It is well known that total taxes related to the work force in industrially advanced countries can be up to 70 percent of the nominal wage, and that the wage costs involved in pricing calculations are 10-20 percent higher than ours. This understandably is reflected in work force management policies, as well as in requirements for the introduction and application of new techniques and technologies.

One may not, however, make a similar conclusion regarding the justification for a uniform profit margin based on capital assets. In both historical terms and in

terms of the current capital replacement environment in specific industrial sectors this requirement has no economic justification, and even has some potential negative implications for our economy as a whole.

### The Impact of Profit Margins

From a practical standpoint, linking profits to capital assets grants a priori advantages to capital intensive production sectors. It takes no account of the fact that numerous production technologies do not allow for the further expansion of mechanized or computerized production processes. These include the foodstuff, clothing, and utility glass industries, where there are no prospects at all for increased mechanization or computerization, as well as industries such as leatherworking where the skill levels of the work force do not permit increased mechanization or computerization. In contrast, the traditionally capital intensive sectors include power generation, the branches of the metallurgy and chemical industries implementing continuous technologies, heavy engineering, and the construction materials production sectors.

As currently defined by the price formation agencies, capital assets are the sum of capital equipment and inventories. Inventories are not an important factor in final profit levels, because they averaged for all production sectors in 1985 only about 16 percent of the value of the capital stock. The primary consideration in profit formation, then, are capital assets, which are tied to production by the depreciation calculation included in cost estimates.

Data available in the 1986 CSSR Statistical Yearbook, after certain adjustment, allow us to quantify depreciation as a percentage of processing costs. This provides a simplified expression of the different structures of production factors in different industrial sectors. This data shows that depreciation charges as a percent of processing costs ranged in 1985 from 6.52 percent in the custom clothing industry to 54.86 percent in the power generation sector, with a national average of 21.89 percent. This wide distribution of branch capital intensiveness shows that there are objective differences in capital requirements based on the technologies involved in the production of a given product.

The range of rates of return on production assets in 1985 is almost as wide as the range of capital intensiveness. Again based on 1986 CSSR Statistical Yearbook figures branch returns ranged from 0.94 percent for the power generation sector to 19.14 percent for the custom clothing industry, with a national average of 6.59 percent. This reflects in part the fact that capital intensive industries usually have lower rates of return than labor intensive sectors. In addition to potential differences in efficiency the natural explanation for this phenomenon is that profits and return on assets figures reflect the functioning of both capital equipment and labor. If profit margins are set based on only one of these factors,

then profit margins will decline as the factor chosen as the basis for profit calculations increases as a percentage of the cost structure of the industry in question.

### Redistributing Capital Investment Resources

Establishing a uniform profit margin at 4.5 percent of capital assets represents a sharp change from current practice and will result in a fundamental redistribution of existing capital investment resources. The decline in the average profit margin from 6.59 percent to 4.5 percent translates into the loss by industry of about Kcs 31.2 billion. Most of this reduction will occur in those sectors where the return on capital is now the highest. This means that the most serious impact will fall on the electrotechnical industry, light industry (currently including the glass and ceramics, textiles, custom clothing, leatherworking, and printing industries), and general engineering. These branches will experience a decline of more than 50 percent in their 1985 profit margins. The most serious impact will be on the custom clothing industry, which will see its profit level reduced to 20 percent of its 1985 level, and leatherworking, which will have a profit level of 33 percent of its 1985 figure.

Implementing a uniform profit margin will work to the advantage of the power generation sector. At current levels, it would mean an additional Kcs 5.1 billion in profits in addition to the current level of Kcs 1.4 billion. Firms in the paper and cellulose branch would also experience increased profit margins. The construction materials, glass, fuels, and metallurgical sectors would have lower profit margins but the declines would be relatively minor.

Given the above information, one must pose the question of how less capital intensive industries will be able to invest at all after such a restructuring of wholesale prices. Because wholesale prices for 1989 have been calculated to cover wage and materials costs, this question covers mainly capital asset replacement and the ability to comply with transfer payment obligations to the state budget.

