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POLAND

Tatar ASSR Delegation Visits

26000017a Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA
in Polish 4 Aug 87 p1

[Article by (jtb): "Soviet Guests in Lomza Voivodship"]

[Text] On Saturday 1 August, another day of the visit of the delegation from the Tatar ASSR, that delegation, consisting of Director of the Team of Lecturers under the Kazan Oblast CPSU Committee Vladimir Shalandin, and Rector of the Kazan Economic-Financial Institute and Chairman of the branch of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society Fil'za Khanidulin, was received by First Secretary of the Lomza Voivodship PZPR Committee Mieczyslaw Czerniawski. During the cordial conversation, comments concerning further cooperation between Lomza Voivodship and Soviet Tatariya were exchanged.

The guests from Tatariya also met with the staff of the Ideology and Propaganda Department under the Lomza Voivodship PZPR Committee and the heads of the Voivodship Board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society. They also toured Grajewo where, following their talks with the aktiv, they familiarized themselves with the living and working conditions of the OHP [Volunteer Labor Brigades] lads. In addition, they visited the camp for GDR youth at Kozle near Kolno.

On Sunday 2 August the delegation met with Lomza journalists. The main topic of discussion was the political, social, and economic changes occurring in the USSR and, especially, in Tatariya. In the afternoon, V. Shalandin and F. Khanidulin toured the Kluk Museum of Agriculture in Ciechanowiec.

Today the delegation is ending its stay in Lomza and leaving for Kazan.

1386

Polish Graduates of Leningrad Schools Hold First Meeting

26000017d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
26-27 Sep 87 p 2

["All-Poland Congress of Leningrad School Graduates; Messages to Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev"—PAP report]

[Text] Opole. Currently more than 2,000 Polish citizens are studying in the Soviet Union, with 472 students and 110 doctoral candidates attending higher educational institutions in Leningrad alone. Nearly 5,000 persons in this country have diplomas from these Leningrad institutions.

A year ago there arose the idea of convening a meeting of those who have been students in the city on the Neva in the last 40 years. And so there began in Opole on 25

September the First National Congress of Leningrad School Graduates, organized as part of celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. It is being attended by approximately 500 former students and an eight-member group of faculty members from higher educational institutions in Leningrad.

The first and principal item on the agenda of the congress was a scholarly symposium on "Scientific, Technical, and Economic Polish-Soviet Cooperation and the Tasks of the Graduates of Soviet Educational Institutions in Accelerating the Development of Socialist Poland." Both in the papers presented and in the subsequent discussion, emphasis was placed on the tremendous role of the Soviet Union in training Polish cadres during the last 40 years.

Participating in the deliberations, PZPR Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Main Board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society Henryk Bednarski told the graduates of Soviet educational institutions that it is precisely they and no one else who can do most to promote the idea of cooperation and friendship with the Land of the Soviets. In recent years this cooperation has been spreading to more and more domains of economy, science, technology, and culture. As signed in Moscow last April by Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Declaration of Soviet-Polish Cooperation in Ideology, Science, and Culture is yet another document unlocking new vistas for broadening and deepening our cooperation. H. Bednarski conveyed on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee and the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society his gratitude to the rectors of the Leningrad schools for their help in training Polish cadres.

The participants in the congress dispatched two messages: one to Wojciech Jaruzelski, which includes the following, "We want to assure you that all graduates of Leningrad's higher educational institutions shall spare no effort in behalf of socialist transformations in Poland and partnership and cooperation with the Soviet Union," and the other to Mikhail Gorbachev, conveying their acknowledgments of the vast transformations occurring in the Soviet Union and best wishes on the occasion of the October Revolution.

1386

Increased Tourism With USSR

26000017c Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
28 Sep 87 p 7

["Growth of Mutual Tourism with the USSR"—PAP report]

[Text] Moscow (PAP) (C). During his visit to Moscow the Chairman of the Main Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism Boleslaw Kapitan met last Saturday with the Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism Vladimir Pavlov.

During the meeting the cooperation so far was assessed, and gratification at the steady development of mutual tourism between our countries was expressed. Emphasis was placed on, among other things, the need to enrich forms of this cooperation and the expediency of undertaking new joint projects, including the construction of hotel facilities in the PRL [Polish People's Republic] and the USSR. It was stated that this should contribute to the further expansion of and qualitative improvements in mutual tourism between Poland and the USSR and other partners.

1386

Planned Cultural Events for Festival in Moscow Described

26000017g Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
31 Aug 87 pp 1,6

[Interview with Polish Embassy councillor Mieczyslaw Wojtczak by Jerzy Kraszewski: "A Meeting of Two Capitals" subtitled "7-12 September—Days of Warsaw in Moscow" subtitled "Moscow. From Our Permanent Correspondent"]

[Text] The first posters inviting the inhabitants of the Soviet capital to Polish shows, plays, and films have already appeared on the city's streets. This time the occasion for encounters with our culture will be the Days of Warsaw, whose inauguration was announced for 7 September.

Muscovites are awaiting these Days with sincere interest because the last time Warsaw paid a visit here was in 1979. I interviewed the Councillor of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Embassy Mieczyslaw Wojtczak on the preparations for this meeting of the two capitals and on the program of the Warsaw holiday.

[Answer] I think that "holiday" is not the most suitable term for this occasion. Of course, this will be a holiday-like festive occasion, as tradition bids, but it will also be something more. Above all, this will be a broad and representative high-level survey of our cultural accomplishments. I would rather say that, jointly with our Moscow hosts, we are readying a Warsaw festival.

[Question] The Soviet organizers with whom I recently spoke also stressed the richness and diversity of the program.

[Answer] Indeed, it will be oriented to a greater extent than in previous years toward artistic and ideational aspects. The inhabitants of the capital of the USSR will familiarize themselves with the richness of our culture in its entire diversity and complexity, and they will be enabled to get an idea of its present day appearance so that it would indeed become still closer to them.

I say still closer because the popularity of Polish culture, of our artists, of Polish literature is truly tremendous in Moscow. They are liked, known, and respected here. But time marches on, conditions change, and new generations appear.

Warsaw is coming to the capital of the USSR with, among other things, Moniuszko's [opera] "Halka," "The Wedding of Amor and Psyche," and "Pantalone and Columbina" (chamber opera), along with "Nienasyceenie" [Insatiability] as scripted by Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz (ballet of Wielki Theatre), Haydn's comic opera "The Apothecary," Prokofiev's "Peter and the Wolf," and C. Saint-Saens's "The Carnival of Animals" (marionette opera of the Warsaw Chamber Opera). Muscovites will also see Bulgakov's "The Master and Margarita" (Wspolczesny Theatre), "Misconduct" as performed by Andrzej Strzelecki's troupe, and the "Gaweda" Central Artistic Troupe of the ZHP. In addition, they will hear concerts by the Varsovia Quartet and by Janusz Olejniczak (works of Moniuszko, Szymanowski, Chopin, Czajkowski, and Zarebski). Auctorial recitals will be presented by Edyta Geppert and Michal Bajor.

Music lovers will attend concerts by Hanna Banaszak, Alicja Majewska, Dorota Stalinska, Krystyna Tkacz, and the Vox and Alex-Band groups. Of a certainty, appearances by our artists during the festival at the Gorkiy Park of Culture and Rest, which will include the Warsaw Polytechnic Band, will also enjoy great success.

The exhibition by Warsaw sculptors and painters is going to be interesting. The 200 exhibits will include works by F. Starowieyski, St. Gierowski, T. Kobzdej, J. Nowosielski, A. Lenica, H. Stazewska, J. Aniserowicz, and B. Tchorzewski. Thus the exhibition will be very representative, depicting various directions of the creativity of Warsaw artists.

Even now I am receiving a great many questions about this exhibition, also because the exhibitions of the works of Jozef Szajna and contemporary Polish painting at the Manege and the still continuing exhibition of the works of J. Duda-Gracz have stirred considerable interest and emotions concerning this domain of Polish art.

Besides, in general, interest in Polish culture has grown greatly in the Soviet Union. This is also reflected in the growing number of translations of contemporary Polish literature, the more frequent staging of Polish plays in the theatres of Moscow, and so forth. Recently, for example, the premiere of S. Mrozek's "The Emigrants" was held.

[Question] It seems to me that recently interest in Polish cinema also has grown in the Soviet Union. During the international festival we read many warm reviews, their warmth being in some cases rather anticipatory.

[Answer] This is a debatable comment. Currently Polish cinema indeed is enjoying a good press in the USSR, and the program for the Days of Warsaw is geared to meet the actually existing interests. Among other things, we shall show R. Ber's "The Foreign Woman," M. Waszkowski's "Episode Berlin-West," W. Dziki's "The Wunderkind," "W. Wojcik's "A Private Investigation," R. Piwowarski's "The Train to Hollywood," A. Trzos-Rastawiecki's "I'm Against," and F. Falek's "The Hero of the Year." All these films will be shown for the first time in the Soviet Union.

During the Days of Warsaw a special "Warsaw-Moscow" youth club will operate; it will organize, in addition to other entertainment, retrospective showings of feature films and documentaries produced during 40 years of existence of People's Poland. Discussions and meetings with directors and actors also have been announced.

[Question] The Days of Warsaw of course mean not only the stage, screen, fine arts, and concerts.

[Answer] That is right. Altogether, several score most varied kinds of activities are planned, and thus it is not possible in this brief interview to mention more than just a part of them. Let me draw your attention to the seminars and discussions of artists and cultural activists dealing with politics, ideology, literature, and art. A topic of the meetings between Warsaw and Moscow scholars and cultural activists will be the seminal role of the PZPR and the CPSU in triggering changes in ideology, science, and culture. Another topic will be problems of socialist democracy, as well as problems of the social and economic development of Moscow and Warsaw.

Meetings with workers of Moscow factories will be held. Representatives of Warsaw plants and factories will arrive on a "Friendship Train." The Days of Warsaw will thus be of great importance not only to broadening cultural contacts between our capitals but also to strengthening cooperation between both cities in various fields.

[Question] The inhabitants of Moscow will become more familiar with affairs of Warsaw and Polish culture, while our cultural activists and artists will directly experience the changes occurring in the USSR.

[Answer] It will be no exaggeration to state that this will be a practical expression of the application of the principles and statements contained in the Declaration on Polish-Soviet Cooperation in Ideology, Science, and Culture, signed last April by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev. The program for the Days of Warsaw corresponds to the spirit of that document and will contribute to a better mutual knowledge and rapprochement of our societies and to the strengthening of internationalist awareness. This is so because this program is an integral part of the recent lively and highly active

development of cultural cooperation between Poland and the USSR. It is increasingly often extended to artistic and theatrical ensembles as well as to cities and provinces.

In strengthening these directions of cooperation we intend to broaden direct contacts between artists and cultural activists, contacts lacking formalism and "officialism."

The rich cultural life of the Soviet Union and the processes occurring here in the last two years are affording new possibilities for cultural exchange between our countries. A complete utilization of these possibilities is an important task for all government agencies dealing with cultural problems, as well as for associations and societies of artists. The planned joint initiatives are continually gaining in impetus.

Let me mention the Festival of the Polish Song alone, which will be held in June 1988 and annually afterward, as patterned on our Polish Zielona Gora festival. Then also there are the Festival of Polish Music and the Festival of Polish Drama, the latter being scheduled for the 1988/1989 theatre season. Polish plays will be also staged by Polish directors.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize the cordial involvement of the Soviet party authorities, the Municipal Soviet, public organizations, and artistic associations of Moscow in scheduling our Days. Because of that involvement, the Days of Warsaw will surely become a major event in the political and cultural life of the Soviet capital.

1386

PZPR Official Describes Purpose of 'Warsaw Days' in Moscow

*26000017h Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
3 Sep 87 pp 1,2*

[Interview with Bogdan Michalski, secretary of Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee, by Ryszard Bankowicz: "So Much of Warsaw in Moscow...."]

[Text][Question] As the chief organizer of Days of Warsaw in Moscow you have been directing the preparations for this event. Can you describe it?

[Answer] It will be completely unlike the presentations of the accomplishments, life, and culture of our city previously organized in various friendly capitals, including Moscow. We are not bringing formidable exhibits that have to be viewed with awe while hiding one's yawns. We are not bringing any laurel wreaths, slogans, or banners. Instead, we will show to Moscow what fascinates us ourselves, what is of interest to Varsovians, and hence what is of interest to the inhabitants of Moscow. We also are bringing what in our culture is controversial or even agitating and eliciting sharp polemics.

For the first time it has become possible to show in Moscow from precisely this angle our art and culture and the inspirations they provide us with in our daily lives and lifestyles. The conditions for this have arisen, and in Moscow there has arisen the need to get to know precisely this unconventional kind of things offered by Poland. Our Moscow friends told us, "Show us what is alive, what is the talk of Warsaw, and also what is being contested and debated." In Moscow, too, people no longer want to attend solemn official commemorations.

[Question] So Muscovites will view "The Master and Margarita" as staged by Englert.

[Answer] And also pantomime and "The Apothecary" and the ballet "Insatiability" and "Misconduct." We shall show the latest films, of which "The Train to Hollywood" is now premiering in Warsaw. We want to meet all the expectations of the Moscow public. In accordance with these expectations, we are not going to offer them what Soviet artists are better at—chiefly folk art. Moscow is curious about the Polish concert stage. So we will have recitals by Michal Bajor and Edyta Geppert. We are coming with fine arts—graphics and painting—and not the art suiting sacrosanct canons but modern art, including abstract art, at that. This means collections from the STUDIO Art Center, enriched by works from the auctorial galleries of Piotr Nowicki, Grazyna Hasek, and Aleksandra Lask-Wolek. These exhibitions will be accompanied by showings of art films. We'll also present the photographic exhibition "Message for the Year 2000—Photographs for the Son." There will be concerts of Polish jazz, film showings of latest musical events in Poland, "Polish rock." There will be a video-discotheque, concerts of serious and chamber music, fashion shows. The Lombard, Budek Sufler, and Alex Band youth ensembles will perform. There will be a Warsaw-Moscow "Telebridge" presenting what we consider to be original and new in Polish television, worth showing to 300 million viewers here and there.

Soviet TV viewers will be offered Teleexpress, Panorama of the Day, and the Warsaw TV Courier, to mention just a few programs.

[Question] So much Warsaw in Moscow. But all this takes a large staff.

[Answer] About 1,300 people are coming. They include technicians, show organizers, artists, actors, and radio personnel, who, during the great "Warsaw Festival" in Gorki Park, will familiarize visitors with "Summer With the Radio." The visitors will even include tradespeople because the Festival will be combined with sales of Polish goods, in exchange for which the Centrum department stores will receive goods of more than half a million rubles from Moscow. The "Friendship Train," bearing, among other arrivals from Warsaw, workers from 10 Warsaw factories that directly cooperate with Moscow factories, will arrive. But it is the artists who will be most important. Every showing and spectacle will be followed

by discussions with viewers, of a certainty, sincere and undissembled discussions. The artists will have to defend their works. I am convinced that the program will thereby be mutually advantageous to Moscow viewers and Polish artists.

[Question] Mutually advantageous? This phrase resembles communiques on the signing of economic agreements.

[Answer] You see, the Moscow public is sophisticated and demanding, and nowadays it is able to compare what it is viewing with the genuinely most prominent accomplishments in various domains of world culture. Nowadays it is not easy to win recognition in the eyes of that public, which is not prone to be fascinated by the second-rate. At the same time, winning its favor would confirm that we belong in the world class in a particular domain of the arts, and it would guarantee invitations to theatre ensembles, directors, and artists for new meetings with that public; this would be a kind of patent of nobility, qualifying for presentation at other international art centers.

Money too counts, in the end, and is a yardstick of popularity. We'll man the till. During the Days of Warsaw in Moscow we are going to sell tickets to every showing and exhibition, and the revenues from these sales are to be retained by us. I believe that our desires will be fulfilled, and Polish artists will become favorites of the Moscow public, just as Bunin became a favorite of the Warsaw public following the Chopin Contest. As for the revenues, I wish their size would reflect the level of that enthusiasm.

[Question] And that what we at present call the Moscow fashion in Warsaw would be corresponded in Moscow by a Warsaw fashion.

[Answer] The term "fashion" is a convenient but inaccurate locution. A new time has arrived in our contacts. Its perspectives are delineated by the Declaration on Polish-Soviet Cooperation in Ideology, Science, and Culture," signed last April by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev—the only agreement of a novel nature and intent to be concluded so far between the USSR and any socialist country. Fashion of necessity focuses on what is superficial, on what is reflected in tangible but often secondary changes. Our mutual interests at present are much deeper. Thus, the Days of Warsaw in Moscow are to show the vital interests of Poles and the manner in which their cultural accomplishments reflect their quotidian lives, their mentality, and their creative shaping of reality.

I am convinced that both the Moscow visitors and the Polish participants in the Days of Warsaw in Moscow will enrich their lives owing to this project and get to know each other better, in a manner unprecedented at that. It is no accident that, during the Days of Warsaw, Polish and Soviet political scientists, sociologists, and

lawyers will discuss the changes occurring in both countries. There would be no Days of Warsaw in Moscow were it not for the similarity between the Russian word "perestrojka" and the Polish "odnowa" [renewal].

1386

Availability of Polish Literature in Russian Addressed

26000017f Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
12-13 Sep 87 p 8

[Article by Wieslaw S. Debski: "In Moscow on Polish Literature" subtitled "Moscow. From Our Permanent Correspondent"]

[Text] Polish literature in Russian translation was the principal topic of a meeting between the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Deputy Minister of Culture and Art Kazimierz Molek and Soviet writers, translators, publishers, and Polonists, held on 11 September at the PRL Embassy in Moscow. The discussion, which was opened with prefatory addresses by Zbigniew Safjan, chairman of the Party Team of Writers under the Culture Department of the PZPR Central Committee, and Zygmunt Lichniak, deputy chairman of the Main Board of the Polish Writers' Union, was pervaded with concern for the broadest possible presentation of Polish literature to the Soviet reader market. It was stressed that, despite the definite accomplishments (in the last 10 years 550 Polish book titles have been published in the USSR), much remains to be done in order to achieve a full presentation of Polish writers and the topics with which Polish literature deals.

The participants in the meeting pointed out that there still are many prominent Polish writers unknown to the Soviet reader. The speakers mentioned, among others, such names as Bratny, Dobraczynski, Konwicki, and Kusniewicz, and, during the discussion, other names also were mentioned, such as Hlasko, Andrzejewski, Mrozek, and Gombrowicz.

The numerous concrete proposals included a postulate for broader exchange of information on major literary events and translations in progress, a shorter publishing cycle, and the translation of a greater number of books dealing with contemporary topics, especially those concerning the 1980's. It was suggested that the Polish Writers Union be more actively engaged in the promotion of Polish literature in the USSR. Further, a number of examples of bureaucratic barriers to the publication of specified books or authors was mentioned.

As stressed in the speech by Vladimir Naydomov, representing the USSR State Publishing Committee, much is being done to surmount these bureaucratic barriers, and at the same time new forms of Polish-Soviet cooperation are being explored. A joint publishing institution will be established, along with a Polish-Soviet literary

periodical. Slowly, to be sure, but steadily, the "white spots" in the picture of Polish literature seen in the USSR are being eliminated.

The meeting was also attended by Wieslaw Rydygier, chairman, and Alina Tepli, vice chairperson, of the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch Workers' Publishing Cooperative, as well as by Czeslaw Niedzielski, chairman of the Program Council of the Publishing Movement and vice chairman of the National Cultural Council.

1386

Russian Edition of Weekly KULTURA

26000017e Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
28 Aug 87 p 2

[“KULTURA in Russian”—PAP report]

[Text] A special Russian-language issue of the weekly KULTURA, prepared on the occasion of the International Book Fair to be held in Moscow in early September, has appeared. This concerns informing Soviet readers about the latest achievements of Polish literature. The issue includes, among other things, interviews with the Minister of Culture and Art Professor Aleksander Krawczuk, the Chairman of the Polish Writers' Union Wojciech Zukrowski, and the Chairman of the Literary Fund Council Jerzy Jesionowski.

1386

Soviet Drama on Chernobyl Aired

26000017b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
26-27 Sep 87 p 3

[“The Sarcophagus” To Be Broadcast by Polish Radio”—PAP report]

[Text] Next Sunday Polish radio audiences will listen to one of the most talked-about works of Soviet playwrights in recent years—the play “The Sarcophagus” by Vladimir Gubar'yev, to be broadcast on Channel 3. Its author, a reporter for PRAVDA and for the monthly ZNAM'YA, based it on material gathered during his reportorial trip to Chernobyl shortly after the accident at the atomic power station there. “The Sarcophagus” is not a record of technical data but an attempt to elucidate the causes of the disaster and its moral and psychological consequences.

V. Gubar'yev's play, which is highly controversial in the USSR, has been performed in several West European countries.

1386

Pronuclear Power 'Propaganda' Scored in Catholic Weekly

26000008a Gdansk GWIAZDA MORZA in Polish
No 19, 13 and 20 Sep 87 pp 1,3

[Article by Grzegorz Fortuna : "'Falsehood' from Zarnowiec"]

[Text] 16 August of 1987 should be written into the history book of PRL journalism. On that day everyone buying *Glos Wybrzeza* received a "free" (I will return to this expression "free" later) sixteen page supplement entitled *Glos z Zarnowca* [A Voice from Zarnowiec]. None of my acquaintances remembers something like this ever happening before. The Zarnowiec supplement was as large as the weekend edition of the regular *Glos* magazine that costs 15 zloty. I must add that the people to whom I spoke looked upon this unusual gift with concern rather than joy.

Glos z Zarnowca is an issue that tries to convince the reader that the safest locations on this earth are those that lie in the immediate vicinity of a nuclear generating plant. All the positive aspects of nuclear power development are shown, while the negative aspects, which have been recently the subject of frequent discussion, are trivialized. All the dangers that we heard so much about, in the opinion of the authors and editors of this unusual publication, are the result of ignorance and unnecessary panic. "Waste Products Are Not Dangerous" and "Only Quality Counts" are the sprightly titles of the articles. And what a load of stuff there is among the small and fine print!

I have no intention of discussing the technical and scientific data contained in this publication. I doubt if the experts would like to do so because *Glos z Zarnowca* is propaganda, not a popular-scientific publication. And this is the only category in which this publication can be considered. And every "nonspecialist" has a right to do this because in a few years, if he lives so long, there will be an atomic furnace about 30 to 50 kilometers from his home. The distinguished authors and editors failed to convince me that I will be living in the safest place on earth.

In an editorial note *Glos z Zarnowca* states : "All over the world nuclear power generation provokes discussion, though lately less so. Always this is tied to the matter of the tragic events at Hiroshima and Nagasaki." Who would have thought it? For a long time—that is, from April of last year, from the time of the catastrophe at Chernobyl—a tremendous and unprecedented avalanche of words on the subject of nuclear energy has swept over the world. As a result, many governments have abandoned or suspended the building of new facilities, while others have increased the level of safety precautions. Meanwhile, the gentlemen from Zarnowiec decided that the cause of all the discussion are the bombs dropped on Japan over 40 years ago. Incidentally, they have very little regard for the educational system of the

PRL since they are insisting that the lack of enthusiasm for nuclear energy production is due to such complete ignorance that we cannot distinguish a nuclear bomb from an atomic power plant.

They could not entirely escape the mention of Chernobyl, however, even though attention was diverted toward Hiroshima. In that instance the Minister for the Protection of the Environment and Natural Resources, Prof Stanislaw Jarzebski, expressed an opinion, which cannot be ignored, as it brings us to the crux of a certain matter. The minister said : "We must tell ourselves that the Chernobyl disaster was not the first. But we 'believe' (the quotes are mine —GF) that in Poland we can build these facilities to be safe." The minister can believe whatever he likes. This is guaranteed by the PRL constitution. I doubt, however, that this faith should be used for justifying a decision that has far-reaching social consequences. I do not share this belief. I do not believe that this type of facility can be built in a country that has technological problems in manufacturing toilet paper, not to mention the production of an average grade of automobile. There are countries whose economies are at a much higher level than ours, and they do not feel capable of building such complex facilities. Our economy and technology are a shambles, and yet the minister tells us to believe that it is possible to create a safely operating atomic power plant. Well, now, I just don't believe in such technological miracles, and even the daily printing of free supplements won't help.

In *Glos z Zarnowca* we find an invitation for a discussion. In fact it is a sizable invitation. We read : "Atomic power plants—if one understands their function, principles of design, construction, and operation in comparison to that of other power plant types—justify themselves. They do, however, have their ardent opponents. In our opinion this arises from the fact that most of them are persons involved in other professions, whose knowledge of nuclear power plants is minuscule, and who often abuse their scientific titles or their positions to express opinions on matters for which no objective court would call upon them as experts". Concluding from this then, the only persons having a right to this discussion are in fact the experts. But who are the experts? Well, first of all, they the builders of this power plant. An unusual concept. If one would like to use this in a wider social context, it would appear, for example, that doctors and dieticians could not discuss the quality of bread. Only bakers would be allowed because they are the experts for making bread. This idea is a revelation, and one need not inquire how superbly it limits the discussion.

Of course, there is no surprise in the fact that the authors of *Glos z Zarnowca* are the persons involved in the building of the power plant are opting to go ahead. One could even say that it is their natural obligation. But in this propaganda exercise they have totally forgotten to even make an attempt to present their position in a believable way.

I must disappoint all the readers of the *Glos z Zarnowca* free supplement if they rejoiced over the fact that they received several sheets of paper that were fit for wrapping the vegetables they wanted to bring home from their garden plot. This publication, I reason, was not free at all. It is easy to deduce that the cost of the issue was included in the total cost of power plant construction, and that means public money paid for it. This is the way we finance this propaganda. In *Glos z Zarnowca* we read that the discussion "for the reason of the subject's importance" is "a matter of conscience and honesty"—unfortunately, as *Glos z Zarnowca* must be considered a propaganda grab and a dishonest and unreliable exercise. Recent events in the atomic power field do not bode well for the future, and it is difficult to bank on the fact that Poland will become an exception. The facts do not hold out any such hope. Neither the technological level, nor work discipline, nor the location of the facility give any such assurance.

In *Gwiazda Morza* we had written several critical articles about the construction in Zarnowiec. It remains for us to encourage some thought and repeat "should Poland copy the mistakes of others?" Is not the placement of the generating plant at the edge of the nearly million-inhabitant Tri-City area a step bordering on suicide?

12411

Brzezinski Urges Continued Dialogue in Catholic Press Interview

26000008b Gdansk GWIAZDA MORZA in Polish
No 18, 30 Aug, 6 Sep 87 p 3

[Interview by Ewa Gorska with Prof Zbigniew Brzezinski; date and place not mentioned]

[Text] In May, Prof Zbigniew Brzezinski made a private visit to Poland. On 21 May he visited Gdansk and Gdynia. Among the persons with whom he met were the Gdansk Bishop, Tadeusz Goclawski, and Lech Walesa. In the afternoon he laid flowers at the base of the Monument to the Fallen Shipyard Workers.

In "GM" [GWIAZDA MORZA] No 12, the authorized interview given by Prof Brzezinski to our publication was to appear. The interview was questioned by the Regional Bureau for the Control of Publications and Exhibitions in Gdansk. After an appeal to the Central Bureau, segments were released for printing. These fragments are presented to our readers.

An interview with Zbigniew Brzezinski, the adviser to the president of the United States for matters of National Defense during the presidency of J. Carter (1976-1980)

[Question] Your childhood, as far as I am aware, Professor, was spent in Poland, your last vacation before the outbreak of the war was in Orlowo.

[Answer] I was born in Warsaw, but the first 7 years of my life were spent outside the country because my father worked for the diplomatic service. I lived in Poland for 3 years only, until the tenth year of my life. After that the rest of my life was spent abroad. I am an American of Polish extraction, and this is what I feel: I am an American and a Pole at the same time. Yes, my last vacation before the war was spent in Orlowo. If time permits I would very much like to see that place today—a child's eyes see differently, different things remain in memory, I'd like to confront the memories with reality.

[Question] Because of your many years of work in the government of the United States, you are well acquainted with the US policy toward the socialistic nations of Central Europe. Is it the same, or has it undergone some changes?

[Answer] The policies of the United States toward the nations of Central Europe is consequential [—] [censored] article 2, paragraph 3 of the regulation from 31 July 1981 concerning the Control of Publications and Exhibitions (Dz. U. [Regulations Journal] no 20, item 99 changed in Dz. U. 1983 no 44 item 204). All American administrations, both Democratic and Republican, have conducted this policy for over 30 years. The period that started in 1981 was in a sense exceptional, and this resulted in, among other things, the limitation of Polish-American relations. I hope that this period is over and that relations will broaden with positive results in the internal development of Poland, not only in the economic area but also in the overall political situation.

[Question] Professor, what is your evaluation of the events taking place in the USSR?

[Answer] This is an extremely interesting period, possibly of great importance, but it is as yet not really defined. Much is said about *perestrojka*, and it is said quite openly, and even in a polemically interesting way. But the program of reforms has not been defined, and it is difficult to talk about the introduction of the more fundamental changes. It seems to me that at the present time Gorbachev is trying to mobilize social support for the eventual changes. The direction of these changes, in a sense, is signaled in the Soviet press, which has become truly interesting. Recently I read in *IZVESTIYA* (and I read the Soviet press daily) articles about the Chinese economy. In one article, for example, there is mention of the fact that China for a long time had to import food, that people were underfed. Chinese agriculture could not supply sufficient quantities of food to the cities because the agricultural sector was backward. Next I read that the party decided not to communize (this was the term used) all agriculture but to take a new direction. The present agricultural policies were described, the result being that the farmers have control of the land, can manage it as if it were their own, and have the right to sell their products in the market. The resultant conclusion is that now there is no underfeeding in China, there is a large supply of available food, some of which is exported. For the Soviet

reader who is aware of the fact that 70 years after the Bolshevik revolution the USSR is still lagging in the production of food, the lesson is probably quite clear.

Other matters also get interesting treatment in the press. Polish readers are probably aware of this, but it is worthwhile to mention the interview with Cardinal Glemp, which was preceded by a truly sensational announcement. In it it was openly stated that there is no fundamental conflict between participating in the ruling party and being a good Catholic. To the Soviet reader, in the year preceding the millenium of Christianity in Russia, such a statement must bring on interesting associations.

[Question] Professor, you have spoken about some symptoms of internal policy in the USSR. In your opinion, has anything changed in Soviet foreign policy?

[Answer] [—] article 2 paragraph 3 of the regulation from 31 July 1981 concerning the Control of Publications and Exhibitions (Dz. U. no 20 item 99, changed in Dz. U. 1983 no 44 item 204) new propositions are continuously announced in the press and on television. But there was no real diplomatic dialogue. In this sense we must understand this to have been an attempt to affect public opinion in the West. But it seems to me that lately there have been signs for a positive understanding—there was a solidification in certain propositions and, because of this, there emerged possibilities, though limited, for an understanding between the US and the USSR.

[Question] Does this include the latest disarmament proposal?

[Answer] Yes, that is what is on my mind. This should not be overvalued—this is in a limited area—but it is possible that this type of agreement will be followed by an agreement with a broader scope—for example, disarmament in the purely strategic area or disarmament in conventional weapons. For Central Europe this would have a direct significance, with political and military consequences. Of course, if there is to be cooperation between the US and the USSR, if there is to be a period for relieving tensions, then it must be demanded that agreements with a strategic disarmament nature or those in the conventional weapons area should be expanded in the direction of agreements that have a geopolitical character. [—] article 2, paragraph 3 of the regulation from 31 July 1981 concerning the Control of Publications and Exhibitions (Dz. U. no 20 item 99, changed in Dz. U. 1983 no 44 item 204).

[Question] Professor, how do you see our situation in this context: if you were the adviser to the Polish nation, what would you advise us to do?

[Answer] I would advise that, as far as possible, the so-called citizens society be expanded, and at the same time all possible effort be made and all methods used to

achieve a dialogue with the government. I know that that is a lot easier to say than to do, especially in light of events of the last few years. In my opinion, this is the only way. I also know that compromise is not a one-sided but a two-sided matter and requires a thorough revaluing of positions in the government. But I believe that in the government there has emerged something that could be called the understanding of the fact that emerging from the crisis and stagnation and avoiding the threatening eruption (for we cannot exclude the possibility of such a situation) is possible only through dialogue and communication. I do not know if the individual units are able to impose this on the whole of government. But I am aware that the evolution that is to follow requires the involvement of those who have differing views about society and hold leadership positions. I believe that including them in the process cannot be counted out. [—] article 2, paragraph 2 of the regulation from 31 July 1981 concerning the control of publications and exhibitions (Dz. U. no 20 item 99, changed in Dz. U. from 1983 no 44 item 204).

12411

YUGOSLAVIA

Serbia's LC States Views on 1988 Development, Tasks

28000002 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
2 Oct 87 p 8

[Document adopted by the Serbian LC Central Committee: "Views of the Serbian LC Central Committee on Political-Ideological Issues in Socioeconomic Development and on Tasks of the Serbian LC in 1988"]

[Text] 1. The Serbian LC Central Committee judges that so far in 1987 the situation in the economy has continued to grow worse and that the development of socioeconomic relations has been facing ever greater difficulties. One substantial reason for this is that all the changes envisaged in the economic system have not been made. However, sufficient activities were not undertaken either by the LC and other subjective forces as had been set forth in the Views of the Third Meeting of the Central Committee so that organizations of associated labor would adapt more effectively to the new economic conditions and demands of the market. That is why the economy's operating results in the first half of 1987 were unsatisfactory. The urgency of the views of the Third Meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee is confirmed once again, and the need for them to be carried out consistently is stressed.

Efforts need to be stepped up in the fight to stabilize the economy, which can be achieved first of all through larger production, higher utilization of capacity, a lowering of operating costs, better utilization of all untapped potential, a clear orientation toward restructuring and adaptation to the requirements of the market, and, especially, by developing a capability for augmented

exports. This is a condition for realizing the larger income necessary to halt the decline of the standard of living and to gradually improve it, and for more successful conduct of expanded reproduction and higher productive employment. All the efforts of the League of Communists in the republic must be concentrated on these questions, which are the most important ones for the beginning of stabilization of economic flows.

The Central Committee emphasizes the particular responsibility of party members holding positions of leadership for the situation in the economy and for the grave social consequences that it could have unless there are vigorous changes. It is urgently necessary in all work organizations, especially in those that have shown losses in the first half of the year, to examine and undertake all necessary measures to operate profitably in the period immediately ahead. At the same time, clear programs must be set forth for effective adaptation to the requirements of the market on the basis of improvement of technologies and products that work organizations will make a part of their permanently successful business operation.

Replacement of Unsuccessful Professional Managers

The Central Committee insists on the elimination of all forms of opportunism and on consistent application of the views that have been adopted concerning replacement of unsuccessful professional managers in organizations of associated labor where business operation is not profitable and where there is no development program in keeping with the requirements of the market. The accountability of party members holding positions of leadership in sociopolitical communities and sociopolitical organizations must also be strengthened in the same manner, including the accountability of party members in the republic holding positions of leadership in which they are responsible for implementing the establishing economic policy.

2. Parallel to the creation of more favorable conditions and enhancement of responsibility for effective economic activity and a growth of income, there must be a rigorous reduction of the economy's expenditures for its own overhead, and government expenditure as the paramount immediate task of party members. Achieving this means that in the policy for carrying out social plans in 1988 the share of government and social service expenditure financed directly or indirectly from the income of the economy must be reduced to a proportion that will considerably improve the position of the economy in distribution. That share should be reduced to a level that affords the volume of saving necessary for the economy to recover and to get out of the crisis.

There must also be a reassessment of all individual spending rights established by law and their selective reduction, with all due respect for specificities, so that the share of government and social service expenditure

in the social product is reduced to a level that affords a more substantial strengthening of the position of the economy in distribution. Party members will accordingly strive for the relevant amendments of republic laws and will support proposals for the relevant amendments of federal laws.

In all sociopolitical communities in the republic, party members, in keeping with their official authority, will strive for a reassessment to be made by mid-1988 of the network of institutions that is wholly or partially financed by a system of taxes or contributions out of the income of the economy from the standpoint of whether the economy's income can support the present volume of expenditures, especially as to the following:

- i. the optimality of the present administrative and geographic division with respect to the number and size of opstinas and regions, their jurisdiction, the possibility of setting up joint bodies for several opstinas, and so forth;
- ii. the justifiability of the present network of judicial bodies, the reasons for their backlog, the possibility of transferring some of their less essential powers [original reads "integrations"] to executive bodies of government, oversight bodies, and so forth;
- iii. the justifiability of the existence and the possibility of optimalization of higher educational institutions;
- iv. the optimality of the present network of secondary schools;
- v. the purposiveness of the present network and organization of the health care service;
- vi. the justifiability of the existence and optimality of the organization of all other institutions financed from taxes or contributions.

The efforts of party members will go in the direction of precisely establishing in the competent authorities which institutions can make the transition to self-financing on the basis of direct collection of charges for their services and within what period of time; which can and must curtail their activity charged to the public, at what rate and to what extent; and which must be shut down. This applies to everything, including even science, whose larger share in expenditure and creation of the national income should be directed toward increasing the share of the value of projects that the economy finances directly and toward reducing the legal appropriation of funds for those purposes to the optimum measure, while at the same time seeking their integration.

In Favor of Further Optimalization of SIZ's

Party members will strive for further optimalization of the number of SIZ's, for their professional staff services to be unified and reduced, and for employment in

government administrative agencies, SIZ's, and sociopolitical organizations to be reduced by at least 10 percent by mid-1988 in successive steps, in a selective manner, and on the basis of criteria developed with respect to work and social welfare. The effect of these measures as a whole should ultimately reduce the volume of government and social service expenditure, which, over the remainder [of this year] and in 1988, should grow more slowly than the economy's income. The growth of government and social service expenditure slower than the growth of income should be based on revision of rights and optimalization of institutions, not by further threatening the material position of employed persons for whom there is a justified social need.

Party members will strive to urgently create more favorable conditions so that measures might be taken by self-management bodies in organizations of associated labor to vigorously reduce their overhead, especially where losses have been shown, since this is one of the important reasons for the low profitability of business operation.

Elements of the legal system need to be adopted in the field of employment relations to make the process of reducing the social overhead and the overhead in the economy not only legally possible, but also simple and easy to carry out, and solutions need to be found for the social welfare issues which will arise from this.

The share of budgets of sociopolitical communities in the social product should be reduced to a level that envisages reduction of government administration by steps up to mid-1988, taking into account that the remainder of consumption should grow at least 10 percent more slowly than income.

Taxes and contributions paid by the economy must be reduced at least in keeping with the envisaged reduction of the share of government and social service expenditure in the income of the economy.

Implementation of the policy of taking the burden off the economy requires that party members vigorously advocate suppression and elimination of all forms of unlawful usurpation of income in the form of unjustifiably high personal incomes, in the form of distribution that has no basis in income earned, and in the form of irresponsible expenditure of all types, undermining the policy of stabilization and not in keeping with the moral standards of society.

Party members shall be responsible for implementing these views in the assemblies of sociopolitical communities, in SIZ assemblies, in the bodies of sociopolitical organizations, and in other competent institutions.

3. The Serbian LC Central Committee judges that, throughout the entire period since the congress as well as during this year, the results in economic development and development of socioeconomic relations do not

instill confidence that our society is coming closer to a way out of the crisis. This is evidenced most eloquently by the following: the slowing down of economic growth, steadily growing inflation, the large deficit in the balance of payments and greater difficulty in discharging obligations abroad, the marked reduction of the real income of the economy, the immense growth of losses, the deterioration of relations in distribution along with a considerable reduction of capital formation, and intensification of social insecurity and tension.

All of this shows that the economic policy to date, both at the federal level and at the republic level, has not yielded the results anticipated and that radical changes have to be made in connection with setting forth the policy governing socioeconomic development in the coming year. The prerequisite should be created for this through more rapid and integral completion of the elements of the economic system on the foundations of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program.

In view of the indivisibility of the solutions and the joint responsibility shared by all for building Yugoslavia's economic system, the Serbian LC Central Committee emphasizes its assessments and views concerning the necessary changes and the directions that activity should pursue. Striving for the views contained in this section presupposes that in the joint effort to find the best solutions and solutions acceptable to everyone in Yugoslavia they will be defended with arguments, which means that the arguments of others will also be appreciated.

Inflation, as the synthetic and most serious expression of the failure of the way in which economic policy has been conducted up to now and of implementation of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program, has taken on disturbing proportions during this year. The steady and ever faster rise of prices has drastically devalued the national currency and has become a serious brake on development.

The Priority Task of Establishing Financing Discipline

The policy of gradual changes in price relations through individual adjustments has not yielded constructive results. The Serbian LC Central Committee favors a simultaneous and comprehensive reform of price relations as soon as possible on the foundations of the criteria contained in the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program, accompanied by all the necessary support measures, which will guarantee a substantial lowering of inflation during the coming year. Establishment of normal price relations and stabilization of prices represent the condition and occasion for preparation and simultaneous implementation of all the changes envisaged in the Long-Range Program that have been postponed up to now. We advocate the most urgent creation at the level of Yugoslavia of a consistent anti-inflation concept for carrying out the Long-Range Program and increased responsibility for its implementation.

The establishment of financial order and discipline is a priority task. More realistic determination of business results and other measures to protect social property are only a first step taken in this direction. The irregular and inflationary movement of money and credit must be vigorously combated, respect for legal standards and laws must be guaranteed, the lack of financial discipline must be prevented, and the building up of large financial imbalances in the banks and work organizations must be brought to an end, since all of this undermines efforts to restore the economy to health.

If this is to be achieved, it is extremely important in the further construction of the economic and political system to guarantee at all levels the competence and responsibility of the institutions responsible for financial and monetary order and discipline. The Serbian LC Central Committee deems it necessary to remove all deficiencies in enactments that restrict the powers of the National Bank of Yugoslavia and require of it full responsibility for the uniform functioning of the monetary system and credit and monetary policy, including even the right of outright control of commercial banks in order to protect the national currency. The National Bank of Yugoslavia would be directly responsible to the SFRY Assembly for performance of these tasks. This is another sector in which everything must be undertaken to guarantee consistent and effective enforcement of all laws and full accountability for violating them. All deficiencies should be eliminated in the same manner in enactments that hamper the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia and federal inspectorates from guaranteeing lawfulness over the entire territory of the SFRY without hindrances and obstacles.

Strengthening the Market Position of the Commercial Bank

The Serbian LC Central Committee emphasizes the need for a further strengthening of the market position of the commercial banks, which should become independent financial organizations whose business operation is managed by their depositors, who would bear the full risk of this, including the possibility of bankruptcy. The volume of bank lendings ought to depend more directly on the level of their available sources of financial resources.

The insufficient unity of the tax system and tax policy has accelerated the redistribution of income to the detriment of the economy and has strengthened the position of bureaucratic centers of power. Altering that trend requires solutions at the level of Yugoslavia that will place all economic entities under approximately the same conditions on the unified Yugoslav market and that will protect their income from the excessive and daily drain from numerous directions.

The economic independence and liability of organizations of associated labor should be increased to the maximum, since they are hampered by numerous administrative restrictions, especially with respect to

setting the prices of their products, the realization and distribution of income, capital investments, performance of export tasks, the meeting of payment obligations abroad, and so forth, which makes it more difficult for them to be independent in assuming business risks and in strengthening their long-term business orientation and stability. The changes in the economic and political system, which need to be speeded up, should guarantee them the kind of position that will orient them more toward the market and will free them from dependence and the tutelage of government and other bodies outside the economy.

Through intensified action of the League of Communists and the other subjective forces, it is necessary to eliminate more rapidly all the ideological, normative, and other obstacles to strengthening market conditions for the conduct of economic activity and more effective functioning of the unified Yugoslav market. This can be achieved above all by establishing and carrying out a determined anti-inflation policy based on the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program and on comprehensive changes aimed at defending the value of the national currency, at reestablishing financial order and discipline, and at strengthening the independence of organizations of associated labor as business entities. The market could not function effectively without a money market and capital market, if money and capital do not have a real price, and without appropriate financial institutions that will achieve this.

Eliminating Speculative Behavior of Exporters

There is a need to build up an integral and consistent system of measures that will encourage deferment of consumption and a strengthening of saving. Real interest rates and incentives in tax policy should particularly encourage individuals to save and to invest their resources in the private and socialized sectors of the economy. The country's situation with respect to the exchange balance is threatening more and more the functioning of production and the market and is becoming a major factor limiting development. Aside from the economic problems, it is also threatening to cause undesirable social and political problems. That is why guaranteeing a greater orientation toward exports is a condition for getting out of the crisis and for the very survival of organizations of associated labor. Since difficulties occur in the country's foreign exchange balance at a time when exports to the convertible area are increasing, there needs to be a through reassessment of the conditions under which our products are exported and paid for, and numerous types of speculative behavior on the part of exporters should be eliminated (using the proceeds from exports exclusively for their own imports, postponing collection in order to guarantee larger dinar results, and so forth). The credit financing of foreign trading partners should be brought into line with our realistic capabilities, and additional efforts should be made to bring visible trade with the bilateral payments area into line at a

higher level of balanced trade. The current situation in the country's foreign exchange balance requires, however, a further rescheduling of our foreign debt.

The amendments to the Law on Foreign Exchange Transactions protecting its basic institutions and strengthening the stability of exporters in exercising their rights to import are acceptable. Demands to change the foreign exchange system, which are aimed at reestablishing unequal relations on the foreign exchange market or at introducing foreign currencies as a means of payment within the country, are unacceptable. The conduct of a stable policy of a real rate of exchange should be guaranteed, more respect being paid to the influence of supply and demand on its formation. It is unacceptable to continue the practice of paying export incentives with notes for which there are not reliable sources of revenue.

Guaranteeing the Social Security of Workers Who Have Been Laid Off

The stimulation and guidance of the accelerated development of the underdeveloped republics and provinces continue to be an economic and social need. However, the Serbian LC Central Committee favors a change in the way the underdeveloped are chosen and wants guarantees that the selection will be made on objectified criteria. It also favors greater speed in getting away from administrative divorce of resources from the organizations of associated labor that created them and voluntaristic-bureaucratic decisionmaking concerning the use of those resources. This has to be taken into account in further construction of the political and economic system.

4. The augmented economic difficulties, especially the uncontrolled rise of prices and inflation, have resulted in a drop in the standard of living and an accumulation of social problems in society. This situation could deteriorate further because of the necessary restructuring of the economy, which could even cause a certain number of workers to be laid off.

The social security of the workers laid off because of bankruptcy of their organization of associated labor and then the social security of workers laid off because of reduction of overhead, because of reduction of staff services and the administrative apparatus of SIZ's and sociopolitical communities, or because they represent a technological surplus—must be guaranteed effectively and in an organized way. This is today an urgent task and responsibility of party members in government bodies and agencies.

The first and elementary right that can be guaranteed to workers is the lowest personal income while they are still working, whose level should be speedily defined. Party members working in the trade unions should devote particular attention to this matter. It is also indispensable to furnish workers guaranteed personal income for a certain time after employment is terminated and see that

it is paid on time, which includes solving all the problems related to sources of revenues for these purposes. Party members in government bodies and agencies should work to solve this problem. Workers who come into the situation of receiving the minimum or guaranteed personal income should meet the other minimum social welfare needs of their families through local communities and communes, along with all citizens whose social welfare is threatened, and additional sources of resources have to be furnished for these purposes as well.

The Serbian LC Central Committee deems it necessary to establish the following on a uniform basis in SR Serbia and, if possible, to regulate them uniformly at the level of the country as a whole:

- i. criteria for termination of the employment relation to be used in the process of reducing the number of employees because of technological surplus and reducing overhead (work results, family members employed, existence of alternative ways of making a living, longevity, state of health, and so forth);
- ii. the level and duration of social welfare on the basis of rights arising out of employment and criteria for establishing them;
- iii. sources of resources from which the "extended rights" arising out of the terminated employment would be financed.

The sources of resources should first of all be joint reserve funds, since pursuant to law that is their basic purpose.

An examination should be made of the justifiability of increasing the contribution for the unemployed that would be paid to SIZ's for employment security, and other possibilities should be investigated for employees to contribute on the basis of solidarity in order to provide financial support to workers who have been laid off because of the technological and other production needs of organizations of associated labor, not through their own fault.

5. The present difficulties in economic development are in large part the consequences of the lag in the functioning of the institutions of socialist self-management and of usurpation of the rights of the workers in decision-making by bureaucratic centers of power. Implementation of these views of the Central Committee can be successful only if the functioning of all bodies of self-management, from workers councils in organizations of associated labor to the Assembly of SR Serbia, is invigorated and consistently achieved. Party members are responsible for seeing that the interests of the working class and working people come to full expression in those bodies, for explaining these views, and for winning the fight to implement them. Party members who hold positions of leadership bear the greatest responsibility in this respect.

07045

Sociologist Advocates Abandoning Delegate System

28000001 Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian
22 Aug 87 pp 14-17

[Interview with Dr Ivica Mastruko, professor of sociology in the School of Philosophy of Zadar University, by Dragan Barjakterevic: "Is There a Way Out of the Hopeless Situation?"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Sir Hartley Shawcross, the famous British lawyer, liked to say that you could make an omelet from eggs, but you couldn't make eggs from an omelet. This witty observation is relevant on many counts to our situation—political, ideological, governmental, and economic.

Dr Ivica Mastruko, professor of sociology in the School of Philosophy at Zadar University, who is known to the public as a "crisis expert" who does not mince words, replied as follows to Sir Shawcross's remark about the omelet and to our question about the relevance of that omelet in Yugoslavia's "socioeconomic gastronomy":

[Answer] The remark may be relevant, but we are unceasingly proving the opposite of that assertion. That is, our experience clearly proves that we are making more and more eggs from the omelet every day. It is true, of course, that often those eggs turn out to be rotten. But, regardless of this "fantastic" capability that we have, in reality it is turning out that we have more and more omelet and are coming closer and closer to running out of eggs!

[Question] Professor Mastruko, who is a delegate in the Assembly of SR Croatia, has made public statements on several occasions in recent months. Yugoslav opinion recalls him for his radical demands made both from the benches of the parliament and in newspaper columns, and his promotion of direct elections "from bottom to top." This scientist and public figure, then, is no advocate of cosmetic changes, but wants radical changes in the SFRY Constitution.

The Constitution is a good place to start.

The Multibranching Octopus

[Question] The fact that the Yugoslav Constitution is being amended means that it is no good. Many people say that this is a "crisis constitution."

[Answer] In its proposals for amendments to the Constitution, the SFRY State Presidency acknowledged that society is in an economic crisis, but that there are only problems in the functioning of the political system. So, the SFRY State Presidency is aware that there is something in that Constitution which has gotten rusty, which could contribute to a further oxidation of sociopolitical

relations, that is, which could prevent society's further development, but it still did not take the position that that political system is in crisis. It seems that we are dealing here with a lack of courage for stronger undertakings in the political system.

There are probably reasons for that. After all, were it said that the political system is in crisis, then radical undertakings would have to be carried out, and that means tackling not only the surface of the system, but also the ideological formulas on which it is based. In practice, this signifies a reassessment of the ideological formulas on which we have been building socialism, which is to say a reassessment of the definition of socialism, of self-management, of the delegate system (which is not being questioned at all, but I think that there are a lot of important reasons for questioning it). Probably there was not enough courage for that. After all, when the existence of one crisis is evident, to open up and acknowledge a crisis in the political system would at this moment be too large a bite for the political leadership of Yugoslavia and thereby also of the republics to take. So, regardless of the actual existence of the crisis of the political system, that is why I am not convinced that the proposed constitutional amendments will bring any essential change. To be sure, we should always bear in mind that the constitution is a projection of possible relations in society, that the system need not function successfully even in countries that have very handsome constitutions. One of the highest quality and "most handsome" constitutions is that of Portugal. It will be hard for you to find an objection to it. But in Portugal neither the political system nor the economic system is functioning. So, we should not attribute essential and excessively great importance to those constitutional amendments.

[Question] Which is why you have said in an essay that ideology is the generator of all crisis situations in all other areas?

[Answer] Yes. The political, social, and economic systems of all societies are based on ideological formulas. The question that is the "to be or not to be" for Yugoslavia goes like this: To what extent are the country's present bodies of political leadership—from the Federation to the opstina—behaving or wishing to behave as though they were performing a church service, like people who would like to further sacralize and perpetuate the formations and structures they have inherited, merely adding on to them from time to time? This kind of political behavior actually represents the classic conservative model of behavior, one which by definition makes no sense regardless of what social and political structure you are talking about. When the courage is lacking to change them, there is neither a need nor a reason to preserve those structures the way they are. That desire, that longing, and I would also say that ability to change the ideological formulas have obviously not been in evidence in our situation.

[Question] Why? From a fear that everything will fall apart?

[Answer] Because there is neither the force nor the ideas in the ideological apparatus that might offer any significant innovations. That is why I think that this situation will continue, that it will become all but permanent, attempts will be made to add on to the system, the functionalist approach will be taken, something that has been evident in a number of societies. The ability to think in revolutionary terms has been entirely lost in our country.

[Question] You have placed the present delegate system under the most serious question mark on several occasions, in which you were not, of course, alone. Why is that system in direct contradiction with self-management?

[Answer] I said that because it is a fact. In its ultimate realization self-management means doing away with all forms of mediation, and mediation is actually the basic motto of the delegate system. The delegates are nothing other than mere emissaries, people who have been sent by someone else and who represent a middle strata of gray middlemen.

Out of a desire to "improve our delegate system" we have created an entire complicated structure, we have built an institutional (expensive!) pyramid of indirection, a gray and unknown mass of indirections that smother all the emotional drive that individuals and producers might have in direct decisionmaking. The result of this is a decline in the interest of individuals in various forms of political participation.

Revolutionary action to do away with the cumbersome delegate apparatus would help to achieve self-management. After all, the amount of power of a social group (individual, class) is measured in terms of the possibilities of that group (individual, class) to take part in making decisions. But the ossified, institutionalized, mediated, and manipulated delegate system cannot be a substitute for the actual act of self-management.

Touching Things That Are Sacred

[Question] However, the proponents of the constitutional amendments do not even touch that "sacred" institution. Does that mean that everything will go on in the same old way?

[Answer] There are actually two levels of thought here. First, this kind of delegate system, and even Vladimir Goati would say this, is an anachronism in terms of world civilization, since it imposes indirect elections. Second, it is in contradiction with the fundamental idea of self-management, which is opposed to all forms of indirection; this kind of system has been abandoned as a principle of political representation in all the democratic

movements in the world, and, finally—and this is quite essential—this delegate system that we have has become a multibranching octopus that is seizing upon all possible structures like a polyp.

Since the constitutional amendments do not touch upon those fundamental principles, I do not see that there will be any significant changes in this area regardless of certain ideas about introducing certain direct elections. Accordingly, until we abandon that delegate system, there will be no significant influence exerted on policy or politics by individuals who are the citizens of this country.

[Question] Nor on their own destiny!

[Answer] Nor on that, of course! As a matter of fact, the principle of direct political influence of the citizenry has been abandoned even concerning the most fundamental issues. We still have referendums exclusively for voting in an optional tax! The referendum has been altogether abandoned as a form of direct political expression and influence.

[Question] How much has this experiment with the delegate system cost this country? Do you have the impression that the citizenry has lost all emotional and intellectual interest in it?

[Answer] It would be difficult to say how much it has cost in terms of any financial indicators. The real cost of the defective delegate system is more pronounced in a form that cannot be represented by financial indicators. It is a price paid in political consciousness, in terms of the awareness of the need for political activity on the part of the citizens of this country. Incidentally, this has been registered by all the surveys: the last one, conducted in Zagreb, shows a declining interest of citizens in political involvement, in any sort of electoral procedure in the delegate system. It is not just a question here of the citizens of this country having less influence on politics at all levels, but of something much worse: of a decline in emotional attachment to the need to make decisions, of a mentality being created that can be expressed this way: "There is nothing I can do about it anyway, so why should I try!" I think that that price is very high, since without that emotional involvement there can be no significant changes in the political system, in the social system, or in the economic system. That emotional charge is a fundamental motive force in human activity. And it requires motivation. Since that motivation for political activity is lacking (let us leave aside for the moment economic and material motivation), then it is quite obvious that the political situation will remain as it is.

[Question] Does this mean that the so-called base, the people, cannot in any way compel the so-called superstructure, the political leadership, to make radical changes in the status quo?

[Answer] We cannot expect this today from the "broad masses of people." In periods that are not directly related to revolution, all initiative in all societies always comes from the political elite. In our country the quality of the political life of that people has always depended on the quality of the political elite. The present situation as to the quality of political life, which can be given very low marks, is quite indicative of the quality of the political elite.

The Responsibility of the SFRY Assembly

[Question] Isn't there some exaggeration in this hue and cry against Yugoslavia's bodies of political leadership?

[Answer] That is true. There is a great hue and cry in our country, and I myself am often involved in it, about that political elite, about the proponents of decisions. In a number of countries, however, the responsibility is not thrown on simply those who are the proponents of decisions, who are what I would call the elite managers, but also on those who sanction those proposed decisions of theirs or who are in a position to oversee those executive authorities. That level is not touched at all in our country. That "delegate level" that does not bear any responsibility whatsoever, that is not called to account, and that actually sanctions all the decisions of the political elite is the SFRY Assembly along with the republic assemblies. Those assemblies always deny their own responsibility, but actually they are most directly responsible for the vote by which all decisions pass. That is why that gray and indirect mass of delegates who have not been elected on the basis of their personal political identity or their own political personality but as representatives of certain structures and because the election of a representative or deputy does not depend on the will of the voters but exclusively on the positions taken by miscellaneous personnel commissions or committees; it is quite understandable that that middle stratum of the gray indirect and indirected mass relies precisely on that stratum of political and personnel commissions, since its future vertical and social advancement does not depend on the will of the voters, but on those personnel structures. They are not the voice of the people, then, but the long arm of the bodies of political leadership. If you add to that the sizable number of professional chairmen of various committees and commissions in the Assembly of Yugoslavia and in those of the republics and provinces who have high salaries and whose future political promotion depends on their behavior during that 4-year term, then the thing is still clearer. We arrive at a completely closed circle in which that system functions, a system that has no link to the people though it would appear to be appealing to the people constantly.

[Question] Can we speak, then, about animosity toward such a system on the part of citizens?

[Answer] The intellectual animosity is obvious. One can accurately determine how many people have a highly developed animosity toward that system. Take the average personal income in Yugoslavia, the payrolls of those

in work organizations who are below that average, and when you add up those people, you will know how many have a pronounced animosity toward this system. Add to that number the unemployed (if you object to including all the unemployed, then include at least those who do not have an inner feeling that it is possible to find a job), and then add to that sum those pensioners whose benefits are below the poverty level, and you will get a very accurate figure as to the number of people who are unable to accept this system as their own. At the ideological level, it is true, some of these people might still be able to do so, but at the existential level, in terms of general civilization, most of them cannot. In other words, it can be said that this general search for some kind of external and internal enemies should be directed primarily not toward a search, but toward counting those who for purely existential reasons cannot be satisfied with this system.

[Question] You go all the way in advocating direct elections?

[Answer] Absolutely. In September (probably) it will be made public in the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly that direct elections will be possible at certain levels. This is only in part a concession to those demands that are obviously present in the public. There is no doubt that any survey would show that most inhabitants of this country favor direct elections. However, if that proposal for partial direct elections does not pass, this only shows once again that the country's political leadership is not taking into account—not the desires, but the demands of the voting people who normally, in a normal society, would have to be respected. I repeat: If a referendum were organized in Yugoslavia on whether people favor indirect or direct elections, then I am quite convinced that the great majority would vote for direct elections. Indirect elections of this kind are practiced only in three countries in the world—in Portugal, in the Republic of South Africa, and in Yugoslavia.

[Question] With a group of colleagues in the Croatian Assembly, you have demanded as a legitimate delegate body direct elections from the bottom to the top of the political pyramid.

[Answer] That is so. It is not just a question of direct elections for delegates to the Federal Chamber at the level of the Federation, but there are also reasons and a need for members of the SFRY State Presidency to be elected by direct election. Nor do I really see any particular reason that by some automatic mechanism the president of the LCY should be a member of the SFRY State Presidency—although there was a justification for this at a certain point in Yugoslavia's historical development. Aside from that, this is something that does not have its like in any modern society in the world.

Worshipping Idols

[Question] As someone who has a superb knowledge of religious phenomena, it is undoubtedly no accident that

you have come to the conclusion that the sphere of politics in our country has taken on the characteristics of the sphere of religion?

[Answer] You know that there have been rare occasions in history when those two phenomena were separate. In all societies, in all civilizations, three official positions have been decisive: the king, the priest, and the healer. We have already talked about the sacralization of history and politics in our country. It is understandable that there has been sacralization of politics, of power, of ideas in the consciousness and heads of a goodly portion of politicians at all levels.... There has even been an acceptance of Marxism in the most vulgar forms as a kind of sacral book of prayer for daily political services.

[Question] You mean, then, that the sphere of politics has never been excluded from the sphere of religion? Please give us a few examples.

[Answer] There are many examples. Indeed the very terminology of daily politics has religious overtones: when people talk about the untouchability and about sacred things such as self-management, socialism, non-alignment, brotherhood and unity. It is a question, then, of something holy, of something that is given, of something that has been set down, which is not open to question. If we go a step further, we see a whole pile of religious elements: from the taking of oaths to acts that have a clear connotation of religious rites in a number of events—when the anthem is played, the attitude toward the seal, toward the flag, enrollment in the party, in Pioneer organizations, and so on. All of this has elements of secular religiosity, just as these elements, incidentally, exist in sports and music (the worshiping of idols).... It is a question, then, of a dogmatic structure of consciousness, of secular religiosity that accepts what has been given some authority without any sort of critical reflection. So, when we uncritically accept the views of those in the higher leadership as our own personal or unquestioned views, I think that this signifies the existence of a dogmatic structure of consciousness, which is very much present in this country and has been persistently “fostered.” When it comes to politics, I believe that, unfortunately, we will never free ourselves of such dogmas.

[Question] You have been concerned with political hypocrisy in a description of the Yugoslav crisis. At what places do you see it in reality?

[Answer] Several examples come to mind. The greatest critics of the present situation are those who are at the same time responsible for that situation. They always pass on the responsibility for that situation to phantom causes such as the “nonexistence of sufficient awareness for something to change,” to “the impossibility of reaching agreement,” although they themselves are the participants in that process to reach agreement, to “the impossibility of bringing about concerted action.” Although they themselves are those who were involved in the effort to reach agreement on action, and so on.

I think that the Yugoslav crisis was generated out of the political elite and out of the hypocrisy that exists in the political elite since they are the creators of this system and at the same time its greatest critics. For instance, isn't this statement a particular case of hypocrisy: “One of the reasons for the country's illiquidity or reduced foreign exchange abilities is that remittances from abroad have in the last year fallen from over \$5 billion to \$3.9 billion.” This is said without reference to what brought about the reduction of that inflow, those savings. And the reasons lie in foreign exchange policy and the makers of that policy are well known, since they are precisely those who are criticizing that diminished inflow of foreign exchange on the basis of remittances from abroad!

When it comes to hypocrisy, to ethics in general, when it comes to the presence of religion in politics, I would like to recall that Marx in “The Holy Family” remarked that morality was an evil only when it was not joined with politics and legislation. In Yugoslavia we are quite evidently getting a situation where we have moral sermons reserved for day-to-day politics, but they are not joined to politics and legislation.

A Prospect Without Prospect

[Question] All of this, along with the economic crisis that has gone on for years, has resulted, as the surveys show, in a large-scale feeling on the part of citizens of Yugoslavia that there is no future. What does this mean in sociological terms?

[Answer] The feeling of there not being a future is not a feeling that comes from certain higher spheres nor is it a pure product of the human mind. It always has roots in the real circumstances of the lives people lead. The rule is that the feeling of there not being a future does not occur after the first, the second, or the third year of the crisis. When the fourth year starts, and this is purely the time dimension, and when it goes on to the fifth and then lasts a long time like two world wars, then it is quite understandable that that length of time produces and generates a feeling of there not being a future. Remember that this is one-fifth of the life of a workingman. If this happens when an individual is in the most productive time of his life, then it is quite understandable that he should feel that there is no way out in the environment in which he finds himself and in the corresponding conditions he lives in. When prospects refuse to open up, when the situation promises only to be more grave year after year, then after eight such years of saying that the next year will be the hardest (and this has been said of this year and of last year), then I do not know who would be able to see a way out of that hopelessness. It is logical, then, that a man who has lost hope in an existence that is decent in human terms and in terms of civilization cannot have confidence in the system.

[Question] What sort of consequences can result from that lack of trust?

[Answer] When we spoke about the portion of society that does not accept this system as its own, we "forgot" about one part of the population—young people who are in school. Those young people, regardless of all the possible ways that Marxism may or may not be introduced into their secondary education, cannot accept a system that claims to be what is being preached to them at the ideological level when it obviously is not functioning in practice. Accordingly, the first thing that occurs in these people is a resistance to the ideology on which this society claims to be based, when in actuality this is not the case. Then, in a foreseeable time, when this awareness reaches its highest plane, the need arises to express protest, and this grows to become social protest. However, because of the character of the society and the situation in which we find ourselves, that protest is placed in an ideological frame and in time—in view of the number of social protests that have taken the form of strikes—will in certain situations or in certain places probably begin to be manifested in certain other forms of protest as well, insofar as the system of nationwide defense and social self-protection allows.

[Question] What kinds of protest do you have in mind?

[Answer] At the beginning these other forms of social protest will have ideological and political connotations, but then very quickly, or after their number has increased, they would be replaced with real features, and those are social features. It seems that we will have to become accustomed to this. And not just become accustomed, but we will have to view them in a way in which we now look at events in Lebanon that we are no longer interested in and that we perceive on the TV news as happenings of a kind that are natural and normal!

Official Title or Knowledge

[Question] How dangerous is this state of insensitivity?

[Answer] It is this state of being insensitive to those possible social protests that I fear most. At the same time there are still people of an age on the political scene, in the workplace, and in ordinary life who have vivid historical memories of very terrible and difficult moments that we have had since the war. So long as those historical memories live on, there will not be any very significant social movements and unrest, since those generations are simply afraid of showing that kind of social dissatisfaction. So I would say that up to the end of this century there will be a blockade in this respect and that over that period no very significant social unrest will be manifested even if this kind of situation should continue.

[Question] Society also faces ever deeper pauperization, and that continuous deepening of poverty tends, does it not, to instill in people still greater mistrust of the government and its institutions?

[Answer] I will illustrate this with an example. At one time when at the beginning of the occurrence of the social crisis there were certain shortages on the market, those who lived in the vicinity of Zadar began to plant wheat on their small holdings. At that point a political leader exaltedly said that "our people are once again conscious, since they have begun to plant wheat in order to make more bread." My interpretation was different. In my opinion it was a question of households that actually had no real natural or objective capabilities of planting that wheat on their small plots around the house, but these people had no confidence that the government would see to their survival unless they had bread of their own. So, this was the beginning of mistrust that the system and the government could function as they ought to, that they could guarantee normal production and the like. After all, it would be quite logical for this small peasant near Zadar to plant not wheat but some kind of vegetable, which would fit naturally on the basis of all conditions whether he was going to produce for the market or just furnish himself some additional income. Let me put it in terms of a caricature: In view of the controversial nature of the statements made by our bodies of political leadership, in connection with the bread, for example, the people and citizens of this country have developed such a mistrust of statements made by the leaders that if tomorrow one of the members of the government of this country were to say without any pretext whatsoever that enough ingredients exist to make ice cream up to the end of the year, the next day everyone would be buying ice cream cones! Whether they felt like eating ice cream or not.

[Question] Can it be said that the political structuring of Yugoslav society has actually been deeply narcissoid—not just earlier, but even now, in this profound crisis?

[Answer] It is not just a question of being narcissoid. It is a question of a historically understandable consciousness of the political leadership. For long years in Yugoslavia, actually over the entire postwar period, a kind of maxim stood up as to the political untouchability of the leadership in general. It had indeed its reasons: that part that had to do with competence, knowledge, the ability to make decisions in all spheres—culture, the economy, or athletics, it makes no difference—was directly associated with the ideological purity of those who held those positions. It was more important to be ideologically "pure" than to be intelligent, for example. Therefore, any questioning of their professional competence or ability in a particular field of their social activity was at the same time an attack on the ideological purity of those individuals. Since ideological purity, which was essential to those holding those positions, was beyond question in any case, there was no questioning of their knowledge.

[Question] When did that begin to change (if indeed it did)?

[Answer] With the change of generations and the change of the political elite, that is, with the change of the politicians at the top, those two criteria began to move

apart, and to some extent at this point it is possible—again without calling into question the purity of an individual's intentions or ideological allegiance—to talk about his professional competence. And that certainly has begun to hurt the vanity of individuals. Even though discussions of the professional ability or competence of leadership bodies are possible today, the political elites have retained the vanity of their predecessors, and it is quite normal for them to react very unfavorably to that kind of criticism.

However, that vanity, or what you refer to as narcissism, is not equally present in all of our leaders and leadership bodies. You can see that difference in the way they react to criticism. There are leaders who respond to criticism addressed to them through the media or from assembly benches only indirectly through the forums of which they are members. As a rule this type of leader will respond to criticism by pinning very harsh ideological labels on those who have directed criticism toward him. Then you have officials who again will use bodies and forums of which they are members to make their responses, but their answers are on a higher level of competence. Still others have inhibitions about entering into public dialogue, and they therefore present their opinions in the media. This latter group comes mainly from the generation that learned to communicate through letters and the written word, and they mainly come from academic circles, which does not mean that they are not vain, as in fact all other normal people are. We are all vain in a way. It is just that in that vanity of theirs our leaders often use an ideological line of argument that is mainly unwarranted and unnecessary.

[Question] Nor is it a rarity for those who do not like what they hear in a dialogue or criticism to use repressive measures.

[Answer] I will respond to you with examples from political practice in Croatia. The repressive measures that a leader uses usually are not the product of his desire or wish, but of the person who carries out the policy of that leader or of some second or third line of "satellites" linked to him.

[Question] How do these executors operate?

[Answer] If a certain leader expresses criticism of some person without ulterior motives or desire to frustrate that person in his possible social and political advancement, then someone in the circle that is pulled along behind the top politician, out of a desire to fit in with the views of that leader, not uncommonly acts as his executor and completely prevents the person criticized from carrying on public life. Actually, the second and third line of that gray mass of mediocrity are dangerous fellows for any policy or any politician. If a politician is unable to manipulate them or manipulate them appropriately (this is not a kind of manipulation I object to), or does not control them in some way, then they are able to inflict great evil both on the policy and authority of that political figure. I certainly do not preclude a situation in which leading politicians are themselves inclined toward repressive methods, those politicians who believe in chopping heads, who frustrate their political or professional opponents in a way that is not in keeping with a certain level of civilization. However, this is not a reflection just of our Balkan primitivism, but also of a form of behavior and mentality known in the world at large as the fascistoid syndrome.

[Question] More and more frequently—though not really loudly, it is true—we hear demands for an extraordinary party congress from the ranks of party members. What would be the purpose of this kind of extraordinary congress, and what could it accomplish?

[Answer] The situation has been brought about for an extraordinary congress of the League of Communists, but I think that such a congress would not in and of itself solve anything. That is, the state of relations in the LC have not yet reached the level of democratization of the state of consciousness and relations so that an extraordinary congress of the LC would solve something. The relations and state of mind in the LC have not yet been brought to the critical point. That is, the LC as an organization—here I am thinking of all the members as the collective consciousness of the organization—has not been brought to a level of feeling the crisis of the party as an organization and to the idea as the prime mover. Since the situation in the party has resulted in apathy, and this has to be followed by a state of shock, it is only then, after that state of shock, that we can expect anything from an extraordinary congress. For the moment, then, given the party as it is at present, I do not anticipate that an extraordinary congress would signify any step forward at all.

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INTRABLOC

Greater Maintenance Requirements for Modern Warships

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[Article by V Adm Dr J. Muench, Ret.]

[Text] In evaluating and translating the decrees of the XI Party Congress of the SED, soldiers and civilian employees of the rear services of the East German Navy, like all other soldiers and civilian employees of the National People's Army (NPA), are conducting socialist competition for the greatest possible achievements in the fulfillment of the class mission of the NPA. This includes their efforts "to increase continually the effectiveness and military activity to develop combat, tactical and mobilization readiness by means of extensive intensification in all areas of political and military life." (1).

An important item is the command activity of the commanders. Proceeding from Order No. 03/86 of the Ministry of National Defense and from the instructions on this topic, a plan of actions was worked out and confirmed for intensification and rationalization of command, training, and security processes in the rear services of the navy. Simultaneously it applies the corresponding plan of the Deputy Minister and Chief of the navy to the tasks of the rear services. Many groups worked on its content, and their ideas were included. Thus, an extensive conception for the period up to 1990 was created.

This plan of action took into account the tasks and instructions from the plans of the spheres of the Deputy Minister and Chief of Rear Services, and of the Deputy Minister and Chief of Equipment and Armaments. It specifies the intensification of rear and special services support for the command organs, fleet forces, and troops. At the same time, it orients the subordinate command levels to how they can ensure a thorough solution of problems and tasks.

Basis: Build on Experiences and Successes

When establishing the areas of intensification, we were able to refer back to good experiences and successes of our previous work. Achievements of previous years were a good foundation for building toward new goals with greater requirements. The new steps are more complex, qualitatively more difficult, and thus require even more the initiative of our soldiers and civilian employees, and also their directed control.

The problem was to evaluate the tasks and classify them according to their importance and our capabilities. We had to take into account that primary themes were established pertaining to the introduction of new combat equipment, armaments, and systems, for integrated logistics support (ILS). Likewise, we had to ensure that

thoroughly organized intensification measures from the plans of the Chief and Directors of the Ministry of National Defense were implemented in the navy. Not least, it was necessary to prepare for broader use of microcomputers.

This intensification has many aspects and is implemented with versatile and specific means and methods. It is important to recognize the proper point of attack to achieve a higher level. To analyze the real situation, to study scientific findings, and to discern the meaning of new technical and technological solutions are prerequisites for this. Even more important is to enable comrades to handle these new means that enable them to apply new scientific findings properly and to motivate them for solving the posed tasks. Support and interest of the superior in the progress of the work, praise and recognition, and material stimulation are simultaneously a motivation and social appreciation tool for participants.

Anyone who feels left out doubts whether he and his talents are used at all. Therefore, proper command methods and constant working with subordinates have a considerable effect on the course of the intensification work and its results. All the while we can gain new experiences and learn new ideas.

Efficiency in Staff and Administrative Work

One main effort of our intensification concept is to improve efficiency of staff and administrative work to control the support processes and the effectiveness of combat control.

Work is also under way on algorithms and planning cycles for complex and parallel structuring of command documents, and also on the faster generation and processing of information. Naturally, computers and other electronic systems available to us are being used. For example, an existing program of computer-based analysis of the jam-behavior of ship equipment is being expanded and prepared for use with other types of equipment. Computer-based planning and calculation of combat loads, transport, and supply missions have begun and will be applied to other support processes.

Our project to convert the processes of material support to the E69, E70, and F70 data processing projects is significant because it affects the supply to troops of systems and spares. Project E18 was concluded with these programs that have proved useful in practice, but, due to new computer equipment, they could not be incorporated. For nearly 200,000 depot items, a stepwise conversion to the new program is necessary, without adversely affecting logistics support due to lack of an overview of the movement of supplies.

Planning of consumption of materiel must also be secured per military-economic considerations, in spite of this conversion. Another topic is our working with standards.

Besides these high-priority extensive efforts, we also face problems of applying microcomputers stepwise to other previously untouched areas. The younger, appropriately trained officers and engineer cadre are ready for this task. A wide circle of soldiers and civilian employees will be working on these tasks. They become qualified by participating in organized courses of instruction. The chiefs and commanders have recognized that they must use this resource if they want to solve problems properly and prepare the program structure correctly.

Our declared intention is to use existing programs more quickly or to modify them for our applications in order to quickly attain enhanced efficiency in our own work.

Greater Requirements of Special Logistics Support

In the area of special logistics support, for many years work has been under way on a system of equipment maintenance. Today we face the problem of keeping combat equipment in action under new conditions.

It is important to create the technological prerequisites for repair of new systems, facilities, and equipment introduced into the army, in order to ensure its continual technical readiness. The attendant training problems for personnel of depot maintenance, training of service technicians, and of service personnel at maintenance facilities, must be included in the overall plan, just like scientific-technical preparation of maintenance at wharfs and industry. Expanded requirements of instrument logistic support and preventive maintenance (PM) and of support with test facilities and spares are elements that illustrate the new, greater level of these tasks. The complex nature of technical systems and weaponry, their increasing complexity and interdependence, and their greater degree of automation place new demands on the organization and quality of maintenance on board. So our struggle is for greater troop effectiveness at the repair facilities. In particular, the technical people of these facilities must assure a greater availability. To increase the effectiveness of these forces through qualification and improved quality of their work, are tasks for commanders and of motivating people.

Under consideration of the development of the technical equipment of our new warships, a new thinking is required. It is important to instill an appropriate attitude of responsibility for the equipment, its condition, and its constant readiness. Through specific training, safe handling of the equipment, responsible maintenance, and extensive knowledge about significant technical functions, adherence to operating parameters and properties, adherence to use and maintenance intervals, an intensification effect will be attained that cannot be estimated highly enough.

The most valuable result of this is the continually increasing reliance of crews in their own ability and in their combat equipment, especially when solving problems at sea.

Carefully Conducted Maintenance Work Yields Economic Benefit

Planned preventive maintenance is an important element of the maintenance system of warships; its effectiveness must be further increased. With our port maintenance (maintenance No. 6), and also with periodic and usage-related maintenance, we succeeded in tangibly stabilizing the technical condition of our warship. As a result of the improving maintenance work, we were able to increase the service life between wharf maintenance from 3 years to 5 or 6 years.

The significant economic benefit has already been demonstrated. The new situation among the different series and models of our warships requires even more time for maintaining tactical readiness. For the new warships, a qualified maintenance by the maintenance squads is a prerequisite for their tactical reliability. Another significant possibility for increasing efficiency is in reducing wharf tie-up times. These times should be structured more scientifically and their quality increased to maintain the technological schedule; this brings economic benefits and ensures that repairs run according to schedule. Our intention is that the crews work closely with the wharf employees to ensure high quality and planned implementation of repairs. We are convinced that this structure will provide an important contribution toward "perfect mastery of equipment, armaments, and weaponry" and "ensuring technical and integrated logistic support and the specified daily coefficient of technical readiness." (2).

Intensification of Training of ILS Personnel

Another important area is the intensification of training of ILS personnel; that is, the ILS facilities. Based on a catalog of new tasks, we are striving to organize the training more intensely and realistically, and to check the results in complex, high-requirement training exercises. Since this also pertains to the continuation of a problem from past years at a higher level of performance, we are certain of success because experiences show that our soldiers and civilian employees want to be led via demanding requirements to greater performance. The maintenance forces, for example, demonstrate their readiness in exercises by quickly and accurately performing maintenance on warships under difficult conditions, after prior physical stress.

A near-real training places high demands on the command activity and solidifies its socialist conduct toward its subordinates.

Large-Scale Initiatives Yielded Increased Efficiency

Discussions on increasing efficiency within the groups yielded many valuable suggestions. The group and individual obligations for socialist competition, the objective of attaining the Honors Title "Best Unit," "Best ILS

Unit" and the plans for increased efficiency of innovators, reflect initiatives that make clear that the members of the rear services of the navy take seriously the requirement of the party. There were many soldiers and civilian employees who volunteered to solve one or several tasks personally, when the problems were laid before them. Within the framework of socialist competition, they undertook the preparation of documents, programs, or technical solutions. They are also ready to do their part toward improving working and living conditions. They consider an increase in their own activity to be important, since that is the sole possibility for more available duty time, less expenditure, greater quality, and more and faster results—that is, greater effectiveness in performing military duties. They strive for economic handling of material and financial means, likewise for more order and reasonable use of time. That is an important power, which should be utilized expeditiously by the command activity.

For example, one group decided to erect preparation facilities for treating coolant water with Chrompik, a chemical additive to prevent corrosion and cavitation in the engines of coastal defense ships of Project 133.1. This innovation is not an isolated example. Innovators from the Born detachment developed a method for repairing sonar systems and rudder, without having to dock the ship. They created spacer rings for free-running propeller shafts.

In the Griessbach detachment, a youth research group has formed. Its goal is further development of a tactics trainer. Another group of this detachment developed and tested a programming device for EPROMs.

A group in the Mueller detachment set up a system for training in defense against weapons of mass destruction. Another group decided to implement the resupply of warships in port in a new way. Previously, the supply articles for a ship were procured in the depot. Today, an experiment is under way for bringing thoroughly prepared consumables, food, clothing, and so forth, for several ships to the pier. It is already evident that the crews will save time, which they can use for training and maintenance. This new idea must meet with the necessary understanding because time is also valuable in the rear services.

In the missile and weapons service of the Navy command, experiences of the ammunition recovery command of the Ministry of the Interior were refined and used to obtain nonferrous metal scrap from sorted munition. Now this material is no longer lost after detonation of munition. In addition, the time and personnel effort is reduced considerably.

Finally, I would like to refer to an important problem that is discussed more thoroughly in this issue of "Militaertechnik" on page 172. It pertains to measures to prevent pollution and the recovery of waste products.

I wanted to provide my contribution to the exchange of information about the control and implementation of more efficient ILS processes. These are findings that show that additional efforts are needed to better master this process so that it will have a tangible effect on increasing the combat effectiveness and combat readiness of the Navy.

Footnotes:

1. Decree of the XIV Delegate's Conference of the Party Organization of the SED in the NPA and Border Troops of the GDR. In: *Parteiarbeiter*, Special edition, Feb. 1986, p. 11.

2. Report to the XIV Delegate's Conference of the Party Organization of the SED in the NPA and Border Troops of the GDR. In: *Parteiarbeiter*. 9280 Delegate's Conference of the Party Organization of the SED in the NPA and Border Troops.

09280

Joint CSSR, GDR Flight Training Reported
23000367 East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German
No 33, 1987 (signed to press 10 Aug 87) p 9

[Article by Jens Sell]

[Text] You can hardly hear yourself talk because a loud, continuous whining closes up ears and mouth. A MiG-23BN is the source. With pinpoint control, the pilot throttles the powerful thrust from the 78 kN jet engine so that the brown-green mottled giant bird rolls only a little faster than a walk, from the prestart line to the takeoff and landing strip. The adjustable support surfaces are at maximum extension, the stabilization fins under the tail are extended to the right, since otherwise they would contact the concrete strip; with the greatly slanting fuselage nose sticking upward for every acceleration, the modern fighter-bomber looks like a crane ready to fly off.

Once it had moved off, Officer Candidates Helge Baumfeldere and 1st Lt. Jiri Mikolasek were able to exchange a few words again. They are speaking Russian, the command language of the Warsaw Pact armies, and the future officer of the Flight Engineering Service and the Czechoslovak aircraft technician understand each other quite well. Yesterday, after the fighter-bomber wing of the Czech Air Force had landed on the East German Air Force airbase and the brothers in arms were introduced, they first visited the monuments to the first German Worker's President in the Wilhelm-Pieck-Stadt Guben. Helge can answer all the 1st Lieutenant's questions today about the county seat on the Neisse River because he was born there. And Jiri also provides information—about the revolutionary example of the fighter-bomber wing in which the officer candidate completed his practical duty. Finally, the host of the Czech Air Force wing bears the name of the first Czechoslovak Worker's President—Klement Gottwald. Their conversation turns to familiar

things since there is relative calm at the pretake-off line. Helge learns that, according to tradition, Jiri's seven-month-old son has the same first names as his father and grandfather, and is living with his mother, Dana, in their hometown, the health spa of Karlovy Vary. But soon the new three-room apartment at the Decinsk wing base will be ready to move into. The 25-year-old 1st Lt. and the Officer Candidate are both in the fourth year of study, and this is their first exchange of aircraft with their brothers in arms, but it is surely not their last. An intense whine from the direction of the runway announces that both men will soon be at work. The MiG-23BN just landed, with Major Ludek Bjelsky at the controls, will have to be made ready for takeoff by the two technicians jointly. The pilot's raised thumb indicates: No unusual occurrences. Equipment in top condition! This gesture is evidently international; finally on the lateral flaps of the trimmed aircraft, the white-blue-red colors of the CSSR pass by. After the "crane" stops, the Major raises the cockpit canopy and locks it. The first flight exercise during the wing exchange is behind him. Loops and rolls, engagement curves and low-level flight training had to be practiced.

While Helge and Jiri checked the MiG systems and soldiers of the Franke airbase battalion refilled fuel and compressed air and oxygen, Major Voitech Barti climbed into the rear compartment of the MiG-23UB next door. That's the two-seat training version of the MiG-23 fighter aircraft. Capt. Jan Kokoschka had taken a seat up front. Interception of "enemy" aircraft is on his flight program. The "firing results" with the photo-MG are recorded on a target film so that Major Barti can use his own observations and other criteria to evaluate the flight. The experienced pilot of Performance Class 1 performed his 1200 flight hours on the L-39 "Albatros" trainer and the various modifications of the MiG-21 and MiG-23. He stated this information in German, because he was born in Kraslice, a small town 5 km from Klingenthal on the other side of the border. The Major with his striking moustache leans back, Officer Candidate Michael Weiss closes the canopy and the familiar whine fills the air. The training aircraft begins to move, the air flickers behind the engine. Ready for the next takeoff, one of many during this wing exchange on the airbases of the "Klement Gottwald" unit in the GDR and of the Decinsk fighter-bomber wing in the CSSR.

9280

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

New Military Training Simulators Described
23000006 East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 5, 1987 (signed to press 14 Jul 87) pp 238-239

[Text] The present article is based on a presentation by the Deputy Chief of the Armed Forces and Chief of Training during a training course for leading cadre on the subject of Development and Use of Training Tools and Simulators.

1. Proven Training Aids

A training tool should allow a perfect mastery of operating sequences, but a simulator has to imitate a particular sequence (for example, a live shot). In real cases, it is not possible to provide a sharp delimitation of concepts, since a tool can combine both functions. Often for simulation, a laser, video, or microcomputer technique is used.

Several advantages assure the future of training tools and simulators in the training process. Combat equipment and armament are optimized for combat, and not for training. The majority of combat vehicles is not suitable for checking the actions of the crew inside.

Training tools and simulators also offer important advantages for initial learning and retention training. Combat equipment and armament can be spared, and relatively large utilization reserves can be attained for combat readiness.

In addition, with nearly all training tools and simulators, it is possible to increase the training tasks from the simple to the difficult. In the future, possible difficulties, failures, and potential dangers will also be imitated.

Training tools and simulators in many cases are the only means for training. For example, they do not require the safety factors necessary when firing live ammunition. Moreover, the environmental effects are less.

However, training tools and simulators as a rule do not entirely replace combat equipment and armament, and training with them. There will always be a difference between fire training on the simulator, and firing of the weapon itself.

Training tools and simulators must also be procured and maintained. This requires a significant economic and personnel expenditure.

Finally, the requirements of the instructor are increasing. He must perform his tasks as military leader, build the training effort methodically, and simultaneously master the training tool or simulator completely.

2. Laser "Firing"

All the different tools can be combined into three groups. These groups simultaneously represent the significant development efforts today.

First are fire simulators at real ranges. A laser sender imitates the shot, and hits are indicated electronically. An instructor is in the position to monitor several infantrymen by using a display unit or monitor.

An example of this is the target training device for infantry weapons (figure 1). The cross-shaped beam emitted by the laser strikes the 100-m distant target. Its

position is computed and serves as the basis for evaluation. In addition, infantry targets up to 500-m range can be fired at with blanks, and hits cause the targets to fold up.

Likewise, this group includes aiming training devices for tanks and fire simulators for APCs. In contrast to the target training device, the laser beam reflected from the target is used for hit evaluation. In addition, a TV camera is used to display the aiming process of three APC turrets to the instructor on one screen (figure 2).

The second group is composed of computer-based internal video firing simulators (RVS). They typically use image and fire representation by fast minicomputers with training software on disk and printers for output of results.

During a comparison training, the RVS allowed up to five times more fire missions than fire training on the real turret armament. Fifty percent hits and fifty percent more hits with the first shot were achieved.

The third group includes a new generation of firing range equipment (figure 3). The military goal is aimed at a general improvement of firing ranges and their build-out into complex, technical facilities.

It is intended primarily to update the information system of the firing ranges, that is, to use computer-based target field control and evaluation of firing results.

It has proved useful to make a thorough and detailed preparation for the introduction and use of training tools and simulators. This includes military-technical and methodological propaganda, enabling measures and support forces, instructors, and a maintenance system appropriate to the level of laser, computer, and video equipment.

Figure 1: Target Training Device Consisting of Laser Sender, Evaluation Unit, and Target Disc.

Figure 2: Aiming Trainer for the APC. In the foreground are pivot-mounted APC turrets with laser senders and TV cameras. Behind them is the control trailer for the instructor.

9280

Shipboard Maintenance of NBC Equipment Detailed

23000003 East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 5, 1987 (signed to press 14 Jul 87) pp 244-245

[Article by Comdr K.-H. Kotecki: "Inspecting and Evaluating Chemical Agent Detection Equipment on Ships and Boats"]

[Text] Instruction Sheet 053/1/007—Inspecting and Evaluating Special Purpose Equipment and Devices for the Chemical Corps—and Instruction Sheet

053/1/301—Personal Protective Suits—stipulate procedures for inspecting the condition of chemical agent detection equipment and recognizing important factors that can decrease its combat readiness. This gives the commander the ability to evaluate devices and material entrusted to him without the support of the Engineering Corps.

However, he should check the chemical agent detection equipment not only before major events but regularly as well. This absolutely must take place before chemical agent detection equipment is turned over or taken over if there is a change in duty station, in preparation for and during inspections, after finishing Maintenance Operations No. 5 and 6, as well as during technical inspections of chemical agent detection equipment (for instance, detoxification and deactivation system EEA 200) by authorized naval engineering inspectors or review by the Chemical Corps.

Furthermore, commanding officers are also to evaluate the combat readiness of personal protective suits once a month.

These inspections are based on two criteria: technical condition (combat readiness) and maintenance condition.

1. Preparation for the Inspection

Instruction sheet 053/1/007 specifies the form in which the equipment is presented. On the basis of these instructions, several different versions of the complex inspection procedure have been developed in practice, and have proved effective.

The procedural variations described below have proved especially appropriate for regular inspections and thorough annual inspections:

Before starting the inspection, the water protection system (WSS) or the universal water protection system (UWSS) is turned on for a short time. The EEA 200 and the field-pack detoxification unit TEG 57M are filled with water (without detoxification and deactivation media) and are ready to use; the portable NBC units are at the battle stations ready for use. The stationary NBC units are turned on; the chemical load and the chemical detector load are opened for inspection (note poison protection: methanol). The ship's inventory log, individual equipment logs, dosimeter log, and scheduled preventive maintenance checklists are available for inspection.

The inspector will check air tightness using a filter ventilation unit (FVA) and the function of the air purification and oxygen metering systems separately. Chemical agent detection equipment specialists are to be present with their equipment or be available.

This version of the equipment presentation makes it possible for the inspector to conduct a thorough inspection of the condition of special purpose equipment and devices quickly, while at the same time checking combat readiness.

A second type of procedure is particularly suitable for partial inspections. This version of the procedure does not check all the chemical agent detection equipment, but only about 50 percent of it.

Neither the WSS nor the UWSS is turned on.

Fifty percent of the EEA 200 and the TEG 57M are filled and combat ready; the remaining equipment is checked in dry condition. The portable NC-detectors are combat ready at the battle station, the KDU 4B or RW64S stationary nuclear radiation warning system and the automatic AGF 1M chemical agent detector are turned on. They are not filled with indicator medium. The storage area for the FVA, the air purification and oxygen metering systems, and the chemical stock and chemical agent detectors are opened. The ship's property log, individual equipment logs, dosimeter log, and the scheduled preventive maintenance checklists are available for inspection.

On the day before the inspection, the inspector will agree with the commander which inspection procedure will be used and what determinations are to be made. In the case of partial inspections, the scope of equipment to be presented will also be stipulated.

The commander will hardly be able to use these procedures for his own inspections. He should be primarily concerned with checking the individual pieces of equipment.

2. Checking Technical Condition

Coordinated functioning of all assemblies and components is decisive for the combat readiness of special purpose equipment and devices. The technical condition of a system is characterized by this interaction.

Depending on the degree to which these conditions affect combat readiness, any defects are classified in three categories: defects in Category I have minimal effects on the use of the chemical agent detection equipment. In general, they do not reduce the performance parameter by more than 10 percent. Characteristic defects in this category include, for instance, individual damaged nozzles on the wash brushes (EEA 200), a faulty spray apparatus regulator (TEG 57), a frozen friction bushing on the air purification system, defective display light bulbs for "tape end" and "system warmed up" (AGF 1M), and a nonoperative flowmeter on the KDU 4B.

Defects in Category II have a direct influence on the combat readiness and function or performance capability of individual assemblies, supplemental devices, and equipment. They do not, however, lead to failure of the special purpose equipment and devices. Examples in this category include leaking glands and valves on the EEA 200, inadequate filling of the TEG 57M with detoxification and deactivation medium (minimum 50%), a defective variable area flowmeter on the air purification system, failure of the AGF 1M to perform through an entire work cycle, and a defective gauging channel switch on the KDU 4B.

Defects that influence combat readiness and functional integrity to such an extent that the condition leads to the failure of the main assembly or endangerment of operational reliability are classified in category III. This is the case if no deactivation and detoxification medium is present in the EEA 200, the seal on the safety valve for the TEG 57 is damaged or missing, the bladder in the air purification unit is defective, the indicator medium assembly is missing on the AGF 1M, its service life has been exceeded, or more than two probes in the KDU 4B are defective.

During inspection of chemical agent detection equipment, Category II and III defects frequently occur, which could be avoided without great effort. These include, above all, missing or discharged batteries in the RWA 72M nuclear radiation counter and missing detector medium for the chemical agent indicator. The person responsible for the equipment often has these items stored in his cabin and forgets to present them for inspection.

3. Checking Maintenance Condition

Estimation of the maintenance condition indicates the extent to which the requirements for scheduled preventive maintenance and service have been converted into practice.

Some factors that should be subjected to evaluation include the purity of the chemical agent detection material, anticorrosion agents, adherence to oil-change schedules, restocking with spare tools and accessories kits and consumable materials, as well as maintenance and retention of related checklists, adherence to deadlines, the scope of the scheduled preventive maintenance, and inventory turnover schedules.

Practical experience has proved that evaluating maintenance condition of chemical agent detection equipment has been oriented too one-sidedly toward the purity of the chemical detection agents, and the so-called marginal problems have received too little attention.

Incomplete replacement tool and accessories kits, deficient anticorrosion agents, or failure to adhere to standard oil change schedules can evolve from simple maintenance discrepancies into the cause for technical failure,

thus impairing combat readiness. The viewpoint that putting forth a lot of effort accomplishes a great deal is unfortunately not always applicable. Often manufacturer's equipment plates and similar items (for example, vessel plates, air resistance information on filters, maintenance decals, or gauging equipment) fall victim to over-zealous painting.

4. Evaluating the Condition of Chemical Agent Detection Equipment

After inspection, the chemical agent detection equipment is evaluated using a rating for technical condition, a maintenance rating for each individual device, and a total rating for the ship, the department, and so forth

In general, all special purpose equipment, instrument units, and standard materials stocks are rated. All devices receive an overall rating made up of the technical condition rating and the maintenance condition rating.

The technical condition rating is the decisive factor. For instance, if the technical condition rating is "good" and the maintenance condition rating is "very good," the unit receives an overall rating of "good."

The defect categories cited above are used for evaluating technical condition. Up to two Category I defects are permissible to receive a rating of "very good." If there are as many as six Category I defects and/or no more than one Category II defect, the unit can be rated "good." Seven Category II defects and/or three Category II defects result in just a "satisfactory" rating. "Unsatisfactory" applies if the number of defects is higher or if a Category III defect occurs.

For no more than two defects, the unit will be judged "very good." A unit will be identified as "unsatisfactory" if over six defects are found.

To evaluate the chemical agent detection equipment on a ship or boat, or by analogy, of a military unit, three evaluations must be made, comprised of the arithmetic average of the individual ratings for the units and equipment inspected: the rating for the technical condition of the equipment for NC-reconnaissance and the maintenance rating, the rating for the technical condition of special purpose equipment and devices for special handling and collective protective equipment, and a maintenance rating, as well as the rating for combat readiness of personal protective suits.

On the basis of these evaluations, the technical condition rating, the maintenance rating, and the overall rating are calculated as the arithmetic mean.

If the condition of the chemical agent detection equipment cannot be determined exactly using fixed evaluation criteria, a verbal evaluation is usually conducted.

Ships and boats in the People's Navy are issued extensive means that will enable them to fulfill unlimited duties, even in locations exposed to NCB-agents. However, it is necessary to ensure the combat readiness of special purpose equipment, devices, and media issued by the Chemical Corps. Well-organized inspections lay a solid groundwork for this preparedness.

13127

Military Historian Cites Clausewitz on War Politics

23000009 East Berlin DER NATIONAL DEMOKRAT
in German No 3, Mar 87 [signed to press
9 Mar 87] pp 13-16

[From the speech by Maj Gen Prof Dr Reinhard Bruehl, director, GDR Military History Institute, given at the Central Military Political Session of the Secretariat of the Main Committee of the National Democratic Party on 24 Feb 87: "The Peace Philosophy of Socialism Corresponds as Well to Its Military Policy"]

[Text] I am happy to address this principal military policy session, which is one of the events preparatory to the 13th party congress of your party. In addition to asking me to speak to you, Army General Heinz Kessler, a member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee, asked me to convey his personal greetings and his best wishes for your efforts on behalf of strengthening our socialist GDR, which are a reflection of your profound sense of political responsibility.

He recalled appearing before this very body prior to the 12th party congress of your party. On that occasion, he spoke about the fundamental issues of SED military policy and about topical military policy tasks subsequent to the 10th party congress of the SED. He also paid tribute to the efforts of the National Democratic Party as a faithful ally of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, citing in particular the active support of thousands of its functionaries and members in socialist military training and the solution of other problems, helping to safeguard the required defense readiness. At the 12th party congress of your party, Prof Dr Heinrich Homann, your party chairman, who is a deputy of the chairman of the GDR Council of State, reiterated his position as follows: "Our party lends total and unequivocal support to the military policy of our socialist state and its principal agent, the SED." This commitment has been fulfilled. In doing so and in contributing in a variety of other ways to strengthening the GDR, your party has done itself proud and given proof of the fact yet once more that "democratic cooperation within the National Front of the GDR is constantly renewing itself through deeds on behalf of socialism and peace."

This latter statement by Erich Honecker at a meeting with the chairmen of the friendly political parties and the president of the national council of the National Front

may be viewed as well as a commitment to new and diversified initiatives and efforts on behalf of our citizens and the preservation of peace.

In the contest revolving about the war-and-peace issue, mankind has reached a turning point. We must succeed in preserving peace and in making it more and more stable and ultimately permanent by returning to detente and by agreeing on disarmament on the basis of equal security. Otherwise, mankind is faced with the threat of extinction. In this context, our German Democratic Republic stands with all its might on the side of those seeking to prevent nuclear catastrophe and to guarantee mankind a future of lasting peace. This stand is reflected in Mikhail Gorbachev's comprehensive and far-reaching program for peace and in the Budapest proposals by the nations of the Warsaw Pact. The struggle for peace is accompanied by a sharp ideological dispute. At times, it is not easy to distinguish between the genuine adherents to the cause of peace and those who merely talk about peace but are in fact trying to gain military superiority in order to threaten and blackmail socialism and to make it possible to wage and win a nuclear war.

Under the circumstances, it is an urgent task of ideological (as well as military political) activity "to make everyone aware of the inseparable connection between socialism and peace," as Erich Honecker, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee, recently told a meeting of district first secretaries of the SED.

Today, our watchword must be: we must fight against war and defeat it before it breaks out. In taking up this cause, we must resolutely unmask all efforts by the supporters of the arms race in the United States and in NATO to portray this policy and the militarization of outer space as serving peace or as being in the national interest. At the same time, we must aggressively campaign on behalf of our position regarding war and peace and regarding our efforts to guarantee the kind of socialist national defense posture commensurate with the needs of our age.

Maj Gen Prof Dr Bruehl went on to inform the conference participants about the work of the military historians on the book entitled "Armee fuer Frieden und Sozialismus. Geschichte der Nationalen Volksarmee der DDR" [An Army for Peace and Socialism. A History of the GDR National People's Army]. Judging from the letters received by our institute, he said, this book has aroused a great deal of interest among members of your party, too. We are delighted that it has been termed a "successful blend of scientific expertise, partisanship, clarity, and readability" and that it is being used as part of the curriculum of the central party school and of the military propaganda activities of your party. On behalf of the authors' collective I would like to express my sincere gratitude for this recognition of their work and, above all, for the valuable suggestions we received to help us carry on our work.

After our republic was founded, the members of the other classes and social groups came to realize increasingly that SED military policy took their particular historic experiences as well as their interests in the future into consideration. At its 4th party congress in June 1952, the NDPD came out in favor of the creation of a national defense force, terming it a "commitment based on national duty," a contribution to the resolute struggle against the then aggressive policies of the imperialistic Western powers and of monopoly capitalism in the FRG.

This commitment was a reflection, among other things, of the lessons that former officers and professional soldiers had drawn from personal experience. Some of them, including Prof Dr Heinrich Homann, your present party chairman, broke with Hitler during the course of World War II and actively participated in the defeat of the aggressors and the liberation of the German people from fascism. The report by the SED Central Committee to the 11th party congress noted that a reliable system for the defense and protection of the socialist fatherland has been created thanks to "the strength of our entire population" and has been developed in accordance with the needs of our time. The NDPD has played a diversified role in making this possible.

The representatives elected by your party—to the People's Assembly and all the way down to the local level—have taken part in the implementation of defense legislation and military laws of our state along with those members of your party who hold responsible positions on the Council of State, on the Council of Ministers, or on other government agencies. Ever since members of your party unstintingly made their military expertise available to our national armed forces, it has been a point of honor with the younger members of the NDPD to perform their military service in an exemplary manner—as professional soldiers, soldiers, noncommissioned or extended active duty officers, as conscripts or reservists. I should also mention that countless members of your party have made and are still making important contributions to military education in the Society for Sport and Technology and in civil defense, in the schools, in producer cooperatives, and in the private crafts.

I should also mention in this context that your party has always viewed military propaganda and historical propaganda as being closely interrelated. "One of the basic principles of the NDPD is that national identity bears the imprint of historical identity; that history is an integral part of national thinking." In keeping with this basic principle, you have always placed a great deal of emphasis on popularizing the progressive and military traditions of our people. At the same time, you established a clear and logical connection between these principles and the analysis of all the reactionary aspects of German military history that were inimical to the people and the spirit of progress. In this way, the

activities of your party in the field of military propaganda have proved that those who have a clear and scientific idea of history will more readily and profoundly comprehend the military policy of our state.

At the 11th party congress of the SED, Maj Gen Bruehl went on to say, Erich Honecker spoke of "a new stage in your peace policy." It is new in that the issues of war and peace have entered a nuclear dimension. What this means can be summed up by noting that "there would be no winners or losers in a nuclear war; nor can the arms race be won." If it heats up, it only "increases the threat to peace and, by extension, the very existence of mankind."

This "nuclear dimension" calls on us to take a new approach to the questions of war and peace. The following points constitute the essence of this new approach:

Nuclear war is not the appropriate means of attaining political objectives. On the contrary, it conjures up the threat of self-annihilation of mankind and could in that sense put an end to politics as such. As a consequence, the prevention of nuclear war is a priority task of responsible political action.

Responsible policies must not be directed toward attaining military superiority but toward preserving military-strategic balance while reducing the level of armaments.

The most important steps toward reducing the threat of war and creating the climate of confidence necessary for the start of genuine disarmament include a ban on all nuclear testing, the renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons, and their deployment in outer space.

Since mankind can survive only under conditions of peace, the preservation of peace clearly is in the interest of all classes. The survival of mankind therefore makes it both essential and feasible to accept the principle of states with differing social orders and to implement that principle as a universal standard in international relations. What is needed is a coalition of common sense and realism.

Peaceful coexistence does not change the differences in the social orders and the social philosophies, the world views or ideologies. It does not put an end to the class struggle or the competition of the different systems. But it does create the opportunity to wage it by exclusively peaceful means and in civilized ways in the fields of social and economic policy and of scientific and cultural life.

On 15 January 1986, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee made a proposal calling for a three-stage program to eliminate all weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000 and to reduce the other armaments

to the levels necessary for defense. This program presented mankind with the realistic possibility of removing the most dangerous and life-threatening weaponry in a relatively short time, while at the same time guaranteeing international security.

At the conference in Vienna on troop reductions in Europe and in Stockholm on confidence-building measures, the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other members of the Warsaw Pact offered compromise proposals to the West.

The 27th party congress of the CPSU approved these proposals and turned them into a comprehensive program for peace. The Soviet disarmament concessions included the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing; a halt to further deployment of SS-20 missiles and a freeze of their number to 1983 levels; the reduction of SS-5 missiles on Kola Peninsula from 600 to 300; and the removal of tactical missiles from the Leningrad military district as a contribution to the establishment of a nuclear free zone in northern Europe.

All of this, as Mikhail Gorbachev underlined in his 16 February 1987 speech to the participants of the international peace forum in Moscow, is an integral part of the policy of the CPSU that is directed toward promoting the welfare of the Soviet people and the continued growth of socialism.

Along with the other Warsaw Pact nations, the GDR fully supports the Soviet peace initiatives. This was demonstrated (among other things) in the disarmament plan adopted at the Warsaw Pact consultative committee meeting in Budapest in 1986, which includes all types of weapons and all required control measures and which offers a solid basis for the search for mutually acceptable solutions (compromises). Another demonstration of the active role the GDR plays in the common struggle for peace is the joint report prepared by the SED/SPD working group on the establishment of a chemical-weapons-free zone in Europe and a nuclear-free corridor in Central Europe. As Comrade Honecker reiterated on 6 February 1987, all these proposals remain on the table as solid bases for substantive agreements.

The United States and its NATO allies, on the other hand, soon distanced themselves from the spirit of the Geneva declaration and the Reykjavik talks. The theoretical and practical preparations of both the United States and NATO and their military-economic and scientific-technological efforts are unalterably directed toward perfecting the capabilities of their armed forces for waging both a missile-nuclear war and a modern conventional war. The United States above all is speeding up development of its offensive strategic capability. It is aiming to develop its first-strike capability to the point of being able to deliver an annihilating blow, making use of weapons systems in outer space as well. This goal is being pursued in particular through the development of new strategic intercontinental missiles

and missile-carrying nuclear submarines, the modernization of the SAC bomber fleet, and the deployment of medium-range missiles in Western Europe. But France and Great Britain, too, are increasing and modernizing their missiles and their nuclear arsenals.

The so-called Star Wars program is fast becoming not only the biggest and most profitable arms project of all time but also the most important weapon to be used against all existing treaties and agreements dealing with the limitation of strategic armaments. In public, however, the proponents of the program are saying that SDI is the weapon to end all weapons, which will bring peace to the world.

The logical and bold proposals by the USSR and the nations of the Warsaw Pact, our policies that are directed toward creating a coalition of common sense and realism, and the further strengthening of socialism have already borne fruit. The stronger socialism is, the better it is for the preservation of peace.

Let me conclude my talk with a few thoughts about the relationship between war and politics. It was Clausewitz, the Prussian general, who first elaborated the basis of this relationship scientifically. Politicians and military leaders such as Montecuculli, Frederick II, and Scharnhorst took note of this relationship before Clausewitz. The Clausewitz analysis was new in that he proved that the casual relationship between politics and war is an objective and at the same time essential, universal, and a constant component of the social phenomenon that is war. Clausewitz summed up his conclusions in the following statement, among others: "Politics is the womb from which war is born. War, in other words, is a political act. Politics will permeate war throughout its duration and exert a constant influence on it."

It was this particular analysis of the nature of war that Marx, Engels, and Lenin turned into one of the mainstays of their views on war and that they augmented by introducing the class character theory of politics and war. It was obvious to Marx, Engels, and Lenin, as well as to Clausewitz, that the nature of war is primarily imbedded in its causes and objectives but not in the ways and the extent to which the political objectives pursued in war are actually attained. They lived in an age in which the present danger of the annihilation of mankind in a nuclear war did not exist.

If we who are alive today no longer say as Clausewitz and Lenin did that war is the extension of politics by other means, what we are really saying is this: 1) a war in which nuclear missiles are used is no longer a usable means of attaining political objectives; 2) today's world, as Mikhail Gorbachev put it at the 27th party congress, has generally become "far too small and fragile...for wars and policies of strength" because in this day and age every war can escalate to nuclear proportions and it must therefore be the goal of politics to prevent all wars; 3) the policies of our party are directed toward this very goal.

We do not negate the relationship between politics and war by any means. If a threat of war exists today, it is not due in the first instance to the stockpiling of weapons (even though continued stockpiling does increase the threat still more) but to a policy that has not (yet) abandoned the idea of attaining its objectives by force, if need be. This type of policy is the policy of the "crusade against communism." Although its proponents do not propagate that policy as loudly as they used to, they are still pursuing it as assiduously as ever. A demonstration of this, among other things, is worldwide U.S. interventionism; the undeclared American wars against the peoples and rightful governments of Nicaragua, Angola, and Afghanistan; U.S. state terrorism; and the ideological and psychological warfare waged by the United States against the ideas of social progress. In the interest of peace and the worldwide implementation of a new approach to the issues of war and peace, we should therefore continue to do everything in our power in our military education programs to unmask that policy that could give birth to future wars and might put an end to all political life.

One more word regarding our views on Clausewitz. We value him as an important bourgeois theoretician and philosopher of war. He used his statement about war being an extension of politics as a way of defining war as such. It was not his purpose to speak out without any scruples in favor of war, if political objectives cannot be attained by other means. He called for war only once—in his famous memorandum. His appeal was to fight the just fight for liberation from Napoleonic oppression. We therefore do not share the view that he was a war-mongering Prussian militarist. It is precisely because of his stand during the war for national independence that we honor him as a patriot who is part of our progressive heritage. In the new approach to the issues of war and peace, it turns out yet once more that socialism and peace are one, that the military policy of socialism corresponds to its peace philosophy in that it provides it with a military shield and does not permit imperialism to attain military-strategic superiority.

The meaning of socialism, which is to do everything possible for the welfare of human beings, for the happiness of the people, for the interests of the working class and all working people, provides military service under socialism with meaning as well. Only if there is peace can the efforts of the working class and of the peasants in the cooperatives, the craftsmen and the small businessmen, the scientists and the artists be of benefit to the welfare and happiness of all the people.

To explain the meaning of military service under socialism is the real focal point of military propaganda work. It must reach our young men even prior to their entering military service to help them consciously to prepare for it and for the great demands it places on the individual soldier. Above and beyond that, it must reach every citizen—the school teachers, the plant foremen, the

young man's parents, his girl friend. If they, too, understand what it means to serve in the military under socialism, they will take advantage of their opportunities and help the young man gain the necessary educational, ideological, physical, and premilitary experience for military service.

The NDPD has done a lot in this field for the education and conditioning of its party sympathizers. Among other things, this is reflected in the pages of the NATIONAL-ZEITUNG and of the monthly DER NATIONALE DEMOKRAT. And it became clear to me yet once more when I read the book "Die NDPD—Mitgestalter der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft in der DDR. Aus Reden und Protokollen Henrich Homanns" [The NDPD—Helping To Build a Developed Socialist Society in the GDR. Speeches and Statements by Heinrich Homann] as well as the minutes of the 12th NDPD party congress in preparation for this presentation. Let me cite to you part of that document that demonstrates the kind of work your party has done. It refers to the story of Volker Lohse, a 25-year-old married plumber with two children who was called up for military service. Both for him and his family this was a big change, but together they managed to cope with it. How did they do it? For

me, Lohse says, service in the People's Army represents the most effective way of serving the cause of peace. I have been brought up in accordance with the standards of civic behavior prevalent in our party. My party friends in the district organization provided advice, assistance, and support to my family while I was in service. Also, while I was doing my duty of honor in the army, my party friends at the "Sanitaertechnik" artisan producer cooperative made a commitment to take on my own shop's customer repair orders.

This particular example makes it exceedingly plain how many ways there are to make it easier for our servicemen to perform their duty. It also demonstrates that the most important thing about military education is to maintain a clear head. This is why we must continue convincingly to explain who it is who does justice to the objective requirements of the new approach to the issues of war and peace and who it is who does not. We must also explain that there is a continuing need for the military protection of the socialist fatherland; we must explain the reasons for that need as well as the meaning of serving in the military under socialism.

09478/09599

HUNGARY

Improvement Seen in Construction Industry Performance

25000477d Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
30 Jul 87 p 1

[Article: "Construction Industry Performance Has Improved"]

[Text] Following significant declines at the beginning of the year, the performance of the construction industry has improved steadily since March. By the end of the first half of this year, the achievement of the implementing organizations stood at the planned target, and made up for the production lag of 1.3 billion forints, as stated in the semiannual report of the Ministry of Construction and Urban Development.

In the first 6 months of the year the enterprises completed 3 percent more building-construction work than for the same period last year. The demand for construction industry jobs improved in the investment areas, and declined in maintenance jobs. A buyer's market developed in the finishing and fitting industry, and a seller's market in the structural building industry. The rate of housing deliveries improved, and, with the delivery of 8,700 houses, 40 percent of the annual goal was fulfilled.

At present there are 260,000 workers in the construction industry, a decline of 6,000. The decline was of a considerably higher rate in enterprises and cooperatives, while in small cooperatives the number of workers increased by 10,000, as compared with the past year. As a result, the share of small building industry organizations in the construction industry almost doubled and now comes to 12.5 percent. Their share is particularly significant in the finishing and fitting industry, where it comes to 23 percent. In the construction industry as a whole, work productivity improved at the planned rate of 6.5 percent. The average wage increased by 4.5 to 5 percent, or close to the planned goal, while average earnings improved more than planned.

In the first half of the year, competitive biddings were announced for the value of 30 billion forints in jobs. The construction engineers signed such agreements for a 25-percent-greater volume of jobs than in the past year. It could be called a good result that three-fourths of competitive biddings were concluded with contracts. Production in the construction material industry exceeded the planned rate by 2.6 percent. The industry made significant efforts at meeting demands.

06691/09599

Quality Control Undermined by Corruption

25000477c Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian
30 Jul 87 p 5

[Article by Tamas Gorboi: "What Is Internal Control Worth?"]

[Text] Whose trade interests are protected by enterprise quality control? This was the question addressed by the recently concluded study of the Budapest Commercial Board of Control. Twenty-one enterprises were included in the survey to determine whether the network control meets requirements, and whether the control network is adequate to its tasks. This type of study did not exist earlier, and it is important for the reason that with the new enterprise management and operational forms the question has frequently arisen as to what internal quality control should do, and how.

"It was remarkable," said Peter Daniel, director of the board of control, "how formal and routine most of the enterprise control work was. The findings of network control showed an unrealistically favorable picture. The enterprise controllers are virtually unsuitable for the work of protecting the consumers. But the consumers by themselves are unable to protect their own interests. They could justifiably expect to have the enterprises themselves take steps to put their house in order. Or is it not in the interest of the enterprise managers that the work be done properly, that services be of high quality, and that their reputation not be impaired?"

"With the creation of the enterprise councils, a contradictory situation has developed," said Peter Daniel. "Since most of the council members work in the store network, it is difficult to imagine that they would vote in favor of making their own quality and service control stricter. But the new operational forms have almost entirely escaped the purview of control authorities. We are not even speaking here of consumer protection; the enterprise controls only maintenance of fixed assets, protection against property deterioration, and fulfillment of payment obligations."

No one arrives at the conclusion that the controllers are not expert specialists and do not understand their job. It frequently occurs that an enterprise will transfer its controllers to another place, and, interestingly, they will work efficiently in these cases. Peter Daniel interprets this as follows:

"There is a kind of 'coexistence' between the network workers and the network controllers. That is, acts committed at the cost of the consumer are tolerated. To put it more plainly, not all of the controllers are honest, and if a controller accepts something only once for keeping his silence, he no longer is respected. Therefore it may have happened that pseudocontrollers have appeared, who, with their false certificates but resolute presence, were easily able to 'cream off' the trade. There has been a controller who admitted to 117 cases: this number of

instances in which he detected irregularities, in this many instances where his false papers were not discovered, and this number of instances when he was paid off."

"The controllers' work is made more difficult by inadequate staffing. The 13 inspectors of the Commercial Board of Control are not able to exercise control over all of Budapest," said Peter Daniel. "The main task is prevention. At the first sign the enterprises must take steps."

But they are not eager to take steps. Therefore, the final finding of the study is characteristic: the efficiency and success of enterprise network control—and thus its justification to exist—may be strongly questioned, at least under the present circumstances.

06691/09599

'Greater Part' of Mikromed Products Slated for Soviets

25000477a Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Jul 87 p 5

[Article: "First Mikromed Products Sent to Moscow"]

[Text] The Hungarian-Soviet joint enterprise Mikromed, established at Esztergom several months ago, has begun the delivery of medical data collection systems. The first shipment, consisting of units with a value of 1.5 million forints, was sent to a Moscow institute engaged in research on medical equipment. These systems, which include microcomputers, can store and process a great volume of data on a patient, and thus speed up the work of physicians.

The joint enterprise has also begun preparations for the production of those computerized electrocardiographic instruments that have been developed jointly by Hungarian and Soviet engineers using Soviet parts. No larger than a small box, it can easily be carried by district doctors on their rounds.

By the year's end, they will have 50 two-channel electromyographic instruments ready for the complete examination of muscular and nervous systems. For the time being these instruments are being manufactured in the Esztergom factory of Medicor, but soon Mikromed will introduce the development and production work to other Hungarian and Soviet factories and scientific research institutes. The joint enterprise has signed, or is signing, cooperative agreements with 37 economic units that produce medical electronic parts by means of the most modern technologies. It is also developing methods of cooperation, under which the parts made at Esztergom will be sent to Moscow for further processing, and from there will be returned to Hungary and then forwarded to international markets. A Mikromed affiliate will be established in Moscow next year.

This year's production value at Mikromed will come to 100 million forints, and within 5 years it will produce and sell 2.3 billion forints' worth of medical technology. Economic regulators will be used to provide incentives in order that the joint enterprise may continuously increase its production. For example, in the first 3 years Mikromed will have a tax-free status, and, therefore, it will be able to devote all its revenues to further developments, the building of new factory units, the purchase of modern equipment, and the broadening of cooperative ties. For the next 5 years the enterprise is planning the design and production of about 100 different kinds of new equipment. The mixed enterprise will develop and market electronic, microprocessor guided medical instruments necessary chiefly for anthropological, cardiological, and hematological studies. The greater part of the products will be sold in the Soviet Union, the remainder in Hungary and on third markets. Mikromed is linking itself to its products to the Soviet Union's large-scale program for complex preventive medicine screening.

06691/09599

Enterprise Buys Chinese Ships

25000477b Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Jul 87 p 3

[Article: "Hungarian Shipping Company Buys Chinese Ships"]

[Text] Hungarian-Chinese trade, which recently has been growing very rapidly, is at an important stage: on Wednesday Gu Yong Jiang, the managing director of the Chinese foreign trade enterprise Mashimpex, and Peter Muradin, the managing director of Mahart [Hungarian Shipping Co.], signed at the Chinese Embassy in Budapest an agreement for the purchase of Chinese seagoing ships, following about a year and a half of negotiations and preparatory work.

The renovation of the Hungarian seagoing merchant fleet will be served by the agreement, in the framework of which Mahart will purchase three ships, each with a capacity to transport 3,600 tons of goods. The ships were built at the Wenchong Ship Factory in Canton. The first ship will be delivered by the PRC in June 1989, the second in October 1989, and third in the first half of 1990. These medium-sized ships—very modern and economical to operate—will be used, it is planned, on the Mediterranean Sea.

Following the signing of the agreement, Wang Jinfeng, commercial adviser at the PRC Embassy, gave a reception. Present were Zhu Ankang, ambassador of the PRC to Hungary, as well as leaders of the Chinese foreign trade enterprise and shipbuilding industry, and representatives of the Ministry of Transport, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, and the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce.

06691/09599

POLAND

Government Orders, Operational Programs for 1988 Described

26000028c Warsaw *REFORMA GOSPODARCZA* in Polish 27 Aug 87 p 1

[Article by Zbigniew Wit]

[Excerpt] Council of Ministers Resolution No 107/87 dated 17 July on government orders and an operational program gives consideration to past experience in the functioning of government orders and the assumptions of the second stage of economic reform. The midyear publication of this type of resolution, as experience has shown, is of vital importance to economic enterprises and organizations. It enables them to begin planning for 1988 earlier and to enter into contracts for the execution of government orders.

The resolution provides that, in 1988, as compared with this year, the following will occur:

- 1) there will be a decrease in the number of items covered by annual government orders for materials and products,
- 2) there will be a conversion of the food-economy's supply operational program into long-term government orders,
- 3) there will be a reduction in the number of government orders for capital projects.

For 1988, the resolution retains the present scope of long-term government orders for repair-construction materials, products, and services, and the health-service's supply operational program.

There are 55 items covered by government orders for materials and equipment in 1987. For 1988, the resolution deletes 18 items, which include the following: roofing board, tar paper, hard and soft natural hides, Nuxon 5000 numerical control system, automobile tachometers, streetcars, pvc drainpipes, agricultural twine, vehicle batteries, stainless steel tableware, electric washers and spinners, automatic washers, electric irons, fluorescent lamps, bathroom heaters, thread, and brassieres and girdles.

At the same time, four new items were added to annual government orders for 1988:

—type JAD heat exchangers, which are small, highly efficient, and corrosion-resistant,

—vibrating hammers, facilitating the sinking and removal of cofferdams in earth-engineering projects (result: savings in shoring-up materials),

—wool and wool-like worsted yarn—a basic material for textile production,

—lime and lime-magnesia fertilizers.

Considering the reductions and increases, in the final accounting the number of items covered by annual government orders for 1988 was reduced, that is, by 25.5 percent. The retained long-term government orders for 1988, combined with the annual orders, total 123 items, as compared with 134 items in 1987. The reductions in the scope of the orders, as provided in the referenced resolution, are in conformance with the assumptions of the second stage of economic reform and are aimed at improving the efficiency of the flow of technical materials.

In accordance with the 18 December 1986 Sejm resolution on the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1986-1990 and the assumptions of the second stage of economic reform, the operational programs now in place will be discontinued and replaced by government orders.

Two operational programs are functioning in 1987:

- 1) a program for supplying the food economy,
- 2) a program for supplying the health service.

The health service program was retained for 1988; however, the food economy program was converted into government orders. In the list of government orders for assembly-construction materials, products, and services, which is attachment No 1 to the referenced resolution, a separate section covers products for the food economy, in the same scope as the present operational program. This section contains 18 groups of products to supply the food economy.

Within these groups, the detailed assortment is supposed to be indicated by the relevant unit of turnover that coordinates the supply of products for the food economy. This is a flexible form which permits easier adaptation of products to the needs of purchasers, increases the role and importance of units of turnover, and is in accord with the assumptions of the second stage of economic reform. To ensure full implementation of government orders for the food economy, the resolution states the amount of foreign-exchange funds indispensable for this purpose, and it was determined that in the relevant central accounts of materials for 1988, in that part pertaining to expenditures for production purposes, amounts of materials intended for production of goods to supply the food economy will be stated.

The referenced resolution provides that in 1988 there will be a reduction in the number of capital investment projects covered by government orders. In place of projects completed in 1987, selected export-oriented, savings-oriented projects and those executed with the cooperation of CEMA countries will be introduced. The

total size of investment outlays covered by government orders in 1988 cannot be higher than the size of outlays in 1987, figured in 1987 prices.

Despite the reductions, the scope of government orders for 1988 will continue to be too large. It is absolutely necessary that they be reduced further so that ultimately government orders will pertain primarily to applications of scientific-technical endeavors, the startup of the production of products and technologies connected with programs of structural changes in the economy, and improvement in the efficiency of the utilization of materials and fuels and energy resources.

Aside from reducing the scope for 1988, the government-order system will be put into order by replacing the three Council of Ministers resolutions now in effect, with a single decree specifying procedures and principles for implementation of government orders. The draft decree has already been approved by the Council of Ministers. The final editing is now under way, and the decree should be published in the next few weeks.

9295

Tighter Credit, Other Changes Promised in Bank Reform

*2600028a Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish
12-13 Sep 87 p 1,2*

[Article by M. Formela: "Bankers Attempts at Reforms"]

[Text] When will the Baltic bank and other regional banks be established? Why do we have to wait 2 years for the establishment of community and joint-stock banks? What does it mean that a bank will be independent?

The economics of reform, if this term is to mean anything, must be the economics of real money. Money cannot be lacking or be abundant only, as has happened heretofore, when producers, in case of economic failure, are able to obtain reliefs, subsidies, or loans from various treasury or bank sources by merely making a bookkeeping entry into an account.

The bank, it would appear, is the first to attempt to say "no" to such an understanding of management. Thus, in the plan for reforming the banking system it is said point blank that a network of banks will function on the basis of commercial rules, and that credit, interest, and commission will return to their rightful standing as financial instruments. This also means an end to extravagance and the distribution of money among the needy. False economic policy, the lending of money to unreliable partners, may mean ruin to a creditor. The following situation may also occur: a bank may simply refuse to deal with specific firms. It will refuse to hold an account or grant credit because this will endanger its real economic interests, from which the fundamental rule of bank

independence in decisionmaking derives—independence in the face of local ambitions, deals, and telephoned suggestions. This will be a new, and for many local decisionmakers—surprising situation.

And attempts to "soften" the system are already appearing. According to the authors of reform, there should be four to nine regional commercial banks in Poland—banks that would have no organizational or territorial limitation on their range of operations. These banks—now nominally called Baltic, Silesian, Mazovian, and Great Poland—would be adequately financed and would be sufficiently resistant to attempts by local activists to control them. Their strength and flexibility would also derive from mutual competition, which is why we also hear proposals that each voivodship have its own commercial bank.

Time will tell what the final decisions will be. And there is not too much of this time because it is envisaged that the new credit banks will begin their operations starting 1 May of next year. The role of the Polish National Bank will then change diametrically because, as the country's leading central bank of issuance, it will fulfill the function of the bank of banks. It will control the circulation of money and its amount. Aside from servicing a few enterprises of special importance to the national economy, it will not be directly involved in granting loans for economic activity.

The first stage in the dismemberment of the Polish National Bank was the separation from its structure of the PKO Bank, which, in accordance with a Council of Ministers decree, will begin its work on 1 November of this year. It will take over the servicing of loans to housing construction—that is, the most unprofitable to the bank, but favorable conditions will be established for rapid expansion and improved quality of bank services. Here the authors of the plan, and the justifications for the Council of Ministers decree, were definitely carried away. No more than 12 years ago PKO was absorbed by the expanding Polish National Bank for exactly the same purposes. Why then were the regulations governing personal services not simplified? Why were the operational departments not given more powers? Why, under almost multiorganizational conditions, were bank methods not modernized? If PKO cannot cope with zlotys, by what miracle will it be able to deal with foreign-currency accounts? After all, no new department will be established, nor will more windows be added.

Thus this part of the reform plans for Polish banking should be regarded with great reserve, although without a doubt it is the consequence of the overall conditions in this area. The last stage of these plans, beginning in 1989, will be the establishment of banks on the basis of initiative from below, community banks, joint-stock banks, and so forth.

But will a decentralized, commercialized banking system withstand an encounter with a centralized, formal economy? This is a subject for separate consideration. In any case, the bankers have stopped talking about reform and have begun to genuinely attempt it. And this, in the last analysis, is what is most important.

9295

Profile of Lodz Area 'Polonia' Firms

26000028b Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish
20 Sep 87 p 11

[Article by Zbigniew Grzegorzewski: "Review of 'Polonia' Firms"]

[Text] An analysis was made in Lodz voivodship of the results of 6 years of operation by foreign enterprises, assessing the possibilities of their expansion on the basis of talks with their owner or authorized representative. The analysis was made by the Department of Industry, Small-Scale Manufacture and Services of Lodz. This form of foreign-enterprise evaluation—the Lodz example—is also used in other voivodships.

The first two permits for foreign-enterprise operation on the basis of Council of Ministers decree dated May 1976 were issued late in 1979 to MIKROMAT Foreign Enterprise and ADAMPOL Foreign Enterprise. Chronology is very important here because it shows the climate for such firms. In 1980, one permit was issued; in 1981, five; in 1982, 17; and a year later, 13. Although in 1983 there were 36 foreign enterprises in Lodz voivodship, 4 years later there were 37, plus 9 branches. Between 1980 and 1986, 42 applications for new firms were rejected, five firms were liquidated, and two firms had to liquidate their branches in other voivodships. In one case, the owner himself decided to liquidate his enterprise.

Most of the foreign enterprises operating in Lodz voivodship are multisector, with the light industry sector predominating. Other popular types of activity are the procurement and reprocessing of secondary and waste materials, the processing of plastics, and electronics. In issuing permits, Lodz City Hall gives preference to the manufacture of medical equipment, pharmaceutical and first-aid goods, agricultural machinery and equipment, farm-food processing, the manufacture of parts and fittings for machines and equipment used in light industry (previously imported), management of secondary and waste materials, and personal services.

The Industry Department gave the foreign enterprises at least a favorable rating. In the analysis that was prepared, it was even underscored that opinions about highly unwarranted earnings by 3,488 employees (compared to an allowed limit of 5,085 persons) in foreign enterprises are greatly exaggerated and that worthy of note is the fact that a close connection is maintained between work results and wages—80 percent of the earnings are dependent on work productivity.

It was also stressed that, although the regulations in effect are the same for everyone, only some firms from the beginning of their existence are growing very dynamically, and that their owners have invested large sums in hard currency and zlotys for the purchase of machines, new engineering and technology, and construction or expansion of production facilities. The only firm operating in its own buildings is Top-Mart, but Tuni-Pol should be praised for adapting a cow shed for storage and production facilities and Hasta for converting chicken coops into production facilities. But there are also companies such as Wamart that spent only 95,000 zlotys for such purposes. Overall, foreign enterprises spent 1.3 billion zlotys and \$923,000 for such purposes.

In 1986, foreign enterprises sold production and services equivalent to 7.5 billion zlotys. But the share of export was modest, amounting to 8.9 percent. It was determined that this is much lower than the potential and, in most cases, comes down to finish processing—that is, labor is sold and not a highly processed product. Here the evaluators said that the barrier is the regulation that requires that half of the gross foreign-exchange receipts be resold to the state, and, also, the prices offered by the foreign trade offices. On the other hand, some foreign enterprises buy raw materials and semifinished products from socialized enterprises, using their foreign-exchange allowances to cover the equivalent foreign-exchange input by industry for the purchase of components or the operation of machinery and equipment.

In talks with owners or their representatives, the problems faced by foreign enterprises ranked as follows: cadre and facility problems, unstable fiscal policy, difficult coproduction with key industry and "silent prohibitions," inability to obtain land for construction of own facilities, difficulties with obtaining supplies.

In its report, the Department of Industry, Small-Scale Manufacture and Services of Lodz City Hall rated the firms as follows: Among the best: Top-Mart, Alexis, Furex, Romat, Tuni-Pol, Stempo-Elektronik, and Karimex. The report also contains a program for development of foreign enterprises to the year 1990: 45 enterprises employing 4,000 persons should achieve 12 million zlotys in sales, with 2.5 million zlotys through export (in the latter case, a growth of 540 percent was assumed).

This statement of achievements and intentions, successes and failures, became the subject of discussion, in which the evaluators and those evaluated, INTERPOL-COM, and representatives of the Government Office for Small-Scale Manufacture Foreign Enterprises took part. Favorable tax changes were promised. The allowance on export sales will be increased from 5 to 8 percent. If the share of export exceeds 15 percent, the allowance will be 10 percent, and if the share of export is over 25 percent, the tax allowance will be 12 percent. On the other hand, 4 percent and 2 percent tax allowances will be granted for products bearing "Q" and "I" symbols. A list of 12 preferred production groups is being established, which

also involves taxes. It is possible that soon there will be a reduction in income tax and that reselling of foreign exchange will no longer be based on a 50-50 principle. It was admitted that certain voivodes are applying a rather specific policy in relation to firms, out of concern that some of them would have to open branches in other voivodships, because the tax is collected by the organ that issued the permit for the foreign enterprise.

In turn, INTERPOLCOM stressed that the changes of the last few years were not good for the foreign enterprises, as shown by the 7-8 percent drop in their profits. The Polonians said that the growth of their enterprises depends on the anticipated tax changes, and they conclude very clearly: "If reform finally goes forward, then we, too, will go forward." And it was unanimously agreed that among the CEMA countries we paved the way for foreign enterprises, and in recent years they have grown dynamically in the other socialist countries. But the following rather sensitive subject was not brought up in the discussion: Should the operations of foreign enterprises be controlled by the state administration, or should they be controlled by market forces.

9295

Border Voivodships Note Barter Trade With USSR

*26000028d Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish
17 Sep 87 p 1,2*

[Text] Electric mixers, coffee makers, tableware, cleaning goods, metal canisters, and an entire series of household articles are being offered to the Gdansk Voivodship

Household Goods Enterprise (WPHW) by CHOZTORG Wholesale Cooperative Trade Enterprise in Leningrad.

Yesterday, at a meeting arranged by WPHW in Gdansk, Mikkail Vinokurov, director of the Soviet enterprise, announced that still this year, goods valued at 1.4 million rubles will be bartered with Polish customers, and that sales planned for next year will amount to 5.6 million rubles.

As the USSR consul general in Gdansk, Valery Shviets, emphasized, barter trade by border voivodships is the result of intergovernmental decisions made by the USSR and Poland in October of last year. In Gdansk voivodship, all trade enterprises are bartering. Yesterday talks also took place between Kaliningrad cooperative businessmen and representatives of "Samopomoc Chlopska" [Peasant Self-Help] Rural Cooperative. On the other hand, the Gdansk "Spolem" cooperative went on a reconnaissance trip to the USSR. The Soviet consulate, together with its trade representatives in Gdansk, is making attempts to have Leningrad's trade cooperative establish mutual contacts with trade in the countryside.

Through barter, using no foreign exchange, the market will be supplied with items that are scarce. They will also go from Kaliningrad to WPHW. The representative of the Kaliningrad trade district board, Nikolai Buchko, announced that he has had good experience in his contacts with the Elblag businessmen with whom he has bartered.

9295

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Book Advocating Tolerance of Homosexuals Reviewed

23000011 Gera *VOLKSWACHT* in German
25 Sep 87 p 2 of supplement

[Book review by Senior Medical Health Officer Prof E. Guenther; book title: "Homosexualitaet—Herausforderung an Wissen und Toleranz" [Homosexuality—Challenge to Understanding and Tolerance“]]

[Text] Under the title "Homosexuality—Challenge to Understanding and Tolerance," a book by Prof Reiner Werner was published in 1987 by Verlag Volk und Gesundheit, Berlin, on a subject that in former times it seemed best not to talk about publicly, and concerning which people heard mostly negative things. From time immemorial, taboo and prejudice have governed peoples' understanding of and attitude toward those men and women whose "crime" consisted solely of the fact that in the domain of love and affection they found a person of the same sex more interesting and erotically attractive. In the Middle Ages, in the period of the kaisers, and during Hitler's fascism they were threatened and punished with death at the stake, with Article 175, and with prison as well as the concentration camp, for a predisposition that they were unable to choose as a freewill decision (we know that nonhomosexual men and women as well do not have the option of deciding on their erotic inclinations; they are simply oriented to a partner of the opposite sex).

Reiner Werner, professor at Humboldt University in Berlin, has elaborated a modern scientific portrayal of homosexuality from his experiences as a court-appointed psychologist and in cooperation with a Berlin study group—a portrayal that permits us to discard unwarranted prejudices about citizens so affected, and to assess them objectively according to their contributions to society. This clears the way for their complete integration into socialist society. "Understanding and conscience," writes Prof R. Werner, "demand that homosexuality be described as one variant of biologically possible and explicable sexual behavior."

Prejudices and Their Causes

For 2,000 years, value judgments pertaining to sexual morality have been resolved as questions of power and have been directed in a most inhumane way against homosexual fellow humans. The reservations against homosexual men—against them more than against lesbian women—have been fostered by wrong information and defamations, so that they continue to exist subliminally, deep in the consciousnesses of many people in our enlightened age. Only the dissemination of scientifically sound information about homosexuality will usher in its total equality of moral status in our society.

Partnerships in love and domestic harmony are an enrichment of the personality and promote its development. These words echoing R. Werner forbid us from judging heterosexuals (men who love women and vice versa) or homosexuals (who love partners of the same sex) on the basis of their private behavior, provided that the legitimate interests of third parties are not injured. Nor are the equal rights of citizens subject to any obligation to procreate. Just so long as some citizens are reluctant to change their opinions, continue to say only bad things about homosexuals, and do not disseminate truth about human sexuality and about homosexuality, they will continue to create areas of social conflict concerning our homosexual fellow humans in our developed socialist society.

Prof R. Werner calls the first chapter of his book "fears of contact," because these prevent many people from talking with homosexuals about their problems instead of speaking (negatively) about homosexuals. Casting aspersions, reviling, and defaming are not only products but also sources of fears of contact with those affected. This hidden confrontation creates a strained situation in which a life of suffering begins for homosexual children and young people as soon as they recognize themselves as homosexual. They do not want to feel vile, but they have heard mostly only vile things said about homosexuals. If they then confide in their parents and are not understood, there develop a loss of trust, a state of repudiation, and suicidal intentions. Many homosexuals enter into "poor compromises," according to R. Werner, when as men they search out girl friends as alibis or conclude sham marriages. Most homophile men and women live with their predisposition going unrecognized, so as to avoid any discrimination. "Coming out," that process starting from the first intimation of being different, to confirmation and self-awareness, and ending in deliberately appearing as a confessed gay man or lesbian, is a psychologically conflict-laden path that many do not travel on to the end because they hide in compromises.

Our Humanistic Duty

R. Werner also takes up the theories about the origination of homosexuality because for many people the unsatisfactory answers to questions of its origin complicate their rethinking of the subject. There are theories about genetic conditioning, about prenatal hormonal causation, about consequences from influences in upbringing during early childhood. In any case, the young person does not have the option of himself choosing his erotic orientation. The most disseminated thesis is that of seduction because it portrays the grown homosexual as a seducer and villain, as many people would like to view him. This thesis is both unproved and contradictory: Is not every person more or less "seduced" the first time? Far more people than actual homosexuals have had homosexual experiences in their youth with those of the same age or with elders, without becoming homosexuals themselves. Through chance,

one can be induced to homosexual acts, but his sexual polarity is not thereby reversed. In certain situations one can engage in homosexual acts (homosexuality in puberty, homosexuality in prisons) without losing his liking for the opposite sex.

By no means are homosexuals a small minority; their proportion is estimated to be 3-5 percent worldwide. In the total population of the GDR, it can be assumed that there are about 850,000 homophile fellow citizens. As children and adolescents they have grown up in heterosexual families, so that far more than a million citizens are confronted in the closest possible way with this sphere of conflict.

Since homosexuals come from all circles and strata of the population, are employed in all fields and occupations, and have the same qualities, accomplishments, and abilities as other fellow humans, it is our humanistic duty to free them from their outsider status and to integrate them in all spheres of living in the residential community, in the work collective, and in social and cultural life. The basic prerequisites for this are to accept and tolerate their otherness!

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