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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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3 September 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
 POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ALBANIA

## HOXHA'S VIEWS ON CLASS STRUGGLE HAILED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Jun 85 pp 3, 4

[Article by Raqi Madhi, deputy director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Studies: "Comrade Enver Hoxha's Theoretical Marxist-Leninist Thought on the Class Struggle in Socialism"]

[Text] In the rich and universal theoretical inheritance which Comrade Enver Hoxha has left us, an important place is occupied by his thought on the class struggle and its role in socialist society. "Like the militant Leninist that he was," Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed, "...he taught the party always to be guided faithfully by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and the whole experience of revolutionary fighters of the world proletariat, and always to develop the class struggle correctly, while never forgetting that it is the motive force which lead human society forward..."

Our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have always remained faithful to Marxist-Leninist doctrine. They have studied and drawn vitally important conclusions from the historical experience of the class struggle and they have developed them consistently in all areas and in all stages of development of the revolution. On the basis of a thorough and overall analysis of the factors which make our revolution invincible and which make Albania the only socialist country in the world, as well as analysis of reasons which led to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in other formerly socialist countries, Comrade Enver Hoxha reached conclusions with universal theoretical and practical value regarding the causes and role of the class struggle in socialism.

He reasoned that even without construction of the economic foundation of socialism and the disappearance of the exploitative class, the class struggle continues and plays a decisive role in the existence of the new order. Even after the disappearance of the exploitative class, remnants of it exist which not only aspire, but also work in the most varied ways, to regain their lost paradise and resume their political and economic power. Even after the victory of the socialist revolution, the danger of capitalist restoration exists, because socialism does not triumph immediately in all countries and the imperialist and revisionist encirclement continues to exert powerful pressure against it. A fierce life-and-death class struggle is developed between triumphant socialism and dying capitalism. Even after the victory of the socialist revolution, stains of the old society remain, as well as remnants of

foreign ideologies which live for a long time in the consciousness of people and constitute a warm bed where bourgeois degeneration and revisionist and capitulating views are nourished and born. The danger of degeneration on the part of particular people and the danger of the birth of new bourgeois elements and new enemies within the country exist even in socialist society. For all these reasons, Comrade Enver Hoxha explains, the class struggle remains an objective law and develops fiercely even under socialism. It is essentially a struggle where two opposing economic and social orders - socialism and capitalism - confront one another. "We must always bear in mind," Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, "that we are in a period of transition from capitalism to communism. This means that during this period, capitalism and socialism are engaged in an irreconcilable struggle."

On the basis of a thorough analysis of the major contradiction of socialist society, Comrade Enver Hoxha formulated the important theoretical conclusion that the victory of the working class is ensured by the fierce and irreconcilable class struggle and that the class struggle, even in socialism, "is a major motive force which leads the revolution and the building of socialism forward, which defends the party, the state and the whole order from bourgeois and revisionist degeneration and the reestablishment of capitalism, and which purifies the consciousness of the workers and strengthens their proletarian spirit."

The thoughts of Comrade Enver regarding the significance and consistent application of the class struggle are particularly important. In criticizing the narrow and one-sided views and conceptions of the class struggle, Comrade Enver Hoxha explains that this struggle is a broad one and develops in a universal manner. It develops against the class enemies of socialism, as well as in the bosom of the people, the working masses, against remnants of foreign influences in people's consciousness. Its purpose is to eradicate bourgeois ideology from our people's consciousness and to temper our new man. The class struggle is directed against the danger to socialism from outside, from military and bourgeois and revisionist aggression, but it is also directed against the danger of degeneration of socialism from within. This conclusion constitutes a vitally important teaching for socialism, which derives from the universal character of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, but which was emphasized for the first time by Comrade Enver Hoxha after an overall analysis of the revisionist degeneration of the Soviet Union and other formerly socialist countries. The class struggle also develops within the Marxist-Leninist party and is a reflection of the class struggle which develops in society. This struggle is directed against traitors and inimical elements, against opportunism and sectarianism, against distortions and violations of the party line and directives, against errors and shortcomings. This struggle strengthens the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, defends the socialist order and ensures its progressive development.

Supported by the party's experience of many years in struggling to reveal and defeat the conspiracies of enemies of socialism against socialist Albania, the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha reached the important conclusion that "very close connection and cooperation exists between the internal and external front of the struggle of class enemies." This united front against socialism, Comrade Enver teaches us, is neither provisional nor conjunctural; it will

continue to operate for as long as the imperialist and revisionist encirclement and the vestiges of capitalism within the country exist. For that reason, the party's struggle and that of the working class and the working masses against it must not be underevaluated and must never be interrupted. The party and Comrade Enver have continually drawn attention to the underevaluation and the one-sided and superficial conception of the danger which the imperialist and revisionist encirclement represents. They have reasoned, in theory and practice, that the encirclement is by no means passive and simply geographic; it constitutes a serious and real danger which operates unceasingly and in all directions against our socialist order.

Under conditions where our socialist order has been strengthened and consolidated and the efforts of external enemies have failed, one after the other, these enemies have placed a great deal of hope on the corruption of the internal front by instigating bureaucracy and liberalism and by encouraging and organizing counterrevolutionary and antiparty elements within the country. Being controlled, however, by Marxist-Leninist principles regarding the class struggle, the party and our people have been able to discover and liquidate foreign espionage agencies and all those who have tried to sabotage and undermine our socialist system and restore capitalism - from Koci Xoxe to Mehmet Shehu and his gang. This struggle, which the party and our people have always conducted with unparalleled resolution and from the position of Marxist-Leninist principles, has been the rescuer of the fate of the country's freedom and independence and of the revolution and socialism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's idea that even in socialism the class struggle develops in a frontal manner and in all areas is particularly important for the correct conception and development of the class struggle. Supported by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, and by national and international experience, Comrade Enver Hoxha overturned the revisionist concepts that the class struggle in socialism has ceased operating on the political and economic front and develops only on the ideological front. He argues that even under socialism the class struggle develops sharply in all its forms simultaneously, that the slightest weakening of a front is a departure from Marxist-Leninist theory, which weakens the class struggle as a whole and does incalculable damage to the concerns of the working class and socialism. At the 7th Party Congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized that "that class struggle which does not develop in all of its major directions - political, economic and ideological - is not a complete one. These three forms of the struggle are interwoven and complete one another." It is not possible to seek a purely political, ideological and economic struggle. The definitive victory of proletarian ideology over bourgeois and revisionist ideology requires not only an ideological struggle, but a political and economic struggle as well, just as the execution of tasks on the political and economic front cannot be understood outside the world outlook and outside Marxist-Leninist proletarian ideology. In reality, the class struggle which should develop on every front is essentially a struggle to ensure the leading role of the party, to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and to defend and develop socialism.

The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have stressed that the struggle on the ideological front constitutes one of the major directions of the class



struggle. Comrade Enver Hoxha's theoretical thought regarding the ideological struggle is full and comprehensive; it illuminates and clarifies not only the problems of the essence of the manifestation of the ideological struggle in socialism, as well as ways and forms of its development, but it illuminates, clarifies and enriches Marxist-Leninist thought regarding the connections between the ideological struggle and strategic tasks of socialism.

In following with particular attention the course of the ideological struggle inside and outside the country, together with its manifestations and consequences, Comrade Enver Hoxha formulated one of the fundamental theses of Marxist-Leninist thought regarding the construction of socialist society. According to this thesis, "As long as the full victory of the socialist revolution has not been ensured in the area of ideology and culture, the victories of the socialist revolution in the political and economic area cannot be ensured and guaranteed."

Our party, guided by these teachings, has given an overwhelming blow to bourgeois and revisionist ideologies and their influence, to petit bourgeois psychology and mentality, and to religious prejudices and backward customs. This marks one of the most important victories in the struggle to preserve the purity of our socialist order and defend and develop it further.

Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that the class struggle in ideology is broad and comprehensive. It is a struggle to resolve antagonistic and nonantagonistic contradictions. Our party has been and continues to be against narrow, one-sided conceptions of the class struggle in ideology, which reduce it to a struggle which develops primarily in the bosom of the people. Comrade Enver Hoxha has argued that the ideological struggle is directly linked to defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the preservation, strengthening and development of the socialist economic order, to the strengthening and revolutionizing of the party and to the unceasing development of the revolution. "The struggle on the ideological front," Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, "is not a temporary campaign, but a continual struggle for the triumph of proletarian ideology and morality, a struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism."

Our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have always developed the class struggle correctly and without error, they have always maintained a principled attitude, without falling into either opportunism or sectarianism. They have been inimical to opportunism; they have made no concessions to it and have not created any soil for its development. On the contrary, they have taken all measures and have acted with an iron hand and with speed against the smallest and commonest of its manifestations. In developing a resolute and uncompromising struggle against opportunism, the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have not been reconciled in any way to manifestations of sectarianism. Sectarian attitudes are as dangerous as opportunistic attitudes.

A great teaching given by Comrade Enver Hoxha and connected with the class struggle involves the fact that its development must not become a closed form nor only one from above; it must be made together with the masses, developed from above and from below. Broad and active participation by the

masses in the class struggle also serves their revolutionary education. "The true education of the masses," Lenin said, "can never be separated from the independent political - and especially revolutionary - struggle of the masses themselves."

In Comrade Enver Hoxha's thought regarding the class struggle, an important place is occupied by the problem of connections between the objective and subjective factors. The class struggle is an objective law, but the subjective factor nevertheless plays a decisive role. The organism of the struggle and the accomplishment of the revolution, the building and defense of socialism, all depend upon the level of conscientiousness and mobilization preparation in the struggle of the working class and the other working masses.

Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches that a decisive factor in the correct development of the class struggle, in order to resolve the primary contradiction of socialist society and in order for socialism to triumph fully and definitively over capitalism, is the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class.

The teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha regarding the class struggle have a universal and vital value for every period of transition from capitalism to communism. They have been and continue to be an infallible guide for our party. The Albanian communists and the working masses of our country will always remain faithful to and will be continually guided by them, as they will be guided by his immortal "Works".

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MIG-23 GROUND CREW DUTIES OUTLINED

East Berlin AR-ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 7, Jul 85 pp 36-41

[Article by Major Ulrich Fink: "Flightline"]

[Text] The takeoff of just one modern fighter aircraft depends on circa 60 specialists. These include the crews of the radar sites and the command posts, meteorologists and flight dispatchers, soldiers of the communications and flight safety [ATC] units, parachute maintenance men, and military drivers. Working directly on the aircraft technology are members of the air engineering service. Whether it rains or snows, whether a sharp frost numbs the fingers or a mercilessly burning sun drives the sweat from the pores in streams, they are on the job on the flightline.

The MiG-23 taxis slowly to its position, guided by a technician wearing black coveralls. When he crosses the green disks in his hands above his head, the elongated nose of the Mig dips down one time briefly. And the aircraft stands with its wheels exactly on the markings of the concrete surface. Lined up precisely with the other aircraft on the flightline.

While the singing whistle sound of the engine dies down, the cockpit canopy is swung open to the rear. The aircraft technician places a ladder against the fuselage to the left of the cockpit. His questioning look is answered by the pilot, who is in the process of unbuckling his parachute, with the raised thumb of his left hand, signifying that everything is in order. All systems and power units functioned normally, helped him fulfill his first mission in this flight shift in outstanding fashion. The thumb angled out from the fist also expresses thanks for the work of the engineering-technical personnel in the preparation of the [aircraft] technology.

Already  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours before this first takeoff, the NCO's, warrant officers and officers of the air engineering service on the airfield of the fighter wing "Heinrich Rau" came on duty. At that time they began to tow the MiG's by truck out of the closable aircraft bunkers, which protect the aircraft and crews from air attacks, to the flightline. In doing so, each aircraft was occupied by "its" technician, who is personally responsible for the MiG, both in the bunker and on the flightline, whence the airborne combat training of

the wing is organized. Together with his mechanic, he must take care of and maintain the aircraft, and he must be precisely informed about its technical condition. During the preflight check on the flightline, they and specialists for armament, electrical and special equipment, as well as radio and radar equipment, then carried out functional checks in their specialized areas.

Radio mechanics inspected the radio set in the aircraft, checked the radio altimeter, the radio compass and also the autopilot. The radar mechanics were responsible for checking the identification friend-or-foe [IFF] equipment. When properly adjusted, this equipment makes it possible for the comrades at their air defense radio-technical [radar] sites to identify the airborne target, which appears on their scopes only as a short bright line, as one of their own aircraft.

Insuring that the guidance system for the missiles is functioning properly and also that there is enough coolant for the radar sight, pure alcohol, incidentally, in the storage tanks, all this is taken care of by the radar specialists.

Responsible for the electrical, oxygen, compressed air and hydraulic systems are the mechanics for electrical-specialized equipment, who also replenish the systems with the proper fluids and gases between flights.

When combat training flights with live firing are planned, the aircraft armament mechanics are responsible for the proper munitions uploading of the MiG's. From the flight plan table on which each exercise is recorded, they determine which aircraft is to receive bombs, missiles, or ammunition belts for the guns.

A preflight check such as this on a MiG-23 lasts circa  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours. Six or seven men work on the aircraft simultaneously. And yet they do not get in each other's way. Each of the mechanics works in a precisely prescribed sequence, all of which are technologically coordinated with each other. And everyone with his own tools. Screwdrivers and four-way rim wrench, pliers and phase tester--everything is marked. Metal tools with an electric engraver or stamped letters or numbers, the other working aids with red paint. Not that the comrades do not trust each other. The markings are important, however, to check on the completeness of the tool set once all work on the aircraft is finished. For a screwdriver forgotten in the cockpit, for example, could block the steering linkage. Or such a tool could get stuck in the throttle lever linkage, so that the pilot could no longer regulate the output of the engine. The result would be the loss of the aircraft, or worse. For this reason the technician, each time he turns over the aircraft, reports: "Tools and ground equipment all on hand." And he presents the sheet metal box in which each marked tool has its prescribed location.

These extensive functional checks are conducted by the engineering-technical personnel prior to each flight shift. When they are finished, the specialists confirm the operational readiness of the aircraft by placing their signatures on the control sheet.

But that does not mean that they are through for the day. After landing, the aircraft must frequently be rearmed with ammunition, if for example on the next takeoff it is again to conduct a training flight for air-to-ground gunnery. Or it could happen that training missiles have to be uploaded, if an intercept in the stratosphere is planned or aerial combat with maneuvers at low altitudes.

Then the technicians and the mechanics have their hands full. For often there is less than a half hour's time for this work and the turnaround preparations. At such times every movement must be the right one, be it while refueling the aircraft from the pressurized loop pipeline or while replacing the compressed air used up while braking. The same applies to refilling the pure oxygen that the pilot breathes at high altitudes during the flight in the hermetically sealed cockpit. And the aircraft technician is also there the entire time. Everything now depends on his unfailing eye for noting irregularities on the aircraft fuselage. While making his round of the aircraft, he must determine quickly whether the screw-in and quick-locking closures of all hatches and covers are tight, and the color markings correspond. For the hatch cover that tears off during the flight could penetrate the fuselage, perhaps damaging vital support lines.

The greatest stress during landing is placed on the landing gear. For this reason the technician gives particular attention during his walk around the aircraft to the tires. He checks to see if they are uniformly worn and not too much at one spot, if the control wear holes in the rubber of the smooth tires are still visible. If they are not, then it is high time that the wheel involved be replaced, so as to prevent the tire from blowing out at the next landing. For the aircraft, whose weight is in the tons, does after all touch down on the concrete runway with a speed of a good 200 km per hour. To slow it down from this speed, the pilot deploys the brake chute after landing. This reduces the wear and tear on the brakes. For the technicians and mechanics on the flightline, however, this means that after each landing a new brake chute must be inserted, and sometimes forced in with hands and feet, into its compartment above the exhaust nozzle at the root of the rudder unit. Physically the hardest work, perhaps, during such turnaround preparations, which are not completed until the specialists of all specialized areas and the flight technicians have placed their signatures to the control sheet to document the operational readiness of the MiG for the next mission.

And then, as he does before every takeoff, the aircraft technician can report to the pilot: "Aircraft fueled with the amount of fuel directed, lubricant, hydraulic fluids and technical gases replenished, tools and ground equipment all on hand, control sheet signed as prescribed. Aircraft operationally ready!"

Only a few words, formulated with military terseness. But behind them is the responsible activity of a large team of mechanics, technicians, engineers and certified engineers of the engineering-technical personnel. Comrades on whom the pilot, as an unaccompanied combatant in the air, can rely completely during every flight. Whose work he completes with the fulfillment of the flight mission, be it in airborne combat training or in the continuous duty alert system [of the Warsaw Pact].

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DRASTIC POLLUTION LEVEL RISE REPORTED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 39 No 28, 8 Jul 85; No 29, 15 Jul 85; No 30, 22 Jul 85

[Article by Peter Wensierski, editor of DIE KIRCHE IM SOZIALISMUS {The Church under Socialism}: "'We're Afraid For Our Children'"]

[8 Jul 85 pp 64-65, 67, 70, 72-74]

[Text] "Comrades," the features of the SED functionary grow serious, "we must increase our vigilance. In meetings in cities and local communities, in petitions from the population, the questions of 'acid rain' and of the 'dying forests' have begun to play a role. This shows the effects of Western television and radio, which consciously exaggerate a problem in order to spread insecurity."

The speaker is charged with straightening out the worried party comrades of the "Power Plant of Youth" in Jaenschwalde near Cottbus, with the help of some instruction in agitation.

Yet, for the purposes of convincing anyone, the twelve-page document from party headquarters offers only homespun arguments. For example: Every housewife certainly knows that rain water is soft water, and soft water is simply acidic. "But does one always recall this, when Western television shows its trick effects in living color?"

Without waiting for a response, the SED enlightener continues: rainfalls in the county of Cottbus consisted of "completely normal rain." Then, after a meaningful pause, a signal that notes should be taken, he goes on: "Thus we have absolutely not the slightest reason to speak of 'acid rain' at all."

The comrade lecturer puts across GDR policies on this evening "in a concrete and creative fashion," as the party jargon goes. The SED's goal: to minimize and to gloss over ecological problems.

Since November 16, 1982, there are, from an official point of view, no longer any environmental problems in the GDR. At that time the Council of Ministers passed an "Ordinance to Secure Maintenance of Secrecy in the Area of Environmental Data." With this step the SED sharpened earlier instructions to

play down environmental questions. To date, the public has officially learned nothing of the passage of these ordinances: no citizen of the GDR, much less the class enemy, is to be able in the future to criticize socialist environmental policies.