Resource formation for simple capital asset replacement should be provided by depreciation charges, provided that these charges are applied directly to capital asset acquisition. If, however, depreciation charges are applied over the long term to other accounts than the capital account, individual sectors will eventually have capital stocks with differing degrees for obsolescence, depending on what the allocation priorities of those sectors have been. Under these conditions both economic theory and experience indicate that once more than 50 percent of an organization's capital stock has become obsolete, that entity will not be capable of even simple capital asset replacement from depreciation alone. Once this limit has been reached, then, the allocation of existing capital investment resources to investment uses, becomes an essential requirement for the

further economic existence of that production organization. The urgency and scope of this requirement increases in proportion to any increase in branch obsolescence or shortening in the turnover period for capital assets.

A database maintained by the Federal Statistical Office [FSU] makes it possible to determine the level of capital asset obsolescence in specific industrial sectors and its rate of increase or decrease. Because machinery has the most direct impact on the production process of all capital assets, we restricted our calculation of obsolescence level to these assets. Results show that in 1985 sectoral machinery obsolescence levels ranged from 45.7 percent in the paper and cellulose industries to 67.4 percent in the printing industry. The average level of obsolescence for all of industry increased from 50.3 percent in 1975 to 57.3 percent in 1985 (index of 1.1392).

### Capital Replacement Priorities

The branches with the highest levels of obsolescence, levels that are increasing rapidly, include in addition to the printing industry, the chemical industry (64.1 percent), the textile industry (63.2 percent), the construction materials industry (61.7 percent), and the leatherworking industry (61.6 percent). One may add the custom clothing industry to this group, because 59.7 percent of its machinery in 1985 was obsolete. In addition to the paper industry the branches with the lowest obsolescence levels were the freezing and cooling equipment industry (48.1 percent) and the power generation sector (50.7 percent).

The other important consideration in determining capital replacement needs over time is the turnover period, i.e., the period of time after which a piece of equipment is considered to have lost its functionality, and therefore should be replaced. This is important because equipment with short replacement cycles require the creation of greater amounts of investment resources over time than equipment with a longer useful life. The FSU database cited above also permits the calculation of interbranch comparisons of turnover periods for machinery and equipment in 5-year averages since 1971.

These data show that machinery and equipment turnover periods differ widely between branches and have very different rates of change. For the 1971-1975 period the average turnover period ranged from 12.9 years in the custom clothing industry to 40.1 years in ferrous metallurgy. Comparison of 5-year averages shows that average machine turnover period is lengthening gradually. This shows that firms are postponing capital replacement and that R&D results are being implemented at declining rates.

This general slowdown in machinery replacement rates occurred mainly in the Seventh 5-Year Plan. The industries most severely affected were the textile industry

(with a turnover period 2.1457 times longer in 1985 than in 1971), the custom clothing industry (a turnover period 1.8062 times as long) and the leatherworking industry (a turnover period 1.7310 times as long). Almost all capital equipment manufacturers and the fuel and power complex experienced only minimal increases in the turnover period. In the ferrous metallurgy sector the replacement cycle for machinery even declined (in 1985 it was 0.8653 times as long as in 1971). Because the useful life of the machinery in light industry is so much shorter than average, and because capital investment needs have been postponed for so long, there is an urgent need to differentiate standard profit margins, and to allow branches of light industry to have higher profit percentages.

#### Differentiation Based on Industry Structure

To sum up, the available facts lead to the following conclusions.

1. During the capital replacement process profits result from the effective management of all production factors. Theoretically there is absolutely no justification for deriving profit margins and establishing relative prices solely on the basis of capital asset valuations.

2. Different industrial branches have different structures of production factors. Linking profits solely to capital assets usually grants advantages to sectors where capital assets account for much of the value of the products of that sector.

3. Setting a uniform profit margin of 4.5 percent will result in a fundamental redistribution of profits compared with the current situation, to the advantage again of capital intensive industries. For most branches of light industry, the level of capital replacement resources provided by this level of profits, after compliance with transfer payment responsibilities to the state budget, will push most firms to the economic minimum of simple replacement, and in many cases below this minimum.

4. Currently, most branches of light industry, the chemical and construction materials industry, already have an excessively high percentage of obsolete machinery, and this percentage is increasing rapidly.

5. Shorter replacement cycles for machinery and equipment in light industrial sectors requires higher than average rates of generation of capital investment resources in all branches of the processing industries.

In general we may conclude that despite a number of positive elements, the current form of the wholesale price restructuring program for 1989 will not result in the necessary economic environment for the implementation of the Principles for Restructuring the Economic Mechanism after 1990. On the contrary, it is probable that a uniform profit margin calculated based on capital asset value will disrupt in a major way the application of the principles of self-finance and full cost accounting in

light industry, as well as in other branches of industry, if we are to understand this principle as self-finance based on enhanced capital replacement.

This means that we still need to restructure wholesale prices in a way that will create a common economic environment for all state enterprises. The most important problem remains profit margins, and the choice of a base for determining profits. If capital assets alone remain the basis for this determination, then at a minimum we need to set different standard profit margins for each branch of industry. To assure objective valuation of production factors, we must take an inventory of all capital assets, then revalue all items in this inventory based on common standards. If this is not possible, then at least educated estimates of these values should play a role in calculated profit margins.

9276/9274

## HUNGARY

### Problems With Taxes, VAT After Only Three Weeks in Effect

23000043b Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER  
ALLGEMEINE in German 12 Jan 88 p 4

[Article by Jacqueline Henard: "Hungarians Are Struggling With Economic Recovery Measures"]

[Text] Budapest, 11 January—For the Hungarians, the new year started just about as badly as they had expected. As of 1 January, three major programs to help get the economy back on track went into effect. Subsidies for basic foodstuffs were cut and at the same time a personal income tax and a general value-added tax was introduced—for the first time in a socialist country. The combined effect has been a rise in prices, confirming the fears of many who indulged in a veritable buying spree at year's end.

A high-ranking industry bureaucrat speaks of prices for 60,000 items which had to be changed overnight; another expert cites the figure 300,000. In many instances, private businesses in the suburbs and in the countryside did not complete their inventories or their calculations in time and therefore kept their doors closed throughout the first week of January. Hungarian television showed long lines of people waiting in front of stationery stores. The details of the new reform measures were announced at such a late date that the necessary vouchers, invoices and other bookkeeping items could not be printed in time.

Western businessmen in Hungary say that the authorities took their time working out the details. Under the circumstances, many plants have thus far been unable to work out their 1988 budgets. This also applies to joint

ventures with foreign partners. Since more liberal foreign trade regulations were also introduced on 1 January, there is a great deal of confusion with regard to foreign currency allotments, e.g. for purchases of spare parts.

The overall confusion these days is far greater than any clear understanding of the purpose these measures serve in promoting general welfare. This also applies to the plans for phasing out the government-tolerated so-called socialist workers associations which had developed to the detriment of the state economy. Factory workers were allowed to form associations and to take on better paid "special assignments" outside regular hours. For the most part, the wages for the first 8 hours of work were viewed as payment for mere presence on the job. Under the new income tax regulations, income from the second job is taxed so heavily that it hardly pays to take such jobs on. A printer, for example, will only have 35 forints net left from the 70 forints he grosses for working longer hours and that is less than he earns for a regular hour's work, i.e. 35 forints.

Industry will not be able to raise general wages substantially—at least not this year—to create enough of an incentive which might offset these measures. Any enterprise which raises wages by more than the 3 or 4 percent "suggested" by the state, will have to pay a stiff fine to the internal revenue service. "Those factories which fulfill their job using fewer workers," the Hungarian news agency writes, "may use the funds freed in the process as incentives for their employees." As part of the wage reform scheduled to take effect in 1989, the labor unions are said to be aiming for introduction of a kind of social partnership complete with wage bargaining procedures patterned after the Austrian model. But Hungary would not be Hungary if the tax loopholes were not already coming into view. Supplemental income from individual jobs amounting to less than 2,600 forints (i.e. just under DM 100 or about one-third of an average income) is not subject to the sliding tax scale but to a flat 20-percent tax. Many Hungarians cannot see how the 6,000 tax inspectors to be trained in 3-month courses will ever find their way through the maze of regulations. But it is not only the new income tax but also the three-step value-added tax (ranging from zero to 15 and 25 percent) that is full of surprises, as one hotel manager told us. There is no value-added tax on food; but there is a 25-percent tax on drinks and sweets. If a guest orders a dessert in the hotel restaurant, he does not have to pay value-added tax because desserts are considered food. But if he eats that same dessert in a pastry shop, it is subject to the 25-percent tax. So far, it has been impossible to program the central computer accordingly.

But there are more serious problems with the value-added tax as well. Thus, the Hungarians, notoriously short on foreign currency, failed to decide whether their hotels should pay commissions to foreign travel agents on the gross or the net price. Based on one particular calculation, the difference between the two amounts to 150 million forints a year—a sum of money Hungary could certainly use.

09478

## POLAND

### **Editorial Accents Military's Concerns About Economy's Management**

*26000023 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish  
10 Sep 86 pp 1, 5*

[Article by Major Marek Sieniawski: "The Military and the National Economy—An Interdependence"]

[Text] From a published communique about a session of the Sejm National Defense Commission, the readers were able to learn broadly that the military will continue to assist the country and that the assumptions of the Central Annual Plan 1988 have been assessed. We wish to examine more closely the issues that were reviewed by the Sejm deputies.

The opinion that was formulated by the commission within the framework of social consultation with regard to the Central Annual Plan assumptions, very strongly emphasizes the necessity of developing those areas of the national economy that have a significant meaning for national defense. Therefore, what is of particular importance is the development of the electrical-machine engineering industry, developmental-research work, the technological infrastructure, and the building industry. In sum, what is sought is such a treatment of these fields that would give greater impetus of the updating of products, the improving of economic structures, and the implementing of technological progress.

The necessity of exerting strong efforts in order to raise the quality of products was also stressed strongly. And this is not just a question of products intended for military use which are governed by very strict standards of quality. The country's defense system further depends on the kinds of economic mechanisms that will be in operation and whether effective solutions that would eliminate the industry's delay in introducing modern construction and technology will be taken up. That is why everything that is happening in the Polish economy cannot be indifferent to our military.

The directions of the modernization and development of the country's technological infrastructure are particularly important. This includes fields that are vitally connected to transportation, communication, the service-repair base, and the problems of environmental protection because not only is the present state of the outfitting of the military with combat equipment important but also the entire country's ability to strengthen its defensiveness.

During the deliberations of the commission, the Sejm deputies familiarized themselves with the presentations given by military specialists pertaining to the development of technology, logistics equipment, and the broad training-production activity of the armed forces for the benefit of national economy.

The need for raising the level of technology and increasing the production pace of the precision, electronics, and electrical-technological industries was emphasized very strongly. This is tied to the systematic development and improvement of, among other things, the means of communication and transmission equipment, automated command and management systems as well as radar and radio electronic equipment. This equipment has a very significant meaning not only for the defense potential but also has a wide application in many areas of the national economy.

The improvement of the quality of products manufactured for defense needs was also heavily accentuated. The necessity of highly efficient subassemblies and replacement parts supplied by industrial plants was pointed out. Another problem, which was brought to the attention of the sejm commission, concerns a change in the guidelines for setting prices in such a way that they [guidelines] would contain elements forcing the lowering of production costs. The issue of pressure exerted by producers from lower coproduction levels with regard to so-called foreign-exchange input as a condition for the acceptance of production orders [zamowienia] was also presented. These are, therefore, issues which are connected to the implementation of the second phase of the reform.

At the same time, many examples were presented indicating that the army not only draws on the resources of the national economy but also performs many services. Thus, in the technological research-developmental units more than 100 topics will be studied as in previous years, at the Technical Military Academy for the needs of the national economy. Among the most important are the fundamentals of laser technology development, laser equipment for the detection of the early stages of neoplasms and their treatment as well as for measuring the blood flow rate. Also worthy of attention is the computer flight simulator used in air traffic control training. The study on the chemical sources of light for mining rescue efforts and the elimination of postproduction toxic chemical agents is of importance. It is worth mentioning that repair-production military enterprises carry out repairs of motorized and aviation equipment for the national economy and within the framework of coproduction will provide accumulative value of more than 7 billion zloty of products.

The data presented by the specialists from the area of military technology were received with great interest. They [data] indicate that there exists a significant contribution by military institutions, within the framework of their powers, to the needs of the economy.

Information about the training-production activity of the armed forces for the benefit of the national economy was also met with great interest on the part of the commission. The participants in this training-production activity are soldiers from regional defense units, and from railroad and highway units as well as young men from OHP [Volunteer Work Brigades] Civil Defense squads. The soldiers' main efforts are directed toward helping agriculture, assisting the Department of Communication, Building, Metallurgy, and other industries. It is enough to give only a few data: this year, 1,800 km of railroad lines will be built and modernized; in Ciezyn, a bridge 148 meters in length will be built on the Olza River and in addition to this, 15 small bridges will solve the difficult transit systems in various regions of the country will also be built. The disassembly of a suspension bridge that is 580 meters in length on the Wisla River in Plock is a serious undertaking. Moreover, several thousand railroad junctions will be replaced. Soldiers are also participating in the repair work of the Poniatowski bridge and a railroad bridge in Torun, helping out in the modernization of railroad junctions, and in the construction of the Warsaw metro and the Polish segment of the "North-South" freeway. To this we should add the installation of cable lines in many regions of the country, participation in geophysical work in the Baltic as well as diving-rescue services during exploration for petroleum.

The work of the military in land improvement and recultivation in 14 provinces constitutes a separate chapter. This work primarily involves the rebuilding of levees (particularly along the Odra, Notec and Warta Rivers); the development of land improvement ditches and the renovation of embankments; the recultivation of grasslands; the clearing of shrubbery and rocks; and the building of farm roads and water reservoirs. The value of this year's work on behalf of agriculture will exceed 2.5 billion zloty. It is estimated that from every improved hectare, grain production will rise by approximately 6 quintals.

Why has the military taken up this work? This question is asked not only by the sejm deputies but also by many of our country's citizens. Let us, therefore, explain why. Thus, specialized enterprises refrain from taking up such work because of the lack of manpower and difficult terrain conditions. Recently, the deputies visited one of the land improvement sites worked on by soldiers. On the one hand, they were full of admiration of the soldiers' selfless work but expressed concern over the very low degrees of technology used in performing this work, particularly the lack of diggers that are manufactured in the country. It follows from the presented data that the reason for the shortage of equipment are strained coproduction ties. On this basis also, the commission formulated the assessment in which we read, among other things, that it expresses its appreciation for the active participation of the military in the implementation of various tasks and assistance provided for agriculture and at the same time, it sees the pressing need for the

improvement of the existing situation, i.e., the mechanization of the most difficult work by increasing the production and delivery of required equipment. According to the commission, this should be reflected in next year's plan.

From among the discussed issues, two more are worthy of emphasis since they are closely tied to the Central Annual Plan for 1988. From the analysis conducted by the WP [Polish Army] Main Logistics, it follows that the submitted and planned-in-advance needs pertaining to the housing construction industry and to the military in general as well as to repairs and materials supplies are not always implemented. Incomplete housing developments without a social infrastructure are also being turned over for use. Despite the shifting of a part of the building potential of military units to the housing construction, the shortage of quarters for those performing services in a given area is increasing. That is why the assessment of the commission with regard to this issue should be noted whereby concern is expressed over the implementation thus far of housing construction. It has been noted that the assumptions of the Central Annual Plan for 1988, do not present solutions to this important issue that would assure appropriate progress. Attention was called to the fact that the incomplete implementation by governors of housing construction plans for the military requires the taking on its this regard of more effective forms of action by the provincial echelons of state administration.

The commission also criticized the supply shortages of certain logistics equipment for the military. The economic, service as well as construction, trade and agricultural activity of the military is worthy of emphasis and was assessed approvingly by the deputies. This relieves the national economy to a great extent from services for the armed forces. At this point, it should be stressed that the extra efforts are usually made at the expense of the free time of the professional cadre and soldiers but with the full awareness of their purpose. With these additional responsibilities, military subunits and units are evaluated and made accountable in first place for their basic task which is preserving a high degree of combat readiness, a high standard of military training, and preparing the reserves for armed action.

The Sejm National Defense Commission was made thoroughly familiar with the military point of view on the defense issues in the Central annual Plan for 1988. Therefore, with such wealth of material the statements contained in the commission's assessment ought to be noted, namely that the army will continue to perform services for the national economy to no less a degree than last year and through this will reinforce the implementation of planned tasks.

9853/12232

### **Official Briefs General Staff on S&T Developments**

*26000026b Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 24 Sep 87 p 5*

[Text] (Own information) Taking into account the great interest of the cadre in the problems of science and technology, a meeting with Prof Wieslaw Grudzewski, undersecretary of state at the Office of Scientific-Technological Progress and Implementation, was held at the WP [Polish Army] General Staff Headquarters.

Minister Grudzewski presented the present state of science in the world as well as the international and domestic developmental determining factors of science and technology in the country. He also familiarized those gathered with the main research programs in the various sectors of the national economy as well as with many scientific-research studies conducted in cooperation with socialist block countries.

The professor devoted much attention to the application of the results of the studies by the economy and, particularly, to the new mechanisms involved in the implementation of government commissions [zamowienia] and in the functioning of innovative-implementational units.

These problems evoked the greatest interest and drew the attention of the listeners; the speaker gave thorough answers to the numerous questions asked.

9853/12232

### **NOT Organization Plays Active Role in Military, Defense Industries**

*26000026a Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 17 Sep 87 pp 1, 5*

[Interview with Brigadier General Jan Bobrowicz, chief of Military Technology Research and Development, by Major Marek Sieniawski]

[Text] [Question] The Commencing General Congress of Delegates of the Association of Polish Mechanical Engineers and Technicians will also be attended by its military members as well as delegates from circles operating in the defense industry. What is the current position of SIMP [Association of Polish Mechanical Engineers and Technicians] military circles?

[Answer] I wish to point out at the outset that our military mechanical engineers and technicians participate actively in many NOT [Main Technical Organization] scientific-technical associations. The SIMP brings together their greatest number. Its activity serves to preserve the professional fitness of the engineering-technical cadre through various forms of self-improvement and additional training. Despite being met with at times skeptic opinions, the SIMP inspires a large number of engineers to educational self-improvement work

which in turn has an impact on enterprise work forces where they [engineers] work according to their professional know-how and technical background. The particular role of SIMP for the armed forces and for the country's defense system comes from the specificity of combat measures and other types of military technology in which mechanical devices are dominant, although, structurally and functionally they are integrated with electronic system. The SIMP military circles assembly a several thousand member body of engineers and technicians in uniform. They function in the military units of all the various armed forces and services, in repair-production enterprises, military scientific-research institutions, the Military Technical Academy, and in all officers training schools that are technical in character.

[Question] What directions of activity does the association promote for the armed forces?

[Answer] Above all, there exists a great need for the active stand, experience and knowledge of engineers and technicians. That is why, organizing, training and improvement activity undertaken by the association is needed. Along with this, two areas of SIMP's defense commitments should be singled out: the defense industry and the armed forces themselves.

From its beginning and in the more than 60 years of its activity, the association has directed its main organizational activity at creating conditions for the development of industry, new technologies and constructions as well as organizational progress and work safety. Influence by way of the executive authorities of the NOT federation was at the basis of many positive changes in industry and in the military.

[Question] Is this one of the ways in which conditions for research-developmental and production progress were created, thus enabling the successive modernization of the army's technical outfitting?

[Answer] The trend of SIMP activity, which is closely tied to the defense industry, and the development of armaments and other technical equipment for the military and for national defense, requires particular emphasis and distinction among its achievements thus far. Begun during the between-war period, it [SIMP defense activity] served the development of COP, i.e., the Central Industrial District, the development of new Polish weapons designs and military hardware during the years preceding the outbreak of World War II. During the years of rebuilding after the war and the development of the defense industry, the members of SIMP including outstanding professors, production organizers, enterprise directors, design engineers and technologists participated in studies on the development of armaments and military hardware production.

[Question] Today, the army is, above all, the consumer of various technical systems and equipment and a giant school for technical education. For this reason, SIMP circles have an appreciative field of action in this respect.

[Answer] The activity of these circles is geared to a great extent toward perfecting the system of equipment use, assuring its technical performance and complete combat readiness as well as its fully efficient utilization in accordance with the parameters assumed by designers and manufacturers. In addition to this, I would like to call attention to the very close interrelationship between the association movement of military engineers and technicians, and inventive creativity. This is expressed in the large-scale participation of SIMP members in the young Technical Masters Competition [Turniej Młodych Mistrzów Techniki], in innovation and invention commissions at all levels of military organization, and in instructional and training work in military schools and units. Many innovators of merit are among them.

[Question] How should the most important problems facing the military SIMP's be formulated currently?

[Answer] Above all, we must find the right answer to many question: How to make the best use of the knowledge and skills of every scientist, engineer and technician in everyday work? How to raise the professional qualifications of the engineering-technical cadre? How to properly manage material resources, use equipment, make use of reserves, improve and activate inventive and innovative activity, and introduce quickly into practice the best solutions.

[Question] A variety of specific tasks arise from these questions which theoreticians and practitioners will have to solve from the defense point of view.

[Answer] The development of modern armaments systems depends on the technical and technological state and level of industry. Only then is it possible to set goals to be achieved through scientific-technological progress and tasks that can meet the demands of military systems of the 1990's.

The use of microoptoelectronics in military technical systems enables the achievement of great benefits in the quality and effectiveness of operation. In this regard, the SIMP is working in cooperation with the SEP [Association of Polish Electrical Engineers] whose circles in various military units also constitute an important element in association work. It should be added here that SEP like SIMP is completing preparations for the upcoming 24th Delegates General Congress which will take place between 24 and 27 September.

[Question] What are, in connection with this, the possibilities of supplying our armed forces with weapons and modern technical equipment?



[Answer] In general, three sources of weapons supplies for the military can be distinguished. First—the results of research and developmental work conducted in the country's own military and civilian scientific-research and research-developmental institutions. This brings new kinds and new designs of hardware for serial production implemented totally here at home [Poland].

We are also taking advantage of foreign licenses which enable the more rapid production of new weapons and equipment designs and supplying them to the military. In many cases this road is not just the simply copying of someone else's technical ideas. The purchased designs are enriched with our own creative input and are improved and modernized. And finally, we import ready products which we cannot manufacture in the country due to technical reasons or when this is economically unprofitable. However, even in this case we have many examples of improving purchased designs.

I wish to add that the modern ideas contained in military technology penetrate into the national economy. Often they contribute to an improvement in the standard of manufacturing consumer goods through the broad use of technology, materials, constructive solutions as well as an increased level of cadre knowledge and qualifications.

[Question] The representatives of military SIMP circles undoubtedly have their own solution proposals and see the opportunity for a creative input in raising Poland's defensive power.

[Answer] The problems presented by me are actively discussed in the circles. Their members know that the solution of many problems gives results in the form of the better functioning of military units and their more complete combat readiness. However, this is also very important to the circles themselves. It contributes to the rank, position, and authority of the circles or association in the region of the military unit or higher level leadership.

All of our SIMP's know that to be effective every military technical system must make use of the achievements of various technological fields, from electronics, chemistry, metallurgy and other fields all the way to warfare agents. Predictions for the development of military technical systems are that there will be a continuation of the automation and complex functioning of various operations along with the use of elements of so-called artificial intelligence and a high degree of reliability, reaction speed and effectiveness of warfare activity.

Therefore, in the name of defense and the preservation of peace, within our power and in accordance with the defense doctrine of the Warsaw Pact nations, we must strengthen and develop the potential and the technical hardware of the PRL Armed Forces engaging scientific and military studies and the defense industry for this purpose.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the discussion.

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### **Defense Ministry, Industry Eye Naval R&D Problems**

26000026d Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish  
26-27 Sep 87 p 1

[Text] (Own information) A meeting of the Scientific-Technical MN [Ministry of National Defense] Council Presidium was held in Gdynia at the Higher Naval School and chaired by General of Arms Zbigniew Nowak, the chief WP [Polish Army] technology inspector general and deputy minister of national defense.

In addition to the regular members, the representatives of the commanding cadre of the Navy and the defense industry also participated in the meeting. The presidium reviewed the current tasks in the field of the development of military naval technology.

The implementation to date of research-developmental work in this field was assessed as were the tasks related to the outfitting of ships with modern equipment and other technical systems. The need was stressed for closer cooperation between the military and the defense industry for the full implementation of the plans for the development of their own studies and interallied cooperation in the execution of important tasks set in the plans of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact nations.

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### **Navy Awards for New Ideas on Procurement, Hardware**

26000026c Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish  
22 Sep 87 pp 1, 5

[Text] (Own information) Innovative thinking has particular value under conditions of economic reform. It is the physical as well as intellectual expression of management thinking and of a proper approach toward the materials base and supplies of the military. All the more that every year there is increasingly more modern equipment that frequently requires very specialized knowledge of those who service it.

The creative invention and innovation movement progressed well last year in the PRL Navy and every zloty expended for this purpose brought in a more than fortyfold return.

At this year's most recent session, the PRL Navy WiN commission reviewed and accepted a series of the latest studies. Here are a few of them.

Captain Dr Jozef Raczy presented, among other things, a draft plan that would set a reasonable contract price on military hardware. The author developed the scenario by

precisely analyzing all the parameters and data, and comparing them with each other in an appropriate manner thus enabling the defining of a reasonable procurement price. The draft plan compares the cost of standard equipment with updated hardware and calculates in detail the increased combat value. The economic effects of this project have been assessed at more than 100 million zloty.

Captain Stanislaw Matera directed the team that developed the work station for the regeneration of K-3 incendiary equipment which sets off the action of depth charges [bomba glebinowa]. The designers developed fuse cartridges thus restoring the technical performance of instruments and enabling the full use of the charges stock. The consequence of introduced improvements is the increased combat readiness of ships and economic savings (including foreign exchange). The effects of the proposal have been assessed at 5.4 million zloty.

Under the direction of Commander Stanislaw Michalski, the team consisting of: Lieutenant Commander Kazimierz Krzyzon, Naval Staff Warrant Officer Jan Kot adapted the radio-telephone for installation in helicopters. The team worked out a new electrical system that

adapts the particular instruments to each other, a system for mounting the equipment, and a means of attaching it to the pilot's headset thus eliminating the loudspeaker and microphone.

The device makes it possible to carry on radio contact with vessels, ship salvaging and the coast guard [MW brzegowa], and in practice with every vessel, which means that in case of need help would be close at hand. The authors of the plan received an 80,000 zloty bonus.

Commander Jacek Kwiatkowski headed the team consisting of: Senior Warrant Officer Leszek Nowicki, Jozef Brakoniecki, Kazimierz Chodorowski and Andrzej Piotrowski, which developed a discrete wireless warning system in case of a break-in at a protected facility. The plan authors used modern methods and domestic elements and subassemblies in constructing the system. Of particular value is the fact that it can be used in every military unit in a widespread area. The concept creators employed a variety of system safeguards: optoelectronic, electromechanical, electromagnetic that would activate the alarm system.

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