An internal agitation paper of the SED gives an indication of the kind of concern that is worrying the party: "We find in general increased awareness of environmental issues... The population is paying attention to what is ending up in the air, water and soil."

But every effort must be made to prevent the population's access to specific information. Residents of the workers settlement in Leuna are still today unaware of the fact that they actually should not be eating the fruits and vegetables grown in their gardens. This produce contains cadmium, mercury and other heavy metals--up to 150 times more than is permissible for the maintenance of human health. Responsible party comrades are keeping the results of this investigation under lock and key, though they themselves are cautious: only grass grows in their own gardens.

Moelbis. The small village, only 500 inhabitants, is actually not inhabitable. The trees lose their leaves as early as the end of May. In the gardens, plants are wasting away with rolled-up leaves. Parsley no longer grows at all. The birches and poplars have all died out. Moelbis lives in a cloud of dust, and when the wind blows from the southwest, the gas comes with it. The village is located in the middle of the lignite area south of Leipzig, directly in the path of winds from the Espenhain power plant.

"Sometimes the smog is so bad that even in daylight you have to use the headlights on your car, you can't even see the nearby houses," a resident testified two years ago at a public forum on environmental issues held during a church conference in Dresden.

Since then, the situation has not changed a great deal. Again and again, visitors depart prematurely; those who spend the night are often nauseous in the morning, many have terrible headaches. "When that happens, the gas was there once again, so thick you could cut it with a knife," say the natives.

Everyday life in Moelbis: small children suffer from chronic bronchial asthma. Adults complain of shortness of breath or eczema, circulatory problems or depression. Tap water is undrinkable--pure water must be brought in from the outside.

The authorities have come up with no solutions. They provide for more fresh vegetables and fruit to be delivered here than is customarily assigned to other villages. A doctor is available once a week for consultations with senior citizens. School children between the ages of six and ten are evacuated for several weeks a year and sent to study in "more emission-free areas." In order for them to be able to recuperate at least to some extent during school vacations, the Espenhain Combine has donated several "holiday places" from its own contingent--common, every-day occurrences in the industrial areas of the GDR.

The people are beginning to come to their own defense.

"The truth about what is really happening here is kept from us, from those who are affected by it. What we see is only the tip of the iceberg. Of course, some movement has been underway for the past year. We are grateful for this. But new observations and information are causing us to be concerned. We are afraid for our children and grandchildren." Thus reads in part an invitation to an environmental church service.

In Moelbis, eco-groups were formed long ago; protestants call for self-help and, together with the mayor they planted several thousand trees last fall.

In Dresden, the initiative "Clean Air for Moelbis Children" has been doing its part to bring about some relief. It looks for families who are willing to take into their homes for a time children from the smog-areas whose health has suffered.

In the last few years, dozens of environmental groups have sprung into existence in all parts of the country. Many work in cooperation with state organizations, others practice self-criticism of their own behavior as consumers and harmers of the environment; many act independently, others under the protection of the protestant churches.

At the occasion of the annual United Nations Ecology Day at the beginning of July, the East Greens regularly put on bicycle demonstrations with the slogan: "Mobility without Cars." In many communities, tree-planting actions are the order of the day. Environmental protest in the GDR is directed above all at the SED's avowed course of forced growth. The chief demand: open environmental discussion and an accurate representation of the facts.

The environmental problems are concentrated in five areas of high population density: the districts of Halle, Leipzig, Dresden, Karl-Marx-Stadt and Berlin. More than half of the country's industrial goods are produced in these areas, where, according to GDR experts, air pollution is "more than twice as high" as in Chicago, Tokyo or Duesseldorf.

And no help is in sight. SED politicians have no plans for effective measures to reduce air pollution. The GDR is not even half the size of the Federal Republic, but it emits twice as much sulphur dioxide (SO<sub>2</sub>): almost 6 million tons a year.

In the future, if the SED does not change its policy, this amount will be even greater. The GDR, which lacks foreign currency, intends to remain as independent as possible of oil imports. And since even the Soviet Union has reduced deliveries while raising prices, once again more domestic lignite or brown coal is being mined. Lignite is regarded as a reliable energy source--at least until the year 2030. According to the experts, domestic reserves should last about that long.

But this advantage in terms of energy policy is dearly purchased--at a severe cost to the environment. Lignite, especially that from the Leipzig-Halle area, has a high sulphur content (as much as three percent), and the muck is released into the air. The districts of Borna, Merseburg, Graefenhainichen and Bitterfeld are among the most seriously affected areas. Here, the threshold values for sulphur dioxide and other air pollutants are constantly surpassed. The coal is burned in 3 dozen large power plants, in 300 filth-spewing,



industrial smokestacks, most of which are completely antiquated, and in stoves in private homes.

The Buschhaus power plant in West Germany, if ever operated at full capacity, would emit 125,000 tons of SO<sub>2</sub> a year. The GDR runs scores of similar, non-desulphurized "Buschhauses:" in the area around Leipzig there are three large power plants, in Lippendorf, Thierbach and Vockerode. Together they send a good 735,000 tons SO<sub>2</sub> up their chimneys. In the area around Cottbus there are three more: Vetschau (around 180,000 tons SO<sub>2</sub>), Luebbenau (some 180,000 tons SO<sub>2</sub>) and Jaenschwalde (at present approximately 200,000 tons SO<sub>2</sub>, but after the expansion planned for completion by 1986, this figure will increase to 400,000 tons).

Unlike the Federal Republic, which intends over the next four years to reduce SO<sub>2</sub> emissions from power plants to about one million tons by investing billions of Deutsch Marks, no improvement is in sight for the GDR: there is no money for environmental protection.

At the very most, the state can see to it that the amount released into the air does not exceed the present figure of almost 6 million tons annually. However, the SED is not aiming at a fundamental change of course. Lignite reserves will be exhausted in 40 years in any case, and for this reason many economic functionaries regard the billions necessary for the development of an effective means of sulphur removal as a waste of money.

Economic stability has priority, and what funds are available for investment ("Investmittel" in SED German) are more urgently needed in other areas of the technologically backward industrial sector. Environmental policy in the GDR has up to the present been nothing more than a half-hearted attempt at lessening at least the worst damage.

This is also true of the desulphurization of flue-gas. In huge headlines, the party announced a year ago that the limestone-additive process was finally ready for implementation. By means of this simple and inexpensive method, lime and coal are mixed in a ratio of one to three, ground, and burned. The lime thereby bonds with the sulphur. This is, however, by no means a real break-through. The process still allows two-thirds of the sulphur dioxide to pass through the smokestack. Moreover, the GDR does not have enough lime. In order to form a bond with 1 million tons SO<sub>2</sub> in exhaust gas, 20 million tons of lime would have to be mined and transported to the power plants--a problem that fairly defies solution. The method remains of interest primarily for temporary applications in individual power plants and in the case of particularly severe air pollution in a particular region.

And this is the way it is practiced in the GDR. Last winter only during periods of smog in Leipzig and Halle were several boilers of the Vockerode power plant driven according to this procedure, "in order to avoid extreme situations," as a directive of the "Lignite Combine" put it.

This is a precise description of GDR environmental policy, which is content with controlling such extreme situations in the "areas densely populated by the working class."

This has not always been the case. When environmental problems could no longer be denied, a progressive eco-policy was supposed to demonstrate the superiority of socialism. In 1970, the GDR was the second European country after Sweden to pass a comprehensive law on the environment, the "Landeskulturgesetz" [Socialist Environmental Policy Act], thereby arousing international respect--the GDR, at that time recognized by only a few countries, wanted to participate on a basis of equality with the Federal Republic in the first international conference on the environment, which was held in Stockholm in 1972.

One year prior to this, a Ministry for the Environment had been set up, which has been headed since March 1972 by Hans Reichelt. However, Reichelt's jurisdiction was and remains limited, and his ministry concerns itself primarily with waste disposal and water management.

The initial enthusiasm and momentum of the propagandists rapidly disappeared when the authorities began to analyze the situation in which the country found itself. They measured the noise in the cities and manufacturing plants, researched the degree of water pollution in the reservoirs, lakes and rivers, installed a network system of measuring stations to record air pollution and to process this data with computers. But what was discovered in this initial assessment by the county and district hygiene inspections is still under lock and key today.

On March 20, 1972, the principal SED organ "Neues Deutschland" reported that there were now "maps describing the output of SO<sub>2</sub> from industrial plants and the long-term taxing of the air throughout the whole of the GDR," which had been produced by scientists at the Technical University of Dresden. However: "The maps are available to organs of the state and of the economy, as well as to regional environmental protection planners"--not to concerned citizens.

With a shortage of funding, Reichelt's planners had to use a pragmatic approach to environmental problems. In 1975 the ministry stated: "Available funds should be used in a concentrated way in those areas where the situation is most critical." This meant that half of all funding went to the "working class centers," the most heavily polluted areas of Leipzig/Halle, Karl-Marx-Stadt and Cottbus.

And so it has remained until today. Furthermore, the short-sighted bureaucrats have misspent even these scanty funds. Just like their colleagues in the Federal Republic, they believed that the SO<sub>2</sub> problem could be solved with higher smokestacks. So in heavily industrialized areas, where the ecosystem threatened to collapse completely in the direct vicinity of factory flues and emission values were reaching record highs, they built chimneys to a height of 300 m, so that the pollutants would be dissipated in the air.

This step did allow the people, in Halle, for example, to breathe somewhat more easily. But the consequences have become evident elsewhere: smog clouds now blow through the FRG and even contaminate with SO<sub>2</sub> regions in the GDR that used to enjoy pure air. At Cape Arcona on the Baltic coast, control centers have registered, especially in winter, disturbingly high average concentrations of SO<sub>2</sub> that greatly exceeded the GDR limit of 0.15 milligrams/m<sup>3</sup>.

In the mid 1970's workers from the Academy of Saxony measured long-term SO<sub>2</sub> values of 23 milligrams, with peaks of up to 70 milligrams. By way of comparison, the West German limits are 0.14 milligram (long-term value) and 0.4 milligrams/m<sup>3</sup> (short-term value).

Instead of forcing the sources responsible for this pollution to drastically reduce their output of sulphur dioxide, the lawmakers simply establish maximum emission values. They determine the degree to which the environment in a particular area can be taxed. These values can be negotiated in a flexible way between the combines and the district or country authorities. If a plant fails to meet its assessed output, then it simply requests that the limits be raised. It is not difficult to find a reason, the most effective one being that the economic plan cannot otherwise be upheld.

Government agencies, those who do the controlling, and industrial plants, those who are controlled, muddle along in this way. So it should not come as a surprise that there is never a smog alarm in the GDR, not even when vapor hangs thick as pea soup over the cities. Last February, the air quality in the Halle/Leipzig area was so bad that a stage three alarm should actually have been sounded. This was not done because the population should not be given undue cause for concern.

It is similar in other GDR cities that are regularly smogged in: Suhl, Erfurt, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Cottbus and Dresden top the list of threatened cities that is maintained for in-house purposes by the Ministry for the Environment in East Berlin.

Even in the 1970's, street lights in Dresden had to be turned on earlier in the afternoon because the sky was darkened by pollution. But even smaller cities, like Lauchhammer in the district of Senftenberg, can hold their own in the socialist smog competition: the town is fogged in by nine briquette factories, a coking plant and an iron alloy plant. In Brandenburg there is the steel and rolling mill. In Oranienburg are the VEB pharmaceutical plant, the soot works and the sulphuric acid factory.

Last winter, the bowl-shaped valley around Erfurt was smogged in especially frequently. At cause there are the antiquated steam-generating installations in the factories, the potash and cement industry, but also the huge depots for bulk materials. The nearby cities of Gotha, Apolda and Arnstadt are primarily affected by the potash industry.

The county of Erfurt has a network of 390 testing stations for air quality control that measure amounts of dust and SO<sub>2</sub> in the air. Their findings show that one quarter of the population of the district is constantly exposed to sulphur dioxide levels in excess of admissible limits. A report on this situation was actually published once in the newspaper "Thueringische Landeszeitung," though reports of this sort are no longer permitted. The people affected hear not one word about their dangerous situation: the Thuringian Forest, still the second-largest recreational area in the GDR with 600,000 guests a year, is no longer suitable as a health resort for respiratory problems.

The short-sightedness of GDR policy has led today to catastrophic results. Throughout the entire country, human beings and animals are suffering as a

result of pollutants in the air, the ecosystem is endangered, and corrosion is devouring historic buildings and gnawing away at homes and workplaces.

It is not sulphur dioxide alone, the yellow poison, that is causing trouble for the people and their doctors; other pollutants as well are causing headaches:

- In Freiberg, between Dresden and Karl-Marx-Stadt, the mining and smelting combine spews so much lead and arsenic into the atmosphere that traces are found in hair and urine samples taken from 11-year-old school children. Physicians advised the parents to consider "whether they would not be well-advised to look for employment elsewhere."
- Additionally, enamel plants, brick yards, hydrofluoric acid factories and the glass industry negatively impact on this area by emitting fluorine: 1,350 milligrams per kilogram have been found in garden strawberries--10 to 20 grams are regarded as normal.
- In Bitterfeld, the skeletal formation of more than 300 children was observed and compared to that in children of the same age in an unpolluted region. The findings of the team of physicians: "A clear delay in the skeletal age as compared with the actual age was found for children living in areas with considerable air pollution."
- Poisonous dusts are also of concern to veterinarians, who have established the existence of "serious contamination of fodder caused by industrial emissions." The result: the animals suffer from copper and vitamin A deficiencies, liver abnormalities and degeneration. In the most affected areas scientists recommend that sheep should no longer be used for human consumption, but rather should be maintained in "wool production herds."
- In the GDR, some 4,000 tons of arsenic end up in the air each year, as a by-product of cement and power plants. GDR scientists found as much as 35 milligrams of arsenic in vegetables purchased in indoor markets and grocery stores--the normal level of concentration is about 0.4 milligrams. The levels are similarly high for cadmium (as much as 100 times the concentration regarded as not injurious to health) and lead (85 times greater than normal concentrations).
- The corrosion to be found in industrial installations in polluted areas is six times greater than in unpolluted areas. The Bitterfeld combine has estimated additional annual costs of 7.6 million Marks for plant maintenance. City planners in Halle report that they must spend 40 percent more than usual for improvements on older buildings.

For years now, respiratory diseases have been the second leading cause of illness that lead to early disability. Acute and chronic bronchitis, emphysema of the lungs and asthma have become widespread, especially in the industrialized areas. The Central Institute for Cancer Research reports a continuing "clear increase of incidences," especially of lung cancer.

It is clear to scientists where all this is coming from. In internal studies they calculated that the life expectancy for GDR citizens would be increased by an average of four years, if air pollution in the most heavily industrialized areas alone were reduced by one-half. Incidences of cancer would be reduced by 25 percent, heart and circulatory disease by up to 20 percent. But this may

not be made known to the public. According to the East Berlin magazine "Fuer Dich," the disease statistics are so alarming because of the people themselves: as the magazine sees it, they simply smoke too much. The risks caused by filth in the air, on the other hand, are "comparatively miniscule."

SED propagandists also attempt to explain away the demise of the forests using similar embellishments. With just about 3 million hectares, the GDR is one of the most heavily-forested nations in Europe. Yet there are no official statistics on the death of the forests, and the concept "Waldsterben" is not even included in the most recent GDR dictionary of contemporary usage.

Harald Thomas, the chairman of the "Society for Nature and the Environment," which was formed by the SED, last year disqualified the term 'Waldsterben' as "unscientific." In his view, it is "a journalistic invention, used above all by Western mass media." In the presence of Western journalists, Head Forestry Master Juergen Saeglitz, the second-highest forestry specialist in the GDR, also rejected the expression as worthless. "The forest is not dying, it is changing."

But how is it changing. The famous professor of forestry in Dresden, Hans-Guenter Daessler, reported in 1978 that 10 percent, i.e. about 300,000 hectares, of the total forested area was suffering from "smoke damage." In 1980 he believed that twelve percent was "damaged beyond repair."

Today, a total of around 2.5 million hectares are sick. The ratio of 1978 has almost completely reversed itself: last year, 14 percent of the forest was not yet visibly damaged. There is even a "data bank on the GDR forests." Here, party-approved experts have access to information about the areas where damage has occurred, kinds of trees, age and classification. But nothing about this is allowed to reach the public.

In meetings with Western politicians, GDR representatives regularly warn against "over-dramatizing the problem." According to them, the main cause of the damage to the forests can be found in "unusual weather occurrences." They try to convince the visitors that only 200,000 hectares of forest are "damaged."

It is possible that they really believe this themselves. A forestry expert in the Thuringian Forest complains: "As a specialist, one can see from the trees that they will be dead in three years. But the SED delegations from Berlin only look at the leaves, which are still green, and return home with their worries put to rest." It is his impression that: "They don't really listen very well."

He criticizes the fact that there are no authorized forestry specialists in county administrative offices. The only interest shown there is in the delivery of the contingent of wood. The forester: "Only when the forest surrounding the functionaries' hunting camps begins to thin will they begin to grasp what is really happening."

Not even studies focusing on the economic consequences of the death of the forests have had an impact. In the journal of the University of Dresden, two years ago a team of forestry engineers described the "effects of SO<sub>2</sub> emissions on the recreational capacity of the forest landscape."

This would appear to be somewhat farcical. For example, in the study concerning "The Utility of the Forest in the Most Damaged Area I" it is reported that, if exhaust-caused pollution continues, the pine trees will continue to die, and "the relative worsening of the conditions of recreation will generally tend to be in the area of 100 percent." Furthermore, where the forest has been so badly damaged, it can be universally assumed "that ... utilization for recreational purposes is no longer in the public interest--with the exception of winter sports."

This will be some small comfort to the citizens of the GDR: when the snow covers the dead Thuringian Forest, they can still go skiing there. The forestry people have also calculated how much money is lost to the regional tourism industry because no one wants to spend the summer there anymore: 4,100 Mark per hectare of dead forest.

The authors wished to demonstrate "the economic utility of exhaust gas purification facilities," so that some money would finally be invested in the environment. After all, the native forests are of enormous importance to the national economy. They provide two-thirds of all the wood needed by the country.

For the near future, this figure will even be increased: in order to save the wood, foresters have had to fell many trees prematurely, thereby disrupting the usual plan for use. But the wood flooding the market will soon be gone. And the mountain ash, which is being planted to replace the dead forest on the very badly damaged Fichtelberg, for example, will not be mature for another 50 years.

Up until now, pines and spruce have been planted almost exclusively, because they permit a fast wood harvest--these two species constitute 76 percent of the GDR forest. Within the decades to come, the middle German landscape will change radically: birch, aspen, mountain ash, oak and beech trees are replacing the conifers and imparting a different character to the landscape--in those areas where their cultivation is successful in the first place. Elsewhere, only stony, grass-covered hillocks will remain.

Dead or dying forests can today be seen throughout the entire country, not just in the Thuringian Forest or the Erzgebirge Mountains. Forestry experts travel here from all over Europe to study the extent of the damage. They are constantly surprised at the official optimism that they encounter in the GDR. Officials believe that they will be able to deal with the problem by the use of additional fertilizers, intensive application of pesticides and, above all, by reforestation using "smoke resistant tree varieties."

After all, the forestry people at the Tharandt Academy, where research on these hybrids is being carried out, were working one hundred years ago on "smoke damage." GDR experts refer again and again to this research and also to the practical experience, also of long duration, with forestry counter-measures in the Erzgebirge. But if the forest used to be affected only in certain local areas, today it is dying across wide areas because of the spread of different poisons to all regions. Previous experience is only of limited help here: for example, if plants are raised which have a certain immunity to SO<sub>2</sub>, this

does not mean that they are at the same time resistant to nitric oxide or fluorine.

And in all of this discussion, it is not at all clear whether or not resistant varieties really can be grown in the first place. Up until now, young trees have been subject to SO<sub>2</sub> gas in special greenhouses. The plants that survive are considered to be "immune to smoke" and then serve for further cultivation purposes.

But it cannot be foreseen just how this kind of tree will behave once reforestation has taken place. Even the scientists at Tharandt are clear about the point that "there is no absolute immunity to smoke." They cautiously speak only of "relative resistance to smoke." The Institute for Forestry Sciences in Eberswalder also warned against "apparent resistance," and demanded that further basic research be carried out.

Therefore, care is taken at the state-run forestry plant in Marienberg only to ensure by the use of methods of forestry science at least a "delay in the progress of emission-caused damage." The forests can basically not be saved with "the measures adapted to the emissions situation." One would have to get at the root of the problem, was the criticism leveled recently by Professor Fritjof Paul, the director of the forestry section at the Technical University in Dresden.

In his view, the forest can, in the long run, only recover if the air pollution caused by industrial waste gas "is significantly reduced." He believes that the method favored by the SED, i.e. the planting of smoke-immune types of trees, can, at best, "achieve a certain stabilization of the existing situation in the forests."

But even a dramatic course correction of SED policies, which could possibly save the forests, would come too late for a unique landscape in middle Germany: the sandstone mountains along the Elbe. The F172, the main connective route with the CSSR, has had to be closed, because parts of the mountain are collapsing. The cause: air pollution.

The soft, porous stone has begun to disintegrate. Reality has caught up with the West Berlin rock group, which appeared in the concrete deserts of the cities under the prophetic name "Einstuerzende Neubauten" [collapsing new buildings]: even before the new buildings, in Germany the Mittelgebirge [mountains of the middle] are collapsing.

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[Text] Sunday in the country in the Mark Brandenburg. The open fields are covered with a fresh green, and the warm weather invites the people to go outside. The Schneider family has been living here for three years.

On this Sunday morning in April, Frau Schneider is working in the kitchen, her husband is working on a project in the garage. Their youngest son, barely five months old, is asleep in his carriage in the garden. Their property borders on an open field, Frau Schneider loves this wide-open view. From her kitchen window she can see the tractors of the "LPG" [agricultural production cooperative] "Forwards." Even the humming of the agricultural plane, which at

this time of year is constantly criss-crossing over the fields and meadows, is familiar to her.

Later she goes into the garden to have a look at her little one. She finds that her child has begun to turn blue, vomit is mixed with an unusual kind of foam. Ambulance. Blue light. Emergency room. It is days before the infant begins to show signs of recovering. The doctors do not know what it was that poisoned him.

It is not until later that the Schneiders make the connection that it could have been the cloud of poison from the agricultural airplane. They hear from neighbors that 27 cows have perished on their meadow in a neighboring village, after aerial spraying had taken place. However, it is no longer possible to establish a definite link between the acute illness of the child and the use of the airplane.

Word of this type of accident hardly ever reaches the public as a whole. At best, it is spoken of in villages that animals sometimes collapse on the meadows. Still. The number of such poisonings is increasing, a result of the constant intensification of GDR agriculture.

Part of this process is the expanded application of more and more nitrogenous fertilizer. In 1960, it was 38 kilograms per hectare, at the beginning of the 80's it was already 145 kg, and for 1985, as much as 160 kg were planned.

In order for these quantities to reach the fields, from year to year more agricultural airplanes are used, with increasing frequency, and the quantity and concentration of fertilizers is also constantly increasing. In 1984, 5.2 million hectares of agricultural lands and forests were fertilized from the air, 83 percent of the total surface area. According to "Neues Deutschland," the central organ of the SED, "The increase in efficiency during the last few years has been achieved although the same quantities and types of machines have been used."

According to law, the agricultural airplanes are supposed to remain on the ground if wind speeds exceed 3 meters per second. But they spray anyway, in order to meet the plan--often with serious consequences. In an LPG in the county of Dresden, a female farmer suddenly observed instances of diarrhea and agitation among some 100 young cows that were grazing in their pasture. Striated and dotted blood formations were found in the heart muscle of a slaughtered animal. The cause: it had inhaled dust containing potash fertilizer.

The sheep tended by a shepherd in Weissenfels near Naumburg suddenly began to bleat anxiously. The animals were unsteady and foaming at the mouth. The first died even before the veterinarian arrived. The cause this time: super-phosphate, a fertilizer with high concentrations of fluorine.

In addition, the airplanes and helicopters also spray weed-killing herbicides and most of the insecticides that are used: a growing assortment of ever-stronger concentrations. In 1960, there were 152 different kinds of insecticides available, based on 36 different active ingredients. Ten years later, there were already 235 products on the market, with 80 different active



ingredients. Finally, by 1980, there were 372 different pesticides with 174 active ingredients.

Things are going very well for the chemical industry in the GDR. This economic sector, which, with its own ministry, has always received preferential treatment, is a pillar of the entire national economy. Cadre in management positions in the chemical industry are--like their capitalistic counterparts--only interested in the sales of their products. And they argue as do chemical bosses throughout the entire world: they propagate the belief that there is no alternative to the chemical protection of plants. Not even for an especially dangerous poison that has long since been outlawed in other countries: DDT.

Last fall, anyone who sought some recreation in the forests near Potsdam and Gross Glienicke before the gates of West Berlin had selected the worst possible kind of spot: large areas of the forests there had been sprayed with DDT.

The GDR writer Helga Schuetz, in Gross Glienicke to enjoy the summer weather, discovered a notice tacked up outside the walk-in clinic: Collecting berries and mushrooms was forbidden until further notice. In the contaminated forest, she found a number of dead birds, and she continued to investigate. The result: many hikers had been brought to the local hospital, suffering from renal failure--all had eaten local mushrooms or berries.

Some 15 years ago, the dangers inherent in the pesticide DDT stood at the very beginning of discussions focused on the environment. The poison, which is effective against mosquitoes, beetles and fleas, has an extraordinarily long half-life. It has been found everywhere on earth, even in the ice of the Antarctic. Via the food chain, it finally reaches the human organism, where it is concentrated especially in human milk.

Because of its ecological and health hazards, the Federal Republic of Germany passed a law in 1972, outlawing the manufacture, distribution, sales and use of DDT. As of now, the SED has not been able to bring itself to make the same decision: the leadership of the GDR cannot dispense with this substance. DDT is cheaper than modern microbiological insecticides that have to be imported, it can be stored for longer periods, and it is 100 percent effective.

To be sure, the SED constantly claims that it intends to replace the product "in stages." And it actually is no longer used in small gardens, in agriculture and in fruit cultivation.

But every do-it-yourselfer brings DDT into his house when he buys "Hylotox IP" and "Hylotox 59" at the paint store. These familiar types of wood preservatives also contain a second super-poison, pentachlorophenol or PCP. Although in the West, many cases of dioxin poisoning due to wood preservatives containing PCP are known, both hobbyist products (with instructions to "apply undiluted") are included in an official list of products that are "not hazardous, or only minimally hazardous, to health."

DDT-based products are still included in the list of allowable pesticides, and are used without compunction in forestry and agriculture: disguised as "Bercema-Aero-Super," "Bercema-Spritzaktiv-Emulsion" [Bercema Active Spray-

Emulsion], combined with Lindan, and what amounts to almost pure DDT, "Bercema-Becosal." The manufacturer is the VEB Berlin-Chemie.

The Becosal DDT is intended to combat the onion fly, and is liberally mixed with onion seeds. Forestry officials are using the other two poisons to combat the bark beetle and the nun beetle. The poisonous brew that is sprayed in this process can be calculated in tons. In 1983, 135,000 hectares of forest were sprayed from the air with insecticides, in 1984, it was already 600,000 hectares--with the progressive death of the forest, the number of pests is also increasing.

How much DDT has been applied remains unknown--the figures are under lock and key in accordance with a November 1982 directive from the Council of Ministers, "to secure secrecy in the area of environmental data." There was no answer to concerned inquiries by environmental groups in Potsdam and in the Erzgebirge. With secretiveness, the SED has, until today, succeeded in suppressing any widespread critical discussion of environmental issues.

And yet, traces of the suspected carcinogen are present everywhere: in 1978, the Central Institute for Nutrition in East Berlin found up to .8 mg of DDT per kg in mother's milk. In 1982, values almost twice as high were measured. Between .25 and .5 mg of DDT were found in each liter of drinking water. Research on newborn babies in East Berlin and Leipzig discovered disturbingly high concentrations as well.

But this is known by only a few scientists. And experts like Professor Rudolf Engst of the Institute for Nutrition demand a halt to the use of DDT, not in stages, but immediately.

Such warnings are ignored. They have no place in the framework of policies that aim at forced growth--even in agriculture. And this means an increased use of chemicals.

Year after year, millions of hectares are sprayed with insecticides. The vermin destroyers have sprayed 50,000 tons of chemicals onto the land. In 1980 alone, this has cost the GDR 428 million Marks.

Carelessness and human error are the order of the day in handling these toxic substances. Among those organizations in the agriculture of the GDR that are most damaging to the environment are, after the "Agrarflug der Interflug," the 258 "Agro-Chemistry Centers," which see to the distribution of 7 million tons of fertilizers and pesticides.

In the vicinity of these centers, both water and land receive their supply, too. More than 100,000 m<sup>2</sup> of water have been contaminated here by pesticides. Up until today, after the cleaning of the spray vehicles, the contaminated waste water is disposed of untreated, and for the most part it is dumped onto a nearby field.

In addition to this, 60 million tons of liquid manure is produced every year--a byproduct of the agricultural industry--that is unsuitable for use as fertilizer. For simplicity's sake, the fields around the huge animal camps are flooded with the mixture of urine and feces, which has a high concentration of nitrogen. A facility for the breeding and feeding of 2,000 pigs, a size which

is typical in the GDR, is as much a burden to the waters as is a metropolis with 400,000 inhabitants.

As is the case for the population as a whole, there is almost no ecological consciousness to be found among agricultural workers. They are not concerned with the chemical scythe's denuding of the land.

Small bodies of water, ponds, ditches and troughs at the edges of the fields are contaminated; they no longer provide a habitat for useful small animals and plants. Because of the use of chemicals in combating weeds, by now every third native variety of fern and flowering plant is threatened with extinction.

Whatever life forms do not die a chemical death must perish at the latest when meadows and pasture lands are, according to agricultural dictates, drained in the grand style or broken up into fields.

Of 1,800 plant varieties, 83 have disappeared in the last 100 years. This process is continuing rapidly as the turn of the century approaches: it is possible that only a few hundred will still remain by then. Thus the comment could be heard at a conference for plant protection held in Leipzig that the focus today could no longer be on "the preservation of the biological balance as is often demanded by lay people," but at best on "the relative stabilization of a biological imbalance."

The magazine "Landschaftspflege und Naturschutz in Thueringen" [Care of the Landscape and Protection of Nature in Thuringia] reached the conclusion that "in many cases, protective measures are impossible." Rather, "knowledge concerning the economic interdependencies has to be attained" and a "constructive point of view" must be assumed. It was also explained to the readers just how this point of view must appear: "Those who persist in adhering to a retrospective point of view hamper various efforts to realistically evaluate all of the various possibilities for the protection of endangered plants, also under the conditions of developed socialist mode of production."

The list of animals endangered because of environmental toxins is long and includes hundreds of species, such as owls, hazel hens, sand martins, field hares, cranes, lizards, grey herons, otters. Birds of prey like the peregrine falcon were exterminated some time ago.

The "working group for the protection of endangered animals" in Dresden is trying to save whatever can be saved. But this is possible only in individual cases and at great expense. Thus, for example, a few members of the species of the Middle Elbe beaver and the great buzzard could be returned to their habitat. For many other kinds of animals, help comes too late. Or such help is, in the final analysis, senseless, since the environment continues to be poisoned.

The consequences of 25 years of socialist production, which East Berlin likes to characterize as "the most progressive, in historical terms," are catastrophic: the topsoil, those 30 centimeters from which everyone has to live, even "over there," has been irreversibly damaged by poor farming methods and immensely high stress.

Eighty percent of the soil has an inadequate supply of organic substances. The humus content is extremely low in many places. Nutrients have been leached out of the earth, and analyses indicate a serious lack of boron and copper throughout the entire GDR.

Farmers must pay attention not to natural harvest times, but to those that are centrally planned. Anyone can observe the catastrophic damage in the large fields. Consequences of erosion are evident everywhere. The wind sweeps up the unprotected topsoil and carries it off, blowing it through the fields and villages. In summer, damage is caused by drought, in winter by the cold.

The agricultural structure which depended on small farmers has disappeared, a development celebrated by the SED as "the victory of socialism in rural areas." The fields are becoming ever more gigantic: in former times, farms of from 3 to 5 hectares were the rule, today 200 hectares are no rarity, although GDR agricultural experts recommend 72 hectares as the optimal size.

Presumably useless bushes, hedges and ridges had to disappear, the landscape was cleared in the grand style. Chemical compounds have replaced the natural enemies of vermin, such as birds or certain bacteria; nonetheless, vermin is reducing harvests as never before. The army of field mice expanded when the birds of prey disappeared, despite the powerful agent "toxaphen." Larger and larger herds of fallow deer and wild boar cause immense destruction in the fields.

Because farming in the grand style appeared to be more economical, the machines also grew larger. The East Bloc's technically inferior tractors, harvesters and trucks are, on the average, 20 percent heavier than comparable equipment in the West, and they place greater pressure on the ground. Furthermore, especially in fall, when the ground is damp, lack of time is frequently coupled with lack of equipment. Harvesters and tractors have to be used at the same time--in areas which were once fertile, the ground today has become rock-hard. Over one half of agricultural land in the GDR is so compressed today that it is difficult for plants to obtain water and nutrients. Therefore, it is no longer useful to spread even more fertilizers. The biologically important micro-organisms in the topsoil die off, and the soil completely loses its fertility.

The primary blame for this process can be attributed to the methods of industrialized agriculture: mechanization, use of chemicals, intensive fertilization and drainage. The alternatives of protecting nature or raising the living standard no longer apply. The failure to pay heed to ecological necessities has already led to losses at harvest time. In 1980, the harvest met only 2/3 of the total food needs of the country. Almost 1/3 of the needed grain, 4.2 million tons, had to be imported. The situation was even more critical in the case of root crops, such as potatoes and sugar beets. There were also considerable losses in animal husbandry.

It took these declining production figures to bring about a reaction on the part of the East Berlin Agricultural Ministry. The newest directives stipulate that fields and barns be made smaller, that protective hedges be replanted, and that organic fertilizers be used--in short, a return to good oldtime farming practices. Even decentralization is being cautiously considered.

At best, all this can only prevent a few cave-ins in production: in the long run, nothing is changed. To be sure, in the county of Erfurt alone, 400 km of protective hedges are to be planted by the end of this decade. But this is not sufficient to halt erosion. The plants grow too slowly, and many of them die. The newly-formed landscape remains a desert planned on the drawing board.

The total ecological balance sheet is horrifying. GDR agriculture has not only hurt itself, the consequences of short-sighted economic thinking have impacted on the entire society.

The intensified use of artificial fertilizers has contaminated rivers, lakes, reservoirs, and even worse: the ground water itself. Nitrogen fertilizers that cannot be utilized by the plants are collected there. The easily-soluble nitrate appears once again in drinking water. During the past 20 years, the nitrogen content of drinking water has increased 5 times. By now, each citizen of the GDR consumes more nitrates with his food and drink than do people in almost any other country: according to statistics collected by nutritional chemists in Halle and East Berlin, this amounts to approximately 150 milligrams each day. The corresponding figure for the Federal Republic is just half as large.

Pure nitrate in larger quantities leads to nausea, diarrhea and other symptoms of poisoning--harmless in comparison with the effects of those substances which are produced in the body in the presence of nitrate: nitrite and carcinogenic nitrosamines.

Nitrite is a strong poison that, even in small quantities, can cause cyanosis, especially in infants. The blood gradually loses its ability to absorb oxygen, the technical term: hemoglobin anemia. The skin turns blue, the babies cannot get enough air and suffocate.

Concerned scientists at the Karl Marx University in Leipzig point out that today, it is not only very small children who are affected: "It was proved that asymptomatic hemoglobin anemia can also occur in the case of older children and even in adults."

The long-term harm is only now being assessed. For nitrate is not only acutely hazardous to health: it influences the enzymes of digestion, the absorption of nutrients, the proper functioning of the thyroid, and it limits the functioning of Vitamin A. The Leipzig scientists also detected "changes in the EKG and in the central nervous system." They also believe that nitrates may be stored within the human organism.

The population in the north of the GDR is especially affected by water that contains nitrates, but the areas around the Magdeburg basin and in the Mark Brandenburg--regions with especially large amounts of land devoted to agricultural purposes--are also affected. In all of Mecklenburg, drinking water can no longer be obtained from surface waters. Dozens of contaminated wells have had to be closed there over the past several decades.

But in the cities, too, nitrate has given rise to concern. The Institute for Hygiene in Leipzig has advised mothers to use only mineral water in preparing food for their babies.

Just how carelessly environmental poisons are used in agriculture is shown in the example of the use of mercury (its chemical symbol HG meaning hydrargyrum: liquid silver). It is used to disinfect seed as a protection against pathogenic fungi.

It is bad enough that birds eat the poisonous stuff. But it is criminal that many operations feed disinfected seed to cows--in defiance of strict laws. And thus, via milk and meat products, mercury finally reaches human beings. The damage that it can cause has already been shown in Japan, where 100 people died and for years thereafter, children were born with mental and physical handicaps--the reason: the consumption of fish that had been contaminated with mercury.

In an agricultural operation in the county of Leipzig, for three months cattle and pigs were fed mercury-contaminated fodder. It is not known how much contaminated meat was sold to the public.

In 1982, in Mecklenburg alone, over 200 tons of disinfected grain was fed to animals. LPG directors were fined in only four cases. They defended their actions with the argument that they had been allotted an inadequate supply of normal grain, and, for that reason, they had to have recourse to the poisonous seed.

These four had the bad luck to be caught. The number of cases in which such practices go undetected, however, is not known. It seems to be standard practice--to use seed as fodder: unused quantities of seed are not returned.

Not only birds and domestic animals but also wild animals are contaminated with mercury, and are therefore by and large unsuitable for human consumption. In the past several years, GDR authorities have warned all those with hunting privileges against eating wild ducks and geese. The hunters were also instructed to bury the internal organs of fur-bearing animals. Mercury concentrations 1,000 times the normal level have been found in some animals.

The primary cause for the disappearance of the peregrine falcon was seed that had been disinfected with mercury. Years ago, zoologists from Halle warned that "the entire granivorous food chain was affected." They systematically analyzed the cadavers of white-tailed eagles and found "sudden increases in residual levels" in the bodies of these endangered birds.

The experts also reported the mass death of crows: hundreds of rooks perished in Feldberg in the district of Neustrelitz. In meadows in Neubrandenburg, scientists found again and again the bodies of geese that had been poisoned by heavy metals. They are calling for "the fastest possible replacement of seed containing methyl-mercury."

In many Western countries such as Italy, Canada and the FRG, disinfecting with mercury has been forbidden for quite some time. The GDR, too, wants to dispense with this agent, in, as it puts it, a "perspectivistic" way. And yet, the use of contaminated grain as fodder, customary throughout the country and regarded as a mere petty offense, has been helped by the Agricultural Ministry itself. The ministry underwrote research to determine the way in which contamination occurs in eggs, milk and meat, and to ascertain the levels

of concentration that can be permitted--a state-tolerated gray zone for environmentally destructive behavior.

The GDR established as allowable upper limits in foodstuffs .005 ppm (parts per million), in internal organs .1 ppm, and in fish and game levels as high as .5 ppm.

The levels in drinking water, which is regarded as a foodstuff, are therefore much too high. The World Health Organization recommends only .001 ppm. But then, after all, the legal prescriptions exist only on paper.

According to the long-winded observation of Leipzig pharmacologists, "In the GDR, as a result of subjective behavior, toxic contamination with concentration levels in excess of permissible amounts cannot be ruled out with absolute certainty for all forms of plant and animal life or for fodder."

The pollution of agricultural areas is worsened in a punishable way when they are sprinkled with waste water and used as depositories for sewage sludge.

At the beginning of 1985, it was found that sewage-irrigated fields in West Berlin were polluted with very high concentrations of lead and cadmium. At the end of the year, West Berlin farmers had to halt the production of crops in these fields. The last crops harvested--Chinese cabbage, spinach, lettuce, turnips and celery--were completely contaminated.

But harvesting is cheerfully continued in the East German sewage-irrigated fields around Berlin, where some of the waste water also lands. After all, this is "the sludge disposal method most beneficial to the national economy," a water resources management expert writes.

Nonetheless, the Institute for Water Resources in Dresden found high concentrations of heavy metals in soil that had been irrigated with sewage for long periods of time. The scientists reached the conclusion that the agricultural utilization of communal sewer sludge is "not unproblematical." They demanded that new concentration limits for soil be established and that contaminated areas be inspected.

But it may be hard to bring this about. As a consequence of the construction of new sewage treatment plants, each year more than 10 million m<sup>3</sup> of sludge are produced, containing highly toxic substances: whether it is cobalt, lead, strontium, potassium cyanide, arsenic, formaldehyde, phenols or cadmium--hardly a poison is missing. Even radioactive substances have been found in the sewage of large East German cities.

Since in the GDR the "secure storage areas" for sewage sludge have already been filled, the only recourse is to distribute the sludge over agricultural areas--more than 50,000 hectares have been continually and seriously polluted in this way. This is a dangerous chain: first, the ground, then the plants and finally, via the food chain, man himself.

At times, toxic sewage is discharged directly from the factory onto the land. Thus, the gas combine "Schwarze Pumpe" in Spremberg, south of Cottbus, sprinkled a liquid with strong concentrations of phenols partly over fields of

grain. The "Lausitzer Rundschau" defended this procedure as a means of "affording some relief to the Spree River."

The city of Schwerin built a 14 km-long pipeline to carry its sewage to the green plant production works in Plate. From there, the sewage reached Lake Schwerin, which, however, threatened to collapse. Now the filthy waste water of the "South Schwerin Industrial Complex" is sprinkled over 1,250 hectares. At the dedication ceremony, the local functionary was quite proud of his gigantic poison sprinkler: "This is an exemplary solution that we are seeking to implement everywhere: increased efficiency in production combined with an improvement in working and living conditions."

This type of pollution is added to those types that occur anyway. Potentially hazardous emissions from factories form deposits on turnips and pasturage, straw and grain. For example, about 4,000 tons of pure lead rain onto the land from lignite ashes alone.

Especially ominous is the interaction of heavy metals with sulphur dioxide, which is emitted at the same time. The more acidic the ground, the better plants can absorb the heavy metals. Even if permissible emission levels were observed--which is far from being the case--, a considerable degree of pollution would occur.

Studies carried out by institutes in Karl-Marx-Stadt, Dresden and East Berlin on the concentration of heavy metals in grain and potatoes yielded alarming readings: scientists detected levels of up to 30 times the permitted concentrations of cadmium in oats, and up to 4 times in potatoes. Their recommendation: especially oats should no longer be grown, especially in areas affected by cadmium-spewing non-ferrous metallurgy, or, before being used as fodder, it "should be mixed in a corresponding proportion with uncontaminated oats." They found that the growing of wheat in highly polluted areas can, to be sure, still be permitted, though it should neither be encouraged nor preferred.

Pollution has become so bad that industry is forced to pay compensation to agricultural organizations. The standard used to judge the extent of damage is, however, usually only the reduction in the quantity of yields. The inferior quality of plant products is not taken into consideration, and, moreover, the agricultural plant has to be able to demonstrate its losses. Since this is often very difficult, the agricultural plants often do not even try.

Pollution takes place on a delayed basis, but it is ineluctable, since the earth cannot regenerate itself. And still the contamination is not stopped; the GDR is pursuing a different course. It propagates "measures adapted to the emissions situation"--with possibly fatal consequences: where vegetable crops can no longer be planted, grain is planted instead, and where this is no longer possible, fodder crops can be planted, and where they fail to flourish, perhaps clover might possibly grow.

And one day, when the poisons have accumulated, even grass will no longer grow. The land, which according to a GDR dictionary is the most important "means of production," could then perhaps--as a final measure of adaptation--serve as a toxic storage dump.



[22 Jul 85 pp 60-61, 63-64, 66-68]

[Text] The woman fishing noticed at once that today she would not have much fun with her relaxing leisure activity. The Ilm, which, in its upper reaches, usually splashes along with its waters fairly clear, was murky and white.

While the woman stood reflecting on the unusual color of the water, the first dead fish floated past. She sounded the alarm, but it was too late. In a short time, as initial reports found, a massive fish kill had taken place between Tannroda and Mellingen.

Downstream on the Ilm, which winds its way through romantic towns such as Bad Berka, Weimar and Bad Sulza, the workers in a trout breeding station had quickly closed the access waterway, but yet, on this afternoon, 100,000 trout fry, which represented a good 20 tons of consumable fish, were lost. But the breeders still had some luck despite their bad luck: three days previously, 22 tons of fattened trout had been taken from the holding ponds and delivered to customers.

The VEB Trebsen Wood Pulp and Paper Factory was guilty of the fish kill, which occurred last year. To be sure, the management of the plant at first denied that their plant was responsible for the pollution of the Ilm. But chemical analyses, carried out by the State Water Inspection Office, implicated the plant in Tannroda: on the day that the trout had died, a delivery of a new type of glue had taken place. As the glue was being transferred, the misfortune happened, and the chemical ended up in the plant's waste water system. Because the plant had no water purification facility, the substance was automatically pumped into the Ilm.

The workers had not been adequately informed about the possible dangers, nor did any procedural guidelines exist for emergencies. Moreover, the manufacturer, the VEB "Harzleim Dresden," had delivered its new product without providing the information required by law about its harmfulness to water--this is typical of the lack of information in the GDR concerning environmental hazards.

At regular intervals, sewerage contaminates idyllic rural rivers and brooks, which are actually still relatively pure. Every fall, during the sugar beet harvest, there were fish kills in the Datze and in the Grosser Landgraben in the county of Neubrandenburg.

It was discovered that the VEB Friedland Sugar Factory was at fault. The sugar manufacturer finally built a new holding pond and cleaned up its sewage ditches. The plant management was proud of the investment it had made for the sake of environmental protection, and yet shortly thereafter, two tons of tench, perch and roach perished. The answer to the puzzle: a valve to hold back the sewerage had been planned and paid for, but never installed.

Fish die almost every day in the waters of the GDR between the Zwickau lowlands and Lake Schwerin. Even the fry die, more than half of them because of industrial pollution. And agriculture, with its wasteful use of fertilizer, finishes off the rest of the carp and pike, bream and lamprey. The nitrogen

and phosphorous content of the waters rose by 5 - 10 percent between 1970 and 1980.

The few fish that are still to be found in the upper and middle reaches of the Elbe are not fit for human consumption. According to a worker at the Office of the Upper River in Dresden: "Aside from the fact that they would smell as unpleasant as the Elbe itself when they were being cooked, they also contain concentrations of materials that make them unsuitable for use as food."

According to an institute in East Berlin responsible for inland fishing, this branch alone is losing 3 - 5 million Marks each year because of the rapid increase in sewerage-caused contamination. Any sign of life has long since disappeared from such rivers as the Unstrut and the Pleisse. Of the fish species that have been identified in the GDR, 7 have become extinct and 26 others continue to be seriously endangered.

It is true that fines have been increased for those responsible for water pollution, and water prices are adjusted according to a customer's degree of economical usage and degree of pollution. Yet each year, the State Water Board counts several thousand legal infringements on the part of industry. GDR society is eliminating not only its fish, but its own supply of drinking water as well.

It is becoming increasingly difficult and expensive to obtain pure drinking water. According to the most recent GDR statistics, of the 2,500 km of water courses in the county of Erfurt, only 70 km are still included in Category I (pure), while 2,100 km belong to Category IV (can no longer be utilized). In the county of Rostock, only one single kilometer of 1,200 km is still completely pure. The purification of water belonging to Category IV costs eight times more than similar purification of water belonging to Category I.

For example, between the CSSR border and Pirna, the Elbe is only "moderately polluted." From this point on, factories such as the VEB Nuenschritz Chemical Works near Riesa and the Pirna Rayon Factory adulterate the river with their by-products. Near Dresden, which intends to build a modern sewage treatment plant by 1992, Category IV is reached: ammonia compounds, heavy metals and chlorinated hydrocarbons are the worst toxins in the Elbe river. In Magdeburg, according to a directive of the city council, drinking water may be taken from the river only in the case of a catastrophe.

It is true that industry and agriculture are the major polluters of GDR water. But even the households contribute to the filth, an ominous chain: only three quarters of the households are linked to a sewage system; only little more than half of the sewers lead to treatment plants; and only rarely do these plants have facilities for several biological and chemical treatment processes.

The GDR especially cannot afford to deal carelessly with the natural resource H<sub>2</sub>O, as it is a land with very scarce water reserves. At present, the East Germans consume 15 billion m<sup>3</sup> of water annually--approximately the same amount that is available. Industry alone requires 75 percent of this amount.

If water shortages occur, the wheels of industry grind to a halt; industry therefore enjoys absolute priority in the allotment of the water supply.

Ordinarily, it takes the water, if it is halfway usable, from the rivers, and after using it conducts it back to the rivers again.

Pollution of the waste water is not permitted to surpass certain limits, which are negotiated by the plant and local authorities; otherwise, a fine must be paid. But this "Waste Water Money" is often included by the VEBs in the planned expenditures for the plant according to the motto: 'It's cheaper to pay a fine than to invest in environmental protection.'

At times, the industrial plants end up quarreling with each other. The Leuna Works, which manufactures all types of chemicals, every hour conducts 30,000 to 40,000 m<sup>3</sup> of water from the Saale through its pipelines.

The waste water, polluted with phenols, is also used downstream by the Buna Chemical Works in Schkoppau. Each time when dead fish floated down the Saale, chemists at Buna protested to their colleagues at Leuna and sounded the alarm.

They were partially successful. Leuna installed a better water treatment facility--not out of concern for the environment, but rather so that the plants downstream would not be hindered in their ability to meet the plan.

For after Schkoppau, the waters of the Saale are pumped, for a variety of purposes, up to ten times into and out of factories--the river is not only poisoned, it is also heated. Even in the severe winter of 1984/85, the Saale did not freeze over: in certain places, its water remained as warm as 20 degrees Celsius.

To be sure, environmental commissioners in the plants are supposed to help prevent such extreme pollution. But most of them only calculate what degree of pollution the rivers can still endure, and otherwise put their trust in the regenerative capacity of the water.

Yet in the industrial regions of the GDR, no natural waterways flow any more: the Weisse Elster, the Schwarze Elster, and the Nesse, Helme, Radau, Weida and Luppe rivers are little more than stinking sewage canals. Some, such as the Pleisse River and its tributaries, the Wyrha, Eula and Goesel rivers, have been forced into riverbeds that are almost completely covered with concrete, so that their waters can be utilized more conveniently.

True to its policy of glossing over the facts, the SED downplays this critical situation. Reports of success can be read according to which, after sewage treatment facilities had been built, short stretches of river were at least pure enough for the water to be used for agricultural purposes. Promises are made: starting in 1986, the Pleisse is supposed to be cleaned up, so that the residents of Leipzig can one day go swimming there again.

However, this kind of patchwork does little to change the ecological situation as a whole. Many GDR residents remain skeptical: as early as the 1970's, they were told that they would soon be able to swim again in the Saale.

As one of the parties responsible for the discharge of waste water into the river, the Federal Republic of Germany did its part, and the upper reaches of the river and other border waters were halfway cleaned. The cost: 166 million West German Marks. And yet, on the banks of the Saale which [in contrast to

the German folk song] are not so bonny anyway, there is, in the other Germany, not a single courageous swimmer to be found to this very day.

Fewer and fewer lakes and ponds are inviting for a swim; 9,000 have been dying for years. They are used by industry for cooling purposes and have been heated up; they have been misused as catch basins for chemical waste and contaminated by immense amounts of agricultural fertilizer. The result: the bodies of water have become choked with aquatic plants.

And they are filling up with mud. At the turn of the century, the Havel lakes around Berlin were 14.5 m deep, but today they have an average depth of only 9 meters. Lake Templin in the county of Neubrandenburg is 52 m deep: water accounts for 4 meters, below which there is a 48 meter-thick layer of mud. In the county of Potsdam, blessed with 500 lakes, a few dozen are now about to be reclaimed.

It is very doubtful whether these efforts will be successful. Dredging is a temporary measure only, and furthermore, there are not enough machines. Nor have efforts to eliminate excessive growth of aquatic plants by means of chemicals, which have been underway since the 1970s, proven to be effective. Intensive efforts are underway to save Lake Arend in the Altmark, the last lake in the GDR to still have a normal oxygen content throughout the entire year and around which are located many dachas belonging to party functionaries. But this lake, too, is seriously threatened.

Even the 190 dams and reservoirs that were designed for the purpose of providing drinking water are, to a large extent, already polluted. Of special concern to GDR water specialists are those dams near which extensive agriculture is carried out: these include the Saidenbach dam, which is the major water source for Karl-Marx-Stadt, and the Waida Dam, which provides water for the county of Gera.

In spring and summer, the peak values of nitrates (caused by the over-fertilization of fields and pasture lands) are feared: water samples taken during these seasons contain much more than the permitted maximum concentrations of 40 milligrams per liter. Within 10 years, the nitrate content of reservoir water has more than doubled on the national average.

It is not only surface water that is badly contaminated; the ground water has received its share of toxins, as well.

Since lignite mining is presently being stepped up, larger and larger tables of ground water are being lowered. Each year, 1.9 billion m<sup>3</sup> of water are pumped out of the mines, contaminated with phenols, sulphates and sulphuric acids. Nitrogen fertilizers, the impermeability of the ground resulting from its increasingly being sealed off by growing road, municipal and industrial construction also have a negative effect on the ground water as well [sic.].

There is no nationwide supervision. Until recently, experts did not believe that ground water contamination was even possible; no research of any kind was carried out. "An additional factor," write concerned water resource specialists, "is that global restrictions with regard to industry and agriculture would not fail to have an impact on the living standards of our people."

They see hardly any hope of improving the situation: on the surface of the earth, the forest is dying; under earth's surface, the ground water can no longer be saved, and in-between, the lakes, rivers and topsoil are already dead. A commentary in the language of a Dresden scientist: "For this reason, it is very difficult to find a reason for social optimism."

He notes with resignation that the pollution of the ground water "can no longer be eliminated, neither today nor in the future." Since not every reservoir can be kept pure, the GDR could at best try, as far as technically and economically possible, to reduce pollution "the lowest possible levels." He estimates that more than 75 percent of "the ground water resources within the national territory" have already been lost.

Locally limited reservoirs that can no longer serve to provide drinking water shall in the future be used as planned waste disposal basins. This is already happening in many places: environmental toxins are leeching out of refuse heaps and waste disposal sites into the ground.

Ten years ago, GDR planners began a process of dealing with the--at that time--more than 10,000 uncontrolled dumps throughout the country. And yet, today citizens and factories are still dumping their trash onto 5,000 such uncontrolled dumps. In the GDR as a whole, there are only 100 so-called "controlled disposal sites" and 160 facilities dealing with the elimination of highly toxic special wastes.

Sanitation workers, although they laud this meager balance as a success, are themselves beginning to entertain doubts. To be sure, the storage and containment of toxic wastes in the disposal sites is carefully prescribed. But seepage is only occasionally checked by means of random sampling. It is easy for the plants to rid themselves of their toxic substances: the substances are "diluted" with household garbage.

By way of example, the waste disposal sites in Zeitz, Pirna-Feistenberg and Meissen-Zscheila are, in the opinion of environmental groups in Dresden, anything but safe. In the disposal site at Doebeln in Leipzig County, one of the oldest in the GDR, 1.3 tons of water-soluble toxins leech into the ground per hectare every year.

In many places, because there are not enough special toxic waste disposal sites to contain the refuse, highly toxic wastes are temporarily stored in normal dumps--in drums, fenced off with simple screening. But recent internal studies also concede that the so-called regulated dumps are also not free of danger. The experts: "Emissions in the widest sense of the word" would have to be "taken into consideration in calculations."

Even less secure are the gigantic stockpiles that are accumulated by VEBs on their own authority. Heavy metals, arsenic, pesticides and chlorinated hydrocarbons are gradually percolated from these sites down into the ground water.

The slag-heap of the Leuna Works is an infamous example: a flattened hill, 50 m high, of industrial sludge and ash, covering 70 hectares. To be sure, the slag-heap is no longer expanding, since the plant is now discharging its liquid

ash into the empty pit remaining at the Kayna strip mine. But dust from the monster hill still covers nearby cities and villages. Most of the attempts that have been made to raise plants on the hill have ended in failure: again and again, the plants have perished. No wonder: workers at the plant know that not only power plant ash is stored there. It is said that dioxin poisonings have already occurred at the factory, where the hazardous substance pentachlorophenol (PCP) is used, along with other substances. One Leuna worker growled: "Perhaps this will be our Georgswerder." [The Seveso poison dioxin was found in 1983 at the trash dump in Georgswerder, a subdivision of the city of Hamburg.]

Increasingly harmful to the environment are also those slag-heaps in which industrial wastes are only temporarily stored. The GDR, which is poor in raw materials, intends to utilize these waste products at a later date. Every year, 80 million tons of these roughly 350 so-called by-products are produced, 40 percent of which will be re-used for production purposes.

In recent years, industry has been forced by increasingly rigorous regulations to deal more economically with resources. The engineers are supposed to develop "techniques that are free of by-products," i.e. methods of recycling waste materials. The population is constantly confronted with new campaigns urging people to sort their household trash and to bring valuable materials to the "collection centers for secondary raw materials."

Kitchen garbage is collected in the so-called "Specki-Tonnen," [bacon-bins] for use as swine fodder. Special containers for plastic items are located in front of HO market halls; and glass waste is practically non-existent, since a deposit is required for all products purchased in glass containers.

In terms of the recycling of paper, the GDR today is already ahead by a nose as compared with the other European countries. One-half of paper production consists of recycled paper, which saves 6,000 hectares of forest a year.

This year, the GDR hopes to meet 12 percent of its total raw material requirement by means of forced recycling. The goal is not propagated in terms of the environment, but in terms of the economy: until 1990, the East Germans can increase the exploitation and import of primary raw materials by 50 percent at the utmost, while the production of goods is intended to quadruple. One-half of the needed raw materials must be procured by improved methods of materials management and by recycling.

To be sure, this is also advantageous in terms of the environment. Yet "green" critics of the SED argue that the eco-crisis cannot be delayed by these measures. As long as the party leadership thinks primarily in economic terms, there will be no rethinking on the part of society as a whole.

Where sheep are regarded only as herd for wool production, tilling the soil as plant production, raising animals as meat production, and cows as "raw-fodder-consuming large-animal units" (in SED officialese), the East Greens warn that it may no longer be a large step before man himself is denigrated as "man-material." Even today, factories such as Buna and Leuna are computerizing the selection of those employees who are expected to function flawlessly in highly polluted workplaces, according to reports from an environmental group in Halle.

Only a drop in productivity might be sufficient cause for such factories, under certain circumstances, to make the environment of the workplace more humane. This is true, above all, for the environmental enemy which, after air and water pollution, is the most persistent throughout the GDR: noise. The diagnosis for almost half of all recognized occupational diseases is "B33," occupationally caused loss of hearing.

According to recent research by GDR scientists, the noise is unbearable at at least 600,000 workplaces in industry and agriculture. In these jobs, a constant noise level far in excess of the legally admissible 90 decibels was measured. Employees in lignite and potassium mining, in the textiles industry and in metal processing are especially subject to noise.

The Warnow Shipyards in Warnemuende. Nanning K., 46 years old, worked there from the age of 24, at first as a welder and later as a shipbuilder. He always found his hearing "completely normal," but suddenly it grew worse from day to day. Now he is completely deaf and had to take early retirement a year ago because of disability. His fate is shared by almost 600 workers at the shipyard. To be sure, with the introduction of new techniques, the noise-intensive riveting, splicing and boiler-making have been discontinued. And yet bedlam still continues at 100 decibels at the berths and in the shipbuilding and repair halls. During cutting and alignment procedures, the noise can increase to as high as 130 decibels. If statistics are true, one out of every ten workers will one day lose his hearing.

At first, because it is painless, the damage progresses unnoticed. Initially, only the ability to hear certain frequencies is lost; typical conversations can still be readily understood, even though the ear is already very badly damaged. Only "chronic, acute trauma" leads to permanent damage in the inner ear; 20 to 40 years may intervene between the initial and final stages of the condition.

Via the involuntary nervous system, the illness can affect the entire body: disturbances in the stomach and digestive tract, nervousness, insomnia and headaches are only the initial direct consequences. According to physicians in Dresden, diseases of the heart and circulatory system in the GDR can also be attributed to environmental, noise-caused stress.

After the close of the working day, this stress is continued even during leisure hours: a sociological poll taken in East Berlin indicated that more than 75 percent of the population feel themselves the victims of construction and traffic noises. One hundred measuring stations within the city limits of Dresden indicated that the upper limits of 60 decibels during the day and 50 decibels at night are far exceeded almost everywhere in the city.

Whether in Gotha, Rostock, Magdeburg, Halle or Erfurt--everywhere where anti-noise commissions assess the situation, high values affecting the population were measured. The commentary of one expert: "Because of the increasing residential and traffic densities, in many places noise pollution has assumed ominous and in part even unbearable dimensions. It would be unwise to assume that this development has already reached its peak."

Representatives of Hans Reichelt's Environmental Ministry concede that "despite exemplary legislation ... the measures that have been implemented have not achieved the required effectiveness." GDR scientists have calculated for their national leadership just what impact this will have on the economy.

Once the occupational illness "B33" has been diagnosed, social security pays a partial retirement income, depending on the degree of disability. In 1976, 38 million Marks were spent in compensation, in 1980 it was 50 million Marks, and by 1985 it may reach 80 million Marks. In addition, 160 million Marks of losses due to production shortfalls must be counted, because noise-damaged workers tend to be sick more frequently and for longer periods.

Effective noise protection would have to be implemented at the source of the noise. Quieter means of transportation and machines, new methods of sound-proofing in the pre-fabricated apartment houses, and other kinds of pavement would be needed. But experts who look into the future sometimes come up with rather macabre ideas: rather than try to minimize noise, human beings will have to reorganize their lives.

After shockingly high noise levels were measured in Erfurt, one planning group suggested in all seriousness a "radical change in lifestyles." Sound-proofed night-time areas were to be created within homes--areas that would be walled-off, artificially illuminated and climate-controlled. In addition, residential areas thus equipped could also be built under the earth's surface.

Only a few of the planner colleagues regarded these as draconian measures: they protested that "it is self-evident that opened bedroom windows" also belong "to the socialist lifestyle." Yet for those pragmatic socialists who hold fanatically to the SED course of forced growth at any price, the idea of subterranean, monstrous living quarters in the strip mines around Leipzig, from which the coal has been removed, does not appear to be of nightmarish dimensions: economy good, people kaput.

Anyone who tries to discuss these ideas openly, let alone to criticize them, soon comes into conflict with the state apparatus. According to a party directive of February 1985, environmental discussions are to be avoided, for example in the schools.

The teachers' journal "Paedagogik," published in East Berlin, obediently wrote that there was "no cause at all for our schools to encourage the discussion of deficits or problem areas." Only the superiority of socialism in the area of environmental protection could be discussed, and under no circumstances could the economic policies of the SED be called into question in the Republic.

The journal further pointed out that the affirmation of growth belongs to the personality of every socialist student, just as does an "active relationship to the scientific-technical revolution." Alternative views of life are "to be fundamentally rejected" and a denial of progress as practiced in the GDR is "inhumane and reactionary."

It is difficult for the eco-groups in the GDR to make any progress at all in the face of this kind of antiquated thinking. They have been working for six years, usually under the protection of the protestants, to obtain access to environmental figures that are withheld by the state, and then to publicize



these figures at seminars and church congresses, discussion evenings and mini-demonstrations. In these efforts they are forced to rely on their own resources; only at lower levels is there sporadic cooperation with the state "Society for Nature and the Environment."

Leading church officials even hear occasional words of praise from party comrades about the Christians' commitment to ecological progress. The party appears to feel that it can exercise some control over, and thus to some extent can tolerate, the environmental groups so long as they remain within the churches. And yet at the same time there is no lack of warnings, admonitions and threats: many SED functionaries presently fear nothing more than an outbreak of defiance on the part of those favoring alternative approaches to the established policies of their own country--along the lines of the Greens in the West.

Therefore, by refusing to grant visas, the SED is keeping at a distance thousands of eco-peaceniks from the West, with the exception of a few Green parliamentarians. Party functionaries are well aware that the eco-fighters of Greenpeace and Robin Wood enjoy much greater popularity among young people than do such SED initiatives as "More Beautiful Our Cities and Communities," or "Cleaner Forests."

In some areas of the GDR, discussion can even be heard concerning the possibility of an independent organization of engaged Greens. Environmentalists look with envy to Poland and Hungary. In the neighbor to the east, the "Ecological Club," an organization closely affiliated with the outlawed trade union "Solidarnosc," was successful in bringing about the closing of factories that had been polluting the environment. And in Hungary, environmental initiatives were able to stop, at least for the time being, the mammoth project of the Danube power plants.

Yet there are also glimmers of hope for the eco-groups in the GDR. The church hierarchies have recently begun to express strong support for a "coalition of reason." They also want to try to penetrate through the state information monopoly concerning environmental policies. They demand, in the words of the State Church of Saxony, "more and more meaningful information," so that "from concern and anxiety, responsible cooperation can result." Talking must lead to action, and, by way of example, eco-weeks could be sponsored--along the lines of the successful "peace decades."

Artists, literary figures and film makers are also gradually taking up the theme. The GDR Sorbian writer, Juri Koch, took advantage of a board meeting of the Writers Association on the topic "Literature and Homeland" to protest the results of "technical civilization." He raised the question of "the relationship between material profits and spiritual and moral losses." In his view, just as has already been the case elsewhere, there are now signs in the GDR that material prosperity can lead to ethical poverty.

The beauty of his Lausitz homeland is gone, destroyed by lignite strip mining, dying forests and water pollution. Koch recalled the legend of Dr. Faustus, who sold his soul to the devil for short-term material gains. According to Koch, it must be possible to "save the soul of the landscape."

Koch: "Otherwise, we ourselves can no longer be saved."

HUNGARY

PSYCHOLOGY IN A CHANGING POLITICAL, SOCIETAL SETTING

Budapest VILAGOSSAG in Hungarian No 4, 1985 pp 212-218

[Article by Csaba Pleh: "Societal Changes and Four Decades of Psychology"]

[Text] On the occasion of earlier anniversaries, a number of people have pointed out that the development of Hungarian psychology after the liberation was closely related to social and political development.<sup>1</sup> In the previous interpretations, this path was divided into three periods: the first lasted from 1945 to 1948, the second from 1949 to 1957-58, and the third began after 1958. Today, however, we can confidently add that since the 1970s we have lived in a fourth period, one exhibiting new characteristics and problems. These periods roughly coincide--through undisclosed connections not especially hard to disentangle--with important political turning points in Hungary's postliberation history: politics and ideology have had an immediate impact on psychology's scientific and professional direction and possibilities for a long time. Even today, when no direct influence exists in the context of the Hungarian development, this "nonexistence" expresses a positive fact, not a defect, in the relationship between politics and psychology.

Seen from today's perspective, several features of the first period, which lasted a few years, deserve emphasis. Complexity and international openness of professional orientation were characteristic in the sphere of science. Although a certain kind of cosmopolitan openness has always been typical of the luminaries in Hungarian psychology,<sup>2</sup> nevertheless, if today we read the works of that time, we cannot escape the feeling that the younger generation gathered information with the joy of discovery. This is clearly illustrated by the volume entitled "A mai lelektan" [Modern Psychology], which runs the gamut from psychoanalysis to Gestalt psychology, or by the volume entitled "Tanítás es ertelmi fejlodes" [Teaching and Intellectual Growth], which introduces educators to Piaget, known earlier through the works of Hildebrand Varkonyi and Pal Schiller Harkai but by no means represented as a figure of such central importance.<sup>3</sup>

The period's second feature, which makes it enviable today when we experience its very absence, is the explicit link between a sense of historical continuity and the demand for innovation. Although the recommencement was attended by a distinct passing of generations due to emigration and the ravages of war, awareness of the continuance of a tradition in the nation's past foreshadowing human and professional progress is still natural at that time. For example, the aforementioned volume entitled "Tanítás es ertelmi fejlodes" introduces, as an

integral carryover of the work of Laszlo Nagy and Pal Ranschburg, the then concept of the nationwide child psychology network, but there is also a symbolic gesture: "number nineteen" department founder Geza Revesz, who by that time had already acquired a very legitimate and considerable international reputation in Amsterdam, is invited to head the independent Department of Psychology, which has separated from the Department of Philosophy.<sup>4</sup>

But no schism or disharmony between scholarship and profession are perceptible in the psychology of this period. It is well-known that the historical roots of so-called academic and practical psychology are different, they do not feed on the same traditions, and their relationship--including their occasional and fortunate overlaps--has always been the key issue of modern psychology. It was characteristic of prewar Hungarian psychology--not as an oddity, since this was a fairly common situation in Europe--that academic psychology and practical psychology evolved in separate centers (the philosophy department and the laboratory of Ranschburg or Szondi, respectively), and aside from psychoanalytic practice, the practicing psychologist working in the actual "terrain" was a very rare bird. During this period of a few years, major efforts were made to alter this state of affairs, especially in the area of public education. On the basis of instructions from the educational administration, a system of State Child Psychology Stations was very quickly developed nationwide under the guidance of the State Institute of Child Psychology, the successor (led by Janos Schnell) to the Ranschburg Laboratory and the forerunner of the modern academic institute. Operating in Budapest, however, was the Capital City Institute of Psychology where, in addition to diagnostic and consultative work, parental courses related to extensive social activity were in full swing.<sup>5</sup>

That is to say, there appears on the scene the actual interpersonal cultivation of practical psychology as a significant and centrally emphasized task. Matters developed differently, and though we have no right to do it, let us risk an extrapolation: this child psychology network and, more broadly, the entire period's practical orientation bore within themselves the hopeful possibility that Hungarian psychology would turn much sooner into a reerected Christmas tree, a profession in which the theoretical/academic "apex" falls short quantitatively of the mass of practicing psychologists. (This "natural" stratification takes place in each country only after a development of several decades, and nowhere does the time of departure characterize the psychology; even the American psychologists, in virtual amazement, identify this as a novelty of their profession only in the 1950s.<sup>6</sup>) Finally--and closely linked to these endeavors of practical psychology--typical of the period is psychology's considerably increased awareness of direct social responsibility, or an emphasis on social relevance. Staying with public education: promoting the further education of worker and peasant youth by introducing widespread aptitude testing is viewed by psychology as its major assignment at this time.<sup>7</sup>

Such a brief survey cannot aim at presenting, in its content, this flourishing period in the history of Hungarian psychology. Without any special argument, however, let me say on behalf of the outwardly naive attitude of the nonparticipatory and younger generation that, though much briefer and incomplete, this period resembles in many respects the way Russian/Soviet psychology reacted to the great social transformation of the 1920s. The openness to every foreign

achievement, the suddenly expanded outlook, the variety of trends, the increased awareness of direct social responsibility, combined with the belief that psychology with its professional resources can best help to solve social problems (impartial professional knowledge and skills are readily available), the insistence on cultivating a practical psychology--all this brings to mind another period of foment.<sup>8</sup>

It is well-known that starting in 1949 psychology, together with the other social and natural sciences, stagnated, to put it mildly. The direct role of politics in this was obvious. The discrediting of psychology sought and found parallels and an immediate model in the internal political history of the Soviet Union in the 1930s: as in the celebrated, so-called pedological party resolution of 1936, here, too, the pedological movement and the use of testing methods became the reason for calling psychology, especially practical psychology, into question. It is easy to specify what this meant in practice: the dissolution of the Psychology Society, the discontinuation of MAGYAR PSZICHOLOGIAI SZEMLE, the shutdown of all psychological institutes and stations created in the meantime apart from the Institute of Child Psychology and an aptitude testing establishment, the suspension of training for psychologists at the university. Organized life in psychology, including opportunities to publish, virtually came to an end. Those very organizational forms ceased to exist which the upswing attempted to recharge with a new content or even reinstitute.

We are less accustomed, however, to making clear what the internal logic was to this hostility toward psychology. Is it enough if we see some kind of fortuitous caprice of dogmatic and voluntaristic ideology behind the events? In reality, the matter does not lack all logic. An analysis indicates that the social logic behind the antipsychology measures in the Soviet Union may have been the following: at the time of the great social transformations (industrialization, metamorphosis of the village, birth of the new intelligentsia), psychology's traditional approach, particularly the approach of applied psychology, could have been perceived as a retrogressive force in two respects. Psychology overemphasizes the differences between people as well as the importance of the past, while the politics of the period required an image of man according to which a human being had no existing limitations, none which could not be overcome, their differences were insignificant and they were not dominated by the past. With the help of deliberate, organized influence and increasing self-esteem, anybody could become anything, or rather anybody could be molded into anything. Traditional psychology with its emphasis on "given" parameters did not lend itself to representing the human side of the radical approach to society's transformation, just as genetics was unsuited to representing the "nature-transforming" approach. Relegating psychology to the background was thus inevitable and not the work of individual chance.<sup>9</sup>

It is a peculiar feature of Hungarian psychology's development that those phenomena in Soviet psychology which followed one another in essentially two periods from the 1930s to the end of the 1950s are repeated in a single, brief period of 8-10 years. In our country, this period still lives in general, professional consciousness as the "Pavlovization" era, a scholastic period in which a doctrine that was simplified and reduced to verbalism was applied to everything. The truth, however, is more complicated than this. As we can see

most palpably from the interview--already mentioned several times above--with Imre Molnar, the then director of the Child Psychology Institute, the essence of the voluntaristic era's "psychology policy" was different. The initial tendency was to subordinate psychology to pedagogy, in particular a pedagogy which preached man's unlimited malleability and from which the direct application and verification of policy were often expected. In this context, the "autocracy" of Pavlovization--whose institute was the Academic Pavlov Committee--was indicated by works of comparative psychology of Pavlovian inspiration, by works on the psychology of learning which used Pavlovian jargon, etc, and in fact it also meant a liberation from the ominous tyranny of pedagogy. If I may phrase it crudely, it was better for psychology if it fell under the sway of physiology, and not pedagogy, because physiology was at least a natural science in which--particularly in the Hungarian arrangement--the canons of scientific discourse could begin to prevail. The peculiar thing about the Hungarian situation was that what had been even more clearly divided into two during the much more protracted Soviet development appeared almost all at once, piled together: psychology's subjection to pedagogy and Pavlovization. There, because of the unscientific nature of the stands taken toward those who proclaimed a contrary opinion and the like, the verbal demand of a unified theory overtook Pavlovism merely as the new fruit of dogmatism's science policy; which then in the long run became a trend to bring about the return by stealth of psychology's scientific approach and aspects, to help scientific psychology back to its laws. It may also be due to this that for the experimental psychologists psychophysiology's constant frame of reference remained in our country at the end of the era of "Pavlovism," and the close relations between physiologists and psychologists were maintained.<sup>10</sup>

Yet alongside the positive realities--the possibility for the "return by stealth" of the scientific element--which prevailed in the context of that time, this Pavlovian intermezzo had a negative long-term effect: it confirmed the belief that psychologists need to be spoon-fed, or rather it revived the notion, discredited for decades in the more fortunate countries, that psychology needed to be liberated, to become independent, to acquire its own look, to be freed from the guardianship of either ideology or, for example, physiology. That is to say, psychology once again obtained an awareness of emancipation, socially and intellectually understandable but anachronistic in the international history of the science and the profession, an awareness which would become one of the primary motivational bases for psychology in the 1960s.

After the outlined precedents, we can rightly regard the third period of psychology's postliberation development, the one starting in 1957-58, as a commencement. The thaw in ideological dogmatism and political consolidation means the direct power factors which favor psychology's freer evolution. A science and especially a profession, however, do not get into gear and make rapid headway under the impact of such "paper factors." The latter can assure at best the undisturbed continuation of the work of men who have previously earned a stable identity as psychologists, but they do not attract new generations to psychology. In the same way that the hard reality of accelerated social transformation stood behind the so-called relegation to the background in the 1950s, the actual driving force behind psychology's continuous development and expansion in the 1960s is presumably the more integrated model of social evolution, a model based on slow changes in the motivational system; on the ideological level, placement of the

"human factor" in the foreground; and increased individualization in every sphere of life.

Two sociological characteristics of psychology's "startup" are conspicuous in this period. Psychology changes from a forbidden, questionable or at best tolerated science to a scientia amabilis and, on the leadership level, attracts the representatives of other sciences and professions. Psychology is an attractive opportunity to be a standout, to culminate a career, "to take the lead," for physicians, for example, or for those beginning their careers under the auspices of pedagogy. On the other hand, psychology at this time becomes a fashionable profession: the initial instruction is the "forbidden fruit," and the attractive, fascinating work--it yields somewhat more, it breaks somewhat with the inflexible and, let us not be ashamed to admit it today, it has some world-redeeming promise--entices a multitude of young people with broad interests and many wants. Also characteristic is the sense of vocation which developed at this time: the generation which "weathered the 1950s" conveys to the younger a special commitment toward the profession, above all what it means to be a psychologist, and at the same time the self-sacrifice and the awareness of being threatened. In the beginning, this seems natural and fundamental, but as the "internal" and external enemies thin out and there is more and more independence from direct political/ideological influences, it becomes imperceptibly anachronistic, a "bunker mentality" which in many respects (though this is actually a problem of the current, the fourth, period) prevents a purely intellectual judgment--a judgment without messianism and feelings of persecution--of the true position of psychology. Since then, psychology does not need to be defended, if by itself it becomes more difficult to implant in the new generation that some type of specific, distinctive sense of vocation is part of their profession.

Organizationally and with regard to institutions, the transformation was gradual. The Psychology Committee was established, originally subordinate to the presidency, at the Academy in 1958, and at the outset it filled the role of a scientific society: its nine subcommittees conducted their work at regular scientific sessions and, in addition to the various related sciences, even representatives of artistic life--and not just any representatives: for example, Lajos Kassak--held seats on the subcommittees. The Committee at this time performs the function of central planning and financing for research, that function whose centralized character is by now gradually relegated to the background, probably in accordance with more general social trends. The Psychology Society was then restructured in 1962, and an organization of scientific classification also emerged in psychology. Earlier, symbolically expressing the dominance relationship, as it were, only a parenthetical classification could be obtained from psychology: someone could be a "candidate" or a "doctor" of "pedagogical science (psychology)."

The Institute of Child Psychology also came under the jurisdiction of the Academy, and in 1965 it had evolved into an institute exclusively for research, dispensing with consultative/advisory work. Instruction in psychology for teacher trainees assumed new life at universities and colleges, and training for psychologists got under way, originally at the University of Arts and Sciences in Budapest, as a liberal arts specialty and then, starting in 1963-64, in a form offering professional preparation in three practical areas: clinical, educational and industrial psychology.

This feature of the training, which incidentally held true until the start of the 1970s, reflects the recognition--or more precisely, the updating and institutionalization of this earlier recognition--by psychologists that there is a great need in practical life for a multiplicity of applied psychologists. The training model assured the breakthrough that in Hungary, within a decade, psychology would become a profession whose legal and other consequences would be felt by the following decade. It can also be said that through the training's dynamism the opportunity opened up for psychology's integral development: the profession was not created by directives from above, but after its creation there emerged numerous questions of codification and regulation whose arrangement has lasted to this very day.

The transformation of psychology into a profession was accompanied by the birth of numerous institutions. The increase in number and importance of laboratories and psychologists working in factories and health establishments was a less spectacular process. In public education, however, the emergence of educational advisers and a network of career selection counselors--these two favored institutional systems which employ psychologists and which have great social influence and visibility--can be ascribed to this period.

Thus the period's earmark which launches the genuine, most important and--as it turned out--fortunately irreversible process is the transformation of psychology into a profession, the reerection of the mentioned Christmas tree. But this era also has another, less fortunate feature: the end of a sense of continuity.

From this period, from the vigor of recommencement, dates Hungarian psychology's amnesia, the feeling that we must create a new world out of nothing. In this sense, unfortunately, it can be said that the brief antipsychology period achieved a goal: due to the lack of continuity from teacher to pupil or out of various feelings of fear and under the compulsion--or the imaginary compulsion--to adapt, continuity or the awareness of it came to an end.<sup>11</sup>

If we examine the quality of the scientific product--which, by the way, with regard to the number of publications in this period increases substantially through both the journal supplement PSZICHOLGIAI TANULMANYOK at the outset and the PSZICHOLGIAI SZEMLE, which began again in 1960, both as the result of publishers' activity--the most conspicuous novelty is the sudden advance of empirical material and, within this, the increase in methodological exactitude. I would mention a single characteristic datum to support this here: we find some kind of mathematical/statistical tabulation in one-third of the empirical publications between 1966 and 1970. Judging the value of this is a question of perspective. Since I first reported the full particulars concerning this, many people have referred to them as proof of backwardness. If we take into account, however, that this ratio was only 10 percent between 1958 and 1965, the claim that we are catching up becomes clearly visible. The profession makes its entry, but the role of skill in the science increases, too. Numerous individually characteristic things in some areas show which details are not worth introducing. But the research methodology, like a small coin valid everywhere, demonstrates that the number of references per publication roughly doubles between 1958 and 1970, and this increase can be attributed mainly to the growing inclination to cite the international technical literature.<sup>12</sup>

It can also be ascribed to this period that entire subspecialties previously uncultivated or scarcely practiced in our country came to the fore of psychology's interest, and indeed they will become permanently leading branches, two distinctive examples of which are psychophysiology and social psychology.

Parallel with the quantitative growth, there began a diversification--it has lasted up until today and is still unfinished--with respect to both approaches and topics studied, so that it is less possible to link the face of Hungarian psychology to to one or two names and issues. This psychology is not Hungarian because it follows some sort of entirely individual theory but rather in its very intercultural essence, with regard to its level and standpoints, in its nature open to many influences, and in its scope.

The fourth stage of development is actually the period which lasts from the early 1970s to today. On the one hand, the development begun earlier, in the 1960s, continues, and in this sense it is legitimate to say of the last 2½ decades that psychology finally found its integral development in them. On the other hand, the continuity, the "unbroken development," or--if we may use economic jargon--the continuous extensive development produces new worries. This is partly due to the considerable fanning out of psychological activity, to such an extent that we still have no patterns, no experience, no past to manipulate it. It is also owing to the fact that a stabilized profession has to confront totally different problems than an occupation which wages--or thinks it wages--a struggle for freedom.

Some of the new problems arising from the development/change are tied to the inner world of the psychologist's profession. Today the Psychology Society has about 1,000 members, the number of those who have earned a degree in psychology is somewhat larger than this, and the number of practitioners--those who practice it as their main profession--is somewhat smaller. In conformity with the already mentioned helpful logic of integral development, also created were the various legal regulations which control the licenses connected with this, the spheres of activity or, for example, the professional conduct to be followed. In reality we for the most part experience it too late, for instance, compared with countries of similar development. The problem in connection with this--with the entire "regulation" of the practical psychologist's activity--is more a matter of implementation: how do these regulations become living, what penalties are imposed for malpractice, for instance, how does autonomy assert itself, and at the same time how is competency defined, so far and no further?

Yet the widespread profession means in itself that the clear-cut, personal world of the "heroic age" has ended; the profession is no longer immediately clear-cut. In much of our activity, however, we proceed from the assumption of a clearly arranged social scheme in which everybody knows everybody. In the establishment of a scientific and professional public life, in the evaluation of performances, in the openness of opportunities and in genuine publicity, we have lagged behind in developing the forms required for our actual situation. It is not simple moralization if we emphasize the significance of this, not simply the condemnation of protectionism and related things but rather the perception that our situation, the growth in dimensions, provides an objective foundation for competition, for workshop creation and for the development of



mechanisms to mobilize hidden possibilities. Not to mention the fact that we would thereby be in a better joint rhythm with all the changes occurring in society.

The important and extensive growth calls for advance consideration of the fate of the young generation. Most of the just mentioned large or moderate number of psychologists--perhaps 90 percent is not a risky figure--have entered the profession in the last 20 years. If I may again resort to the Christmas tree analogy, this Christmas tree, very wide at the bottom, means that most psychologists active today will stay in the profession for decades. If everything continues as it is at present--by this I mean university instruction, continuing education, postgraduate training, and so forth--then the new generation's professional and wage-earning success will be very difficult for a long time. I do not know the answer, but it is certain that ways must be found to alleviate these inevitable problems, so that graduation from a university assures the new generation of a high-level intellectual occupation, for example, through more mobile possibilities of application and similar things. It is to be feared, namely, that in the opposite case overproduction--which in our country stems from a single mechanism, the explosive transformation of psychology into a profession--will devalue the university degree. Various additional qualifications will be required to practice the profession--the current so-called postgraduate training makes such an interpretation feasible--and a "mere" degree will make only middle-level jobs possible. Or as the West German psychologists say who are struggling with similar problems and with the effects of a voguish inundation: the psychologist has turned into a "leisure-time organizer," adapting to the new demands of the consumer society but mislaying the touchstone of the original intellectual vocation. I mentioned that in the 1960s psychology was a fashionable profession in the sense that it attracted young people more ambitious and talented than usual. From the viewpoint of the university chair, it is sometimes our impression that this has changed in the last 5-10 years: psychology continues to be in vogue, but people are perhaps attracted to it no longer by a special missionary sense or by the desire for forbidden fruit but rather by the social physiognomy of an established and fashionable profession. It may be, however, that this is simply a distortion of perspective, and in reality the problem is linked to the blockage of channels, the profession's saturation.

Be that as it may, in the decade to come we must clearly confront the dilemma of extensive development: has society's fill with psychology already reached a critical level? Nor is it certain that an international comparison of statistics referring to number of inhabitants is accurate here. (Incidentally, on the strength of the evidence for this, here, too, as in almost everything, we are naturally ranked among the moderately developed societies.) Today it is mostly a question of value. The continuation of extensive development is threatened by the danger that, reeling in the illusion of the "therapeutic society" or in false awareness, psychology will feel more and more that it must pit itself against growing and insatiable demands with modest resources, while in reality it forces its services on society, declaring innumerable forms of conduct abnormal and then offering a helping hand. I do not intend to solve this problem here, but we must clearly see that two dilemmas are taking shape in the evolution of applied psychology which centers mostly--and in my opinion,

correctly--on the individual. One is that it can hardly cherish the illusion of impartiality; it practices some sort of life ideal. At the same time, it is very questionable whether it can assume the burden of defining "value" and the responsibility of perhaps representing lifestyle ideals for the acceptance of which the social conditions are still not truly ripe. On the other hand, the quantitative aspect of the question is becoming urgent: is the strategy to be followed in the social implantation of psychology that in which the psychologist is required everywhere, in all posts of life, or is the truly fruitful strategy that in which we introduce psychology into the practice of other professions?

I would like to say more about the fashion's two problems. One is the question of reintegration with other sciences and professions. The independence mentality regained in the 1960s lives on today in many things; the messianic sense of mission in psychologists and the feeling of "differentness" work in opposition to a hostile society (mainly, for example, physicians and teachers). Not this sense but reintegration into the "world" corresponds to the consolidated situation, the discovered place. The second problem is linked to the "case" of irrationalism. As an amateur in social philosophy, I do not want to immerse myself in the reasons, but again we live in an era in which the danger of irrationalism has been growing. At least since Freud, psychology has been an effective weapon in European culture for fending off this danger, for identifying the irrational elements of human existence and proclaiming their knowability and not their worship. In contemporary Hungarian psychology, however, a powerful and antagonistic trend can be observed: through the cult of alternative experiences and hidden beneath the veil of lifelikeness, practical psychology often washes away the boundaries instead of deploying weapons against irrationalism. It promotes the idea that there should be no clear distinction in people's heads between astrology and therapeutic techniques, between intense emotional relations and the sentimental "let-us-love-each-other-children" attitude. So-called academic psychology takes up the struggle against this, but it often feels it starts with a handicap because it is branded, per definitionem, as alienated from life. In the always menacing prospect of a split between practice and theory, it is my feeling that one of the key questions in the coming decade is precisely this: will academic psychology, which represents skeptical rationalism, learn on its own terrain how to take up the struggle with the danger that the practice of psychology submits to irrational, new and fashionable waves on a "higher" level which imperceptibly call into question its own existence?

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Compare Jenő Putnoky, "Twenty-five Years of Psychology in Hungary 1945-1970," Hungarian Academy of Sciences II OSZT. KOZL., 1970, pp 75-82, or Ferenc Pataki, "A Few Timely Lessons from the Historical Journey of Hungarian Psychology," MAGYAR PSZICHOLOGIAI SZEMLE, 1977, No 34, pp 563-586.
2. Concerning this, see Csaba Pleh and Gusztáv Lányi, "The Cognitive Revolution and Hungarian Psychology," VALOSAG, 1984, No 7, pp 12-28.

3. "A mai lelektan," Budapest, the Literary, Artistic and Scientific Institute, 1946, or "Tanitas es ertelmi fejlodes," Budapest, Ministry of Religious and Educational Affairs, 1947.
4. Concerning the present problem of lack of continuity, compare Csaba Pleh, "Tradition and Innovation in Psychology..." VILAGOSSAG, 1984, No 25, pp 153-157.
5. Concerning this, see Gyorgy Barra's article "In the Wake of Laszlo Nagy and Ranschburg," in the volume entitled "Tanitas es ertelmi fejlodes," pp 168-170, as well as the interview with Imre Molnar (Maria Nemeny, "Conversation with Imre Molnar," MAGYAR PSZICHOLOGIAI SZEMLE, 1978, pp 83-92.
6. K.B. Clark, "America's Psychologists," Washington, American Psychological Association, 1957.
7. Concerning the fate of this, see the Imre Molnar interview.
8. Concerning this period, compare J. McLeish, "Soviet Psychology," London, Methuen, 1975.
9. For an analysis of this, compare McLeish, op. cit.
10. Concerning this question, again see the Imre Molnar interview.
11. Concerning the lack of continuity, see Pleh, op. cit.
12. For details of the analysis, see Csaba Pleh, "A Few Characteristics of Hungarian Psychology's Development as Reflected in a Quantitative Analysis of Publications (1958-75)," Hungarian Academy of Sciences II OSZT. KOZL., 1979, No 28, pp 209-231.

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POLAND

OSMANCZYK'S SEJM REMARKS OPPOSING NEW EDUCATION BILL

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 31, 4 Aug 85 p 4

[Text] Mr Speaker, Honorable Deputies,

As the motto for my contribution let me quote from the reporting deputy Jarema Maciszewski's speech. He said,

1. "There was not enough time for drawing up the text of the amendment, so to do this the Commissions (for Education, for Science and Technology, for Legislative Procedure) had to do this in a 20-hour intensive working session."
2. "The best of all laws (on higher education) was that of 1958."

Deputy Bozena Hager-Malecka called upon the relevant commission of the next Sejm "to watch closely the implementation and supplementary regulations to the amended law, in particular those to be issued by the Higher Education and Science Minister."

The approval by the Sejm of a Law or an amendment to a Law is always a political act, and it is always done in a definite political situation. The Sejm never acts in a political vacuum. Every decision the Sejm makes has its political consequences. These highly controversial draft laws, which are now to be passed at the outset of an election campaign which will coincide with the beginning of the academic year, will have their political consequences.

Only a short time ago I warned this House from this rostrum against churning out more and more legislation. The record-high number of nearly 200 new laws and the record-high number of amendments to these laws will not be a cause for pride for this Sejm. Laws passed perfunctorily--and this is what was bound to happen--are nothing to be proud of. That is why I called upon this House to defer the consideration of new draft legislation or draft amendments to recently approved laws for next year when a new government and a new Sejm can quietly and unhurriedly consider just now necessary they are. I regret to say my appeal went unheeded. The stubbornness with which the current higher education minister pushed through his case was astonishing and baffling, and by now it only stirs frustration and anxiety.

Honorable Deputies,

This is a serious matter. In this stubbornness there is the danger of ignoring and spurning the advice of enlightened people, of nongovernmental councils of preeminent scholars and public figures of great authority who work in different areas of our public life. Those councils were funded in recent years in the general bid for reforming public life in our country to serve as advisory bodies to the Sejm or the government. One such council was the Socioeconomic Council headed by deputy Jan Szczepanski, which had the task of reviewing all major draft legislation for the Sejm. In actual practice, however, even the best-justified arguments put forward by this council proved futile. As a consequence of this, our honorable colleague deputy Jan Szczepanski last year withdrew from his function of chairman of the council as well as from all activities at the Sejm, as he saw no point in lending his own name and the prestige of other council members, their great experience, expertise and goodwill to what were just appearances of consultations.

In a summing-up of the council's activity presented several days ago there is even a call for making it mandatory for the House to respond to the Socioeconomic Council's opinions, should such a council be again appointed in the future, for even such a thing was not provided for. I have known Jan Szczepanski personally for almost half a century now, and I grant you he is the greatest intellectual and moral authority from my native Silesia today, a person who is highly respected all over Poland and in the world, and I find his deliberate absence from this discussion of (the draft amendments to the law on] higher education very alarming.

But the Socioeconomic Council's fate today is shared by the Main Council of Higher Education. The opinion this council submitted on the matter of such important laws was almost entirely ignored by the media, except for one note in ZYCIE WARSZAWY saying that on 28 June this council came forward with a detailed assessment of the proposed amendments to the laws discussed today and expressed its regret that the government-proposed amendments took no account of the opinions of a majority of academic communities who demanded that the amendment be deferred apart from being curtailed in scope.

Honorable Deputies,

It is now 3½ months until the general election. I suggest to you that it would be very immoral for this Sejm to strike a final chord such as this one--a decision which will do irreparable damage both to the future Sejm and to the nation. Nothing is more harmful than enacting very controversial laws... Nothing destabilizes a nation more than unstable laws.

Honorable Deputies,

The Sejm must not ignore the authoritative and principled opinions voiced by the Main Council of Higher Education, which isn't composed of people hostile toward the People's State but of highly responsible citizens and outstanding intellectuals.

A government minister's stubbornness is no considerable factor at all for the Sejm. Ministers come, stay, and go, because they are replaceable functionaries posted at some place in the state administration for a definite period of time. In contrast to this, the authority of our scholars, their intellectual and moral authority, must be a permanent value in our culture and our state. A Sejm which first asks such authorities for their opinions but later scorns them by ignoring what they have to say is a malfunctioning Sejm.

So now, Mr Speaker, I am making the formal motion to accept the demand made by the Main Council of Higher Education for deferring the decisions on the laws discussed here until the next Sejm.

Edmund Osmanczyk

(This motion was turned down by the Sejm with 327 votes against, 6 votes for, and 4 abstentions.)

CSO: 2020/192

POLAND

SEJM COMMISSIONS MEET, REVIEW AMENDMENTS

Provincial Election Commissions Set

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Jul 85 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed article: "Election Commissions Have Prepared Statutes;" passages in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] / Preparations for elections to the parliament set for October are under-way in all provinces. Provincial election commissions and district election boards have begun their work. The commissions have already prepared their statutes and schedule of activities. Their primary function is to accept nominations for candidacy to the seats selected from district lists and preparing lists of candidates. Reception hours have been scheduled for commission members during which they provide all kinds of information of electoral issues. /

/ Provincial election bureaus have been set up in all provinces. These bureaus are responsible for creating organizational and technical conditions adequate for a smooth parliamentary election campaign. They are headed by lieutenant governors of provinces or cities with the status of a province. /

The smooth course of the election campaign also depends on the knowledge and skill of people who are in charge of elections in the smallest administrative units. This is part of the reason why PRON [Polish Movement for National Re-birth] provincial councils are preparing seminars and training sessions for the electoral aktiv.

Many tasks of social organizations and sessions of the people's councils involve electoral issues. It was stressed at the joint meeting of the MRN [City People's Council] and the board of the PRON city council that it is necessary to concentrate the work of all social and political organizations active in the city on the election campaign. The review of the implementation of the election program and citizens' recommendations made in last year's campaign revealed that many issues have been favorably settled. However, concern with the persisting downturn in housing construction and the unsatisfactory progress in the communal infrastructure was voiced. A resolution on elections was also passed. It calls on all citizens of Lublin to take an active part in the election campaign.

At the meeting of the ZBoWiD [Association of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] aktiv in Poznan, support was expressed for the ideas found in the PRON Election

Declaration. It was stressed that the declaration provides an extensive common ground for all patriotic forces of our country. ZBoWiD members in Poznan province prove through their everyday activities the will to rally the Poles around the paramount issues - the line of understanding and reform safeguarding the favorable future of our people. Active participation in the election campaign will become an example of the civic commitment of veterans.

#### Amendments To Union Rules Accepted

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Jul 85 p 2

[Article by K Sz: "Trade Union Law Amended"]

[Text] Work on amending the law on trade unions of 8 December 1982 has come to an end. On Monday, 8 December, parliamentary Commissions for social policy, health care and sports and for legislative issues reviewed the opinions of the parliamentary Socio-Economic Council and the Group of Parliamentary Councillors. These opinions stress that the proposed amendments take into account most of the trade union demands deriving from current needs and augment the decision-making function of the trade unions. Adopted arrangements comply with other legal acts in effect.

Deputy Stanislaw Gabrielski (PZPR, Wloclawek) reviewed the conclusions of a special subcommission set up for an in-depth analysis of the proposed amendments. Among other things, two additional amendments were accepted. The first says that "the remuneration system established in the enterprise and the attendant statutes, work schedules and holiday plans are established with /the consent/ (rather than concurrence) of the enterprise trade union."

The second amendment concerns the protection of trade union functionaries and states that "the enterprise cannot give notice or cancel a labor contract with an employee who is a member of the enterprise board of trade unions /during his term in office and for 1 year after the expiration of the term/, except for cases where the cancellation of a labor contract without notice is justified." A similar provision covers social labor inspectors. In both cases, over the same period of time, the enterprise cannot change unfavorably the salary and conditions of work.

It was also stated that seven proposals had been submitted by employee self-government bodies concerning their apprehension that the amendments to the trade union law may entail changes in the law on self-government in state enterprises. Deputy S. Gabrielski responded to these doubts unambiguously: that law will not be amended.

The proposed amendments to the law of 8 October 1983 were adopted in their entirety by a unanimous vote. Deputy Stanislaw Gabrielski was elected to present the draft amendments.

The following took part in the discussion: deputy Tadeusz Haladaj (PZPR), deputy Bozena Hager-Malecka (non-party member), deputy Barbara Koziej-Zukowa (SD), deputy Zygmunt Surowiec (ZSL) and deputy Janina Legowska (PZPR).



Education, Science SJM Commissions Meet

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Jul 85 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Science and Education"]

[Text] /On 19 July, a joint session of the parliamentary commissions on education, upbringing, science and technical progress was held. Subcommission reports were presented on draft laws submitted by the government: on amending the law on higher education, on amending the law on academic degrees and titles, on the office of the minister of science and higher education and on the R & D establishments.

It was stressed that the views expressed by the academic community - senates, the Main Council for Science and Higher Education, PZPR college committees, youth organizations and individuals - had been considered during the work on the draft legal acts submitted by the government. The subcommissions introduced many amendments and new provisions which, among other things, make the wording of the proposed drafts more precise.

/ In the draft law on amending the law on higher education various changes are introduced which, in the opinion of the authors of the draft, will contribute to improving the operation of schools in a way beneficial to our culture and economy/. Among other things, a provision is made for setting up social councils of schools which should reinforce their links with the general community of their area. The mode of elections to the Main Council of Science and Higher Education will undergo changes. They will be made by the senates; those elected will be appointed by the prime minister unless the minister of science and higher education makes his objections against the candidates known. The jurisdiction and responsibilities of the council are also detailed. The draft states clearly that the term of the school organs is 3 years. The composition of senates is also outlined; full and associate professors should account for at least 70 percent. Also, the following should serve on the senate: a representative of the trade union operating in the college, one representative from each student organization of national importance active in the college and the chairman of the organ of student self-government. The mode of electing the chancellor is likewise modified. Thus far, the election has been a time-consuming process and distracted the school community from regular works for many months. The amendment envisages election by the senate; the minister who oversees a given school can object to the candidacy of certain persons. The role of the chancellor in managing the school is reinforced. The powers of the deans are expanded.

Among other things, the proposed amendments specify that in order to strengthen the educational discipline a student can repeat a year or a semester not more than once during his period of study. Only in cases of a protracted illness or other valid reasons can an exemption from this rule be granted.

/At the session, a report was also presented on the work of subcommissions considering the law on amending the law on academic degrees and titles and the law on the office of the minister of science and higher education/. The latter law reinforces the coordination function of the head of the ministry of science and higher education; more opportunity is provided for overseeing the schools.

The government-submitted draft laws were adopted by the deputies with changes introduced during the work of the subcommission and in the course of the discussion. Deputy /Jarema Maciszewski/ was elected to present this package of legal acts. /The commissions also reviewed a draft law on R & D establishments. The discussion of this item will be continued at the forthcoming session.

9761

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POLAND

#### DETAILED LOOK AT HIGHER EDUCATION AMENDMENT

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 6 Jul 85 p 10

[Article by Marek Rostocki]

[Text] The long march toward an amendment of the 4 May 1982 law on higher education is nearly over. At a joint session held on 21 June, members of the Sejm's Commissions for Education, for Science and Technology and for Legislative Procedure discussed the government sponsored draft bill on amending the law on higher education. The Sejm is expected to pass the amendment before the end of July.

As is known, it is usually in details that a law betrays its real value. So let us take a look at some detailed provisions proposed in the draft bill.

#### Different Interpretations of the Consultations

Consultations on the proposed amendments were interpreted differently by Higher Education and Science Minister, Professor Benon Miskiewicz, and by Professor Roman Ciesielski, who heads the Council for Higher Education. During the joint session, each presented his own conclusions from the consultations to the attending deputies, representatives of PZPR, union and youth organizations from Polish colleges and rectors of Poland's leading universities.

Miskiewicz said the Council of Ministers Chairman, the PZPR Central Committee, the PRON Social Policy Committee and the PRON National Council had received 79 written assessments of the proposed amendment from college senates, PZPR organizations, unions and youth organizations, as well as from private citizens. The Primate of Poland also sent his opinion. In addition, Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski held meetings with college rectors. "The outcome of these consultations justifies the opinion that voices against the amendment do not predominate," said Miskiewicz.

Professor Ciesielski disagreed. The council he represents believes--on the ground of consultations--that the academic community is largely critical of both the proposed deadline for enacting the amendment and of the scope of alterations as proposed by the Council of Ministers Social Policy Committee. The council, said Ciesielski, was sure most of the basic aims propounded in the committee's substantiation of the draft bill could be achieved without

changing the law itself. The council therefore proposed to carry out a full and extensive interpretation of the law on higher education along with a possible reformulation of the concomitant implementing regulations and college statutes.

In his reply Miskiewicz admitted "the ministry and the council hold diametrically different views as far as the interpretation of the consultations is concerned."

#### PRON Is Against Contracts, for Voting

Early last March, as will be recalled, the Executive Committee Presidium of the PRON National Council submitted its own opinion on the amendment proposed by the Council of Ministers Social Policy Committee. Since the PRON stand has had a considerable effect on the scope of the amendment, and as it cast its shadow on the joint session, let me briefly recall its gist.

The PRON Presidium said academic communities at most Polish colleges had received their rights granted in the 4 May law in keeping with legislators' intentions and with the spirit of that law, even though it did happen that some groups of lecturers took advantage of the law to oppose state authorities. In this situation PRON proposed, among other things, to strike off plans for introducing work contracts for full and assistant professors, to preserve elections of collegiate bodies and one-person bodies of authority (rectors would be elected by the college senate, whereas candidates for rectors would in advance be consulted with the minister), and to preserve student self-government bodies.

This particular stand taken by PRON was one reason for which the government slashed several significant proposals in its own draft compared to the version submitted by the Council of Ministers Social Policy Committee.

--First, the idea of introducing work contracts for full and assistant professors was scrapped for good.

--Rectors, prorectors and faculty deans are not to be appointed (but elected).

--Elections of members to the Main Council of Higher Education were preserved.

--The idea of providing colleges with their statutes by the supervising government ministers was dismissed.

--The plan to endow youth organizations operating nationwide with a right to represent all students, which would have been tantamount to the liquidation of students' self-government, was similarly abandoned.

As is seen, the consultations led to much more than just cosmetic touches to the original proposals. The effects of these changes have undeniably great political implications.

## Why the Amendment at All?

Miskiewicz talked at great length about teaching quality and the growth of research personnel in the colleges. Under the 4 May 1982 law, he said, there was a general and significant drop in teaching quality and graduation on time, fewer degrees and titles were granted, fewer and worse research papers were submitted.

For example, the graduation effectiveness indicator for students of architecture in some technical universities was an incredible 0 percent. In the school year 1983/84, university students in their fifth year achieved an aggregate graduation effectiveness indicator of only 38 percent. Also, some senates have failed to discuss even once the topic of teaching quality since the 4 May law took effect.

This critical view of the situation in teaching effectiveness was largely shared by Professor Wladyslaw Findaisen, rector of Warsaw Technical University, and Professor Jozef Gierowski, rector of Jagiellonian University in Cracow. But they doubted that those alarming developments could be attributed to the provisions enacted with the 4 May law.

## Against "Senatocracy"

One reasonable change the proposed amendment makes is to expand the rector's and the dean's decision-making powers with regard to the senate and the faculty council, respectively. While the idea of collective organs at colleges is by all means commendable, it is undeniable that something like a "senatocracy" occasionally paralyzed decision-making at colleges. Naturally, rectors tend to put the blame for their incompetence on senates. On the other hand, many rectors and deans whose social connections will induce them to join their colleagues in complaining about the legislative limitation of prerogatives of collective organs, will actually be relieved to see this particular move being enacted.

## How Do People Become Rectors?

Colleges have always attached great importance to the idea of electing college authorities, viewing this as the most important test of academic liberty and of the authorities' intentions alike. Now the craft amendment preserves elections of academic authorities but differently from the 4 May law.

Rector, prorector, dean and deputy dean are all to be appointed through elections. Rectors are elected by senates, which means bodies of electors will no longer exist. At this point let me recall that, according to the 4 May law, the rector was to be elected either by the senate or by a body of electors and it was only subsequent practices which made bodies of electors so popular. The senate may present four candidates for rectors to the minister for approval.

The minister's right of veto is extended and altered. Now he may veto not just the rector but also prorectors and deans. The minister may also now veto not elected rectors but candidates to the above-named offices.

The minister, furthermore, is now granted the right to veto the senate's candidate for member to the Main Council of Higher Education (members of this body are appointed by the Council of Ministers Chairman).

Such a device should be palatable even for self-government fundamentalists. Under this particular procedure, at any rate, an election cannot possibly be a rigged affair, and yet the minister does have real influence of nominations to posts. This is a sensible kind of compromise, which forces both sides to avoid any sweeping personnel decisions. Incidentally, this idea of compromise proved to work excellently during elections of rectors in the spring of 1984. Many lecturers believed all along rectors should be elected by senates and not by bodies of electors.

#### Toward a Self-Government of Professors

The amendment also changes the composition of senates and faculty councils. The senate should also include, among others, the college bursar and the administrative manager; the idea is to make sure that even the cleverest idea advanced by a scientist should not be considered in isolation from finances and the given college's reality. This is undoubtedly a good idea.

The eligible part of collective organs changes quite considerably. Professors are now represented in the senate by members of faculty councils, and all other lecturers are represented by two or three spokesmen from their own ranks. This is a debatable, yet acceptable idea.

College employees enjoying status other than lecturer will no longer be represented in the senate (is this an echo of the renowned but demogogical argument that a rector must not be elected by a charwoman?). Instead, the trade union operating at the given college will have one seat on the senate.

Students are represented by members of student and youth organizations (one person from each) and by the chairman of the college's student self-government body. The faculty council's composition is to be similar.

Now a few comments. Above all, the law guarantees a seat on the senate and on the faculty council alike to a representative of the student self-government body. Compared to earlier ideas, according to which student self-government bodies were to be docked of their right of representing students in college organs, it is a move in the right direction.

Second, whereas the 4 May law provided for active college self-government, the amendment gives a boost to the traditional self-government of professors. This is a debatable move, especially with regard to technical universities, where technical employees constitute large and significant groups. The idea that these people should be deprived of their own representatives in the senate or the faculty council should be reconsidered.

Incidentally, the discussion showed that a dozen or so, if not more, colleges will be incapable of meeting the stipulation of the amendment by which full and assistant professors and independent Ph.D.'s should make up 75 percent of the senate. Quite simply, some colleges have too few professors and other independent academic on their payrolls. The government will undoubtedly come forward with a correction.

A discussion unfolded over the proposed provision authorizing law enforcement agencies to enter college premises in the event of "receiving information about the perpetration of a crime." This is a certain expansion of the 4 May law which said these agencies could enter college premises solely on the request of the rector or a person authorized by him, or on their own in the event of an emergency danger to human life or a natural calamity.

The Sejm commissions should also reconsider the proposed amendment which removes from academic lecturers the possibility to sue his employee rights at labor courts. Ministry representatives said this was natural for employees holding their posts by appointment. Government representatives present at the joint session were then asked whether this meant academic lecturers would be entitled to file appeals with the Supreme Administrative Court. They furnished no reply. The Sejm should clear these doubts away, as it used to do in the past whenever similar cases occurred.

A more specific wording should be given to the proposed provision by which the competent minister may, if demand for professional personnel justifies this, order an academic lecturer to take up work at a different college in a different region for a period of 2 years, without the given person's consent, but without depriving this person of his or her right to return to his previous post thereafter. The best thing would be for this provision to disappear entirely. If it is to remain in the amendment, then it must absolutely be supplemented with a provision saying exactly how many times the same employee may be transferred, and, if more than once, then after how long a period.

#### Extraordinary Circumstances

Definitely different views came to light over the question of granting the minister greater rights of control over colleges. Whereas the Sejm deputies, disregarding some insignificant nuances, fully endorsed this expansion of the minister's rights, rectors and the Main Council chairman voiced the greatest possible number of doubts.

By way of example, if a student commits a deed of particular harm to society or if a student disturbs public peace, he may be suspended of his rights without any inquiry whatsoever, and he may be removed from the college solely on account of an inquiry being instituted. The authors of this say they are making the provision solely for extraordinary situations. But I think that not even the most extraordinary situation justifies the abandonment of disciplinary proceedings against students.

Under Polish law punishment can only be dispensed after a procedure before an independent verdict passing organ which should be conducted under conditions

permitting the demonstration of guilt in a manner compatible with material truth, above all by respecting the defendant's right of defense. In cases of college students, all this is guaranteed by the institution of disciplinary proceedings, and there should be absolutely no exception to this rule.

It is proposed that "in cases of flagrant violations of law or of important interests in the supervised colleges" the minister should be authorized to do the following:

- to recall a person holding a one-person office (e.g., a rector);
- to recall a person sitting on a collective organ at a college (e.g., a senate member);
- to dissolve a senate or a faculty council;
- to dissolve an organization unit at a college (e.g., a faculty);
- to overturn, or suspend the implementation of, decisions and resolutions made by college organs.

Professor Ciesielski described these prerogatives as attributes of an endeavor to introduce "the minister's autocracy." In reply, Professor Zbigniew Rybicki of the Council of Ministers Office charged the Main Council chairman with "a tendentious and unfair presentation of the government's intentions."

The minister himself, when asked to justify his plea for such considerable prerogatives, said several times emphatically that they are to be mainly preventive in character and would be resorted to only in what would indeed be extraordinary circumstances.

Professor Gierowski said he understood that in its presentation of the prerogatives requested for by the minister the government "was guided by a sense of responsibility for the situation in colleges," but he voiced his concern about those provisions which "authorize the minister to resort too easily to repressive measures."

One more thing. The proposed amendment makes ample provisions for evaluating academic lecturers for their civic and political attitudes. The purpose of this is to provide the state authorities with real influence on personnel policies. We in Poland have enough experience to know that these kinds of action sometimes boil down to an assessment of whether or not a given college employee toes the authorities' current political line. In such cases, it is easy to equate any critical attitude, which is only natural for a scientist, with an antistate attitude. Furthermore, past experience teaches us that evaluations of people's attitudes quite often furnish opportunities for settling personal accounts. The question arises, should this Pandora's box be opened at all?



## Senior Assistants Once More on the Carpet

Two more proposals surprised the academic community.

Interim regulations accompanying the proposed amendment stipulate that rectors elected in keeping with the 4 May law will be allowed to stay at their posts provided they receive letters of appointment from the minister by 31 December this year. Those who fail to receive such acts will have completed their terms in office by the end of January. The minister will appoint new rectors for the rest of the term, that is, until the end of August 1987.

As for senior research assistants, the proposed amendment stipulates their employment for a period of 3 years plus a possible renewal of the contract for 2 further 3-year periods. In practice, those who began work on 1 September 1982 may have formally completed their rounds on 31 August this year, but they may go on holding their jobs until 1991.

That much about news--and doubts--from the Sejm. The rest is up to the deputies. And to history.

CSO: 2020/192

POLAND

PAN OFFICIAL OBSERVES SOCIOPOLITICAL SCENE

Warsaw ODRODZENIE in Polish 7 Jul 85 p 4

[Interview with Professor Wladyslaw Markiewicz, deputy chairman of PAN, by Jerzy Oseka: "Half Measures Are No Solution"]

[Text] [Question] Professor, which of the two widespread opinions are closer to the truth: that we are likely to face another crisis, or that the prospects have become somewhat brighter?

[Answer] In my view, there is every indication that the economic situation has improved, particularly if we recall the empty shelves at groceries, with bottled vinegar being the only good offered. In this sense those who claim the situation has improved are right.

[Question] Then, evident progress has been made...

[Answer] I am concerned with the political situation. What I mean is the continuing reluctance among the intelligentsia and intellectuals to take up constructive activities. This also applies to other sections of society.

Recently I heard a journalist ask a worker in a radio program whether he would switch off the superfluous light in the house if he would be paid a kind of bonus for that. The worker eagerly replied he would. This sounds alarming. Switching off a lamp you are not using should be a habit rather than a merit deserving a reward. Therefore, despite obvious achievements in the socio-political sphere, I am still not satisfied. Although public order has been restored, this is mainly the result of general passiveness and unwillingness to engage in public life.

[Question] Then what should be done to insure permanent stabilization of public life in Poland, so necessary for overcoming the crisis? What are the basic prerequisites for social peace?

[Answer] We need fundamental reforms. This has been partly accomplished by means of the legislative efforts of the Sejm. These reforms, however, are not adequately profound. There is a widespread opinion that reforms, unlike revolutionary movements, should be introduced gradually, step by step. Meanwhile, significant economic changes are not likely to occur unless at least one

area of the economy has been subject to profound transformations. It is only reforms--even the most drastic ones in terms of the initial situation--which can stimulate public activity and restore the authorities' credibility with the people.

[Question] Can you specify the present level of the authorities' credibility? In what way does it affect society as a whole?

[Answer] The authorities still do not enjoy the kind of credibility needed for further reforms. Judging from public opinion polls, the extremist forces have been overpowered. This is not to say, though, that the overwhelming majority of the public, the rank and file, so as to speak, have given their full support to those ruling the country.

[Question] This looks like a vicious circle. The authorities lack adequate public support because they have failed to carry out profound reforms and they cannot institute such reforms unless they enjoy a broader support.

[Answer] You may put it like that. It is a vicious circle in a sense; and it cannot be broken merely with rhetoric. Personally, I am not convinced about the powerful effect of speeches, appeals or reforms, as these are not likely to attract attention when coming in such great numbers.

[Question] The most frequent question coming at this point is who is guilty; the authorities or society?

[Answer] Certainly, the responsibility cannot be totally taken off society's shoulders. But in our conditions it is primarily the broadly-conceived authorities--or decision makers as it is popularly termed today--who are responsible for the condition of the state.

[Question] What are they to be blamed for primarily?

[Answer] Basically, one gets the impression that even positive changes are mostly half-hearted ones. This results from a general disinclination to change the present status quo. There are still too many ministries, although Minister Baka claims their number has decreased. It is certain that the most significant and much needed transformations have not taken place. I am also afraid that the efforts of the managerial staff throughout the country are being squandered on negotiations and agreements rather than reforms.

[Question] Is Polish society really mature? Is there any maturity-level indicator?

[Answer] You can never say a society has achieved the level of maturity needed to meet a definite historic challenge. This is practically impossible. On the other hand, you cannot say the Polish society is less mature than other societies. The crises of 1956, 1970 or 1980 showed that it understands the essence of Polish *raison d'etat* and that it is able to guard its supreme asset, which is the country.

[Question] There is also the opinion that the instruments used presently, although imperfect, are being constantly improved; the authorities mean well, but their efforts are hampered by the lack of involvement and activity among the public...

[Answer] It is true that under specific conditions it is possible to boost public energy and activity; this may produce positive results, regardless of the instruments used, but only in the short run. Gomulka and Gierak succeeded in winning such an involvement. However, they failed to carry out reforms needed to give it a support firmer than the notorious "will you give us a hand" slogan. It takes real skill to use the public willingness to act properly, even if this is not a massive and spontaneous movement. In my view, what makes our situation even more difficult is the distrust of innovations and inventiveness, which is reflected in daily press reports. Take the fate of inventors, or those who made money due to industry and ingenuity; take the most popular understanding of the [official social] doctrine as full equality. The fate of many inventive minds in this country is an example of how original ideas and designs can be pegged down.

[Question] To what extent does this depend on the authorities? Can they possibly mean no good?

[Answer] Recently, General Jaruzelski talked about the so-called horizontal structures within local communities, beginning from PZPR Secretary, to local enterprise director, to the head of a gmina office, etc. I would have nothing against them if they were constructive, they are not, though, the effects of which can be seen when traveling from town to town; one looks clean and well-kept, another is a mess.

[Question] Would a Szurkowski [extremely successful coach of Polish bicycling team--ed. note] of Polish economics be able to get the economy in shape?

[Answer] I wish Szurkowski every success and stabilization, but within the present structures the Polish economy has hardly any reserves to rely on.

[Question] Do the economic instruments applied presently work?

[Answer] First of all, there doesn't seem to be any driving power in the present economic system. Nor has any basic improvement been observed in the quality of work which would promise a change of bad working habits. It is nobody's concern whether it would be better to invest in new mines and power plants, or perhaps embark upon energy saving projects or a program to stop the enormous waste of food. Half-measures will solve nothing.

[Answer] In our complicated situation most of those taking part in public discussions demand mainly political measures. Others claim that priority should be given to economic problems. What is your view?

[Answer] This is a feedback process. I give priority to politics, not only because I'm a Marxist. It is mostly by political means that short-term

targets can be set on the basis of a realistic assessment of the economic situation. It is also politics which determine the management of labor reserves, employment policies and the use of the intellectual potential. A basic dilemma, for instance, is whether we have too many engineers or whether we do not know how to use their skills to make our economy more dynamic. There is every sign, however, that we are facing latter problem.

[Question] In discussing employment policies it is virtually impossible to drop the subject of social ills which are felt ever more acutely by the public. These include rowdyism, alcoholism, theft, etc. What is the scope of these phenomena and how can they be counteracted?

[Answer] The problems surfaced during the discussion on the bill for applying more severe sanctions for these offenses. Critics claimed that increasing crime detection rates would produce better effects than stepping-up short-lived sanctions. This applies not only to such social ills as alcoholism, drug addiction, etc, but also to phenomena termed by sociologists as "apology of institution."

What should the inadequate utilization of the food industry potential be called--if not a social ill--when the main reason for this situation is the shortage of twist caps used for glass jars, etc. This takes place in a country with a highly developed glass industry. Or what is the permanent shortage of soap and toilet preparations which can be produced from easily available domestic materials?

[Question] In other countries differences of views seem to generate progress, whereas in ours they are said only to deepen the crisis.

[Answer] It is not true that divisions, in general, stimulate progress. This is not the case with political divisions, which in our country are too sharp.

[Question] Which of these divisions entail the gravest consequences?

[Answer] Basically, the division into us--the nation, and them--the government. This should be firmly counteracted. There are also differences of interests, which may generate positive transformations provided the way is given to spontaneous and useful initiatives.

[Question] Is the present basis for dialogue satisfactory?

[Answer] I'd like to refer to the arguments used by M. Kozakiewicz, J. Reykowski and A. Grzegorzcyk who proved, beyond doubt, that the present basis for dialogue is inadequate. In my view, the main reason for this situation is that--despite the resolutions of the 9th PZPR Congress--the understanding of political leadership in public life continues to be inadequate. Members of the PZPR and political alliances do not have adequate influence upon the communities, organizations and institutions in which they operate. At the same time, under the new conditions the development, and the results of the dialogue are determined to a large extent by the state's attitude towards the Church and

the faithful, which also works the other way round. I get the impression that the party activists are afraid to engage in arrangements which might serve as a basis for cooperation in the discussion between Marxists and individualists, believers and nonbelievers.

[Question] What should be the main objective of this dialogue, otherwise termed national conciliation?

[Answer] To overcome the mood of apathy and resignation. The continuation of this state, involving the widening of the technological gap and a decline in environmental protection, is bound to lead to the degradation of Poland as a civilized country. Our most important reserves are those in human energy, as our natural reserves have long been squandered, particularly in the last few years. National conciliation is essential to spur a general, collective effort. But this must be wisely engineered and bring desirable effect.

[Question] This will be difficult to achieve without the contribution of science, which is presently so widely discussed. To what extent is our science able to meet our expectations?

[Answer] No progress whatsoever is possible without the participation of science. Our science may be accused of inadequate efficiency, but then the experience of the other countries shows that before expecting higher efficiency one should make investments first. Meanwhile, the condition of equipment in Polish scientific institutions shatters any hopes for meeting social expectations in this area. Investment in science should be given priority over investment in any other area of life. As long as it is underestimated, science will not be able to meet its basic targets. Moreover, the awareness of a technological gap is bound to affect adversely the attitudes of researchers. Obviously, a country as poor as ours cannot develop all branches of science at the same time. Therefore, it is the present scientific policy and scientists themselves who are to be blamed for the failure to arrive at an agreement in selecting the most urgent projects.

[Question] Did the recent discussions bring the final decision any closer?

[Answer] We are still in the dark trying to change the present management structures. We have had the Science and Technology Committee. Now a new body with a similar frame of reference has been established, but I doubt this can solve the problem, either.

[Question] What can, then?

[Answer] Most important, minimum investment capital must be insured, and the bottleneck must be eliminated between science and practice, between scientific institutes and industry. Moreover, a system should be worked out to force producers to apply the latest achievements of science. To this end, however, a good system of material incentives is needed.

[Question] Polish science still suffers from the effects of the errors committed in the 1970's. To draw up an expertise to satisfy any demand was not

a problem then. People did not have the courage to present their own views; servility was a widespread attitude.

[Answer] Servility is an attitude observed not only in the 1970's. It was encouraged, or even forced, by the leadership then although its scope wasn't as wide as it was generally considered. What seems to be the basic problem, though, is the skill of properly using expert reports and prognosis and--if these are unsatisfactory--ordering new ones and inviting the opinion of other scientists. As for the attitude displayed by the people of science, even if some of them are passive and uncooperative, the number of expert teams acting as the government's advisors tends to increase.

[Question] With what effect? Do the authorities listen attentively to their advisors? Do they take their opinion into consideration? What is the most common attitude taken by experts?

[Answer] During the 2 years of my chairmanship over the group of Sejm advisors I have never met with an expert requested for opinion refusing to cooperate, regardless of whether he was a party member or not, whether he was a government supporter or leaning towards the opposition. In this respect I evaluate researchers' morale very highly. They want to serve the country whenever they are asked for an opinion on concrete questions. I also get the impression that expert opinion is being listened to more attentively than ever before, although not yet to a degree which would satisfy me.

[Question] Then what can scientists really do in this situation?

[Answer] Their constructive role in creating a national culture is of primary importance. They should popularize a model of life which matches our material and spiritual abilities, tries to make interpersonal relations more harmonious and helps to meet Suchodolski's and Szczepanski's demands on making our inner lives more profound.

CSO: 2020/192

POLAND

SIERADZ PZPR COMMITTEE MEETING FOCUSES ON CADRE PERFORMANCE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Jul 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by Kazimierz Zygmund]

[Text] Assessment of the implementation and application of the principles of cadre policy established in resolutions of the 13th CC Plenum and the Fifth Provincial Report-Election Conference were the subject of the Provincial Committee plenum held in Sieradz on 4 July.

The meeting was chaired by Janusz Urbaniak, first secretary of the Provincial Committee. Wladyslaw Honkisz, head of the CC Cadre Policy Department and member of CKR [Central Commission for Review and Appeals] also participated.

Sieradz province does not have many cadres with higher education. It was said at the plenum that this is partly due to the lack of schools and also to the agricultural-industrial character of the local economy. Thus priority number one for the present and the near future is the efficient use of the forces already available.

The plenum was preceded by a personnel review including the state administration, as well as cooperative institutions and enterprises, and also workers in the state apparatus. Thus it had interesting material at its disposal.

What are cadre reserves like in the province? 655 posts are within the purview of the provincial organization, over 2300 are subject to political decisions of basic level organizations and enterprise committees, and 21,000 posts are subject to the control of primary party organizations. These numbers clearly show the level of activity and responsibility of the party in the field of personnel. They also show the great possibilities for creating personnel reserves.

Such reserves already exist in many enterprises. In the "Sira" knitted-goods factories, as Marian Rosiak, director of that enterprise reports, there already exists a factory education and information center for reserve cadres.

Modern computer technology is of great assistance in searching for cadre reserves. In the near future, people selected for the cadre reserve will be trained at the Provincial Training and Improvement Center, which is presently being set up.



There are definitely not enough young people among leading cadres, as was emphasized at the plenum. Here a change for the better is needed. We must boldly seek out capable young people. There are also not enough women in leading positions, it was affirmed. In addition, more workers than hitherto must be recruited into leadership positions.

The plenum adopted a resolution on the tasks of the provincial party organization in the further implementation of the principles of the cadre policy set by the 13th CC Plenum.

9970

CSO: 2600/903

POLAND

PROVINCIAL ELECTION CONVENTIONS ESTABLISHED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29-30 Jun 85 p 1

[PAP Dispatch]

[Text] (P) In accordance with the election schedule 28 June marked the cut off date for reporting to State Council establishment of provincial election conventions.

As is being reported by field correspondents of Polish Press Agency (PAP) provincial conventions have formed in the entire country. In their ranks are representatives of provincial councils of Patriotic Movement of National Revival (PRON) as well as of provincial leaderships of Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), United Peasant Party (ZSL), Democratic Party (SD), PAX Publishing Institute, ChSS, and PZKS. Those representatives comprise three fifths of every convention's composition. The remaining seats have been filled by representatives of provincial leaderships or of provincial coalitions of trade unions, social-professional organizations of farmers, socialist unions of youth, veteran and women's organizations.

The main task of the provincial conventions is to accept from authorized organizations reports of persons nominated as candidates for deputies, set up lists of proposed candidates for the purpose of presenting them to the constituents, and--after examining comments and conclusions made by the constituents--to set up lists of candidates for deputies separately for each voting district, and to submit those candidates for registration with district election commissions.

The election regulation did not resolve the issue of the leadership of provincial election conventions. That is why various decisions were being made in individual provinces, though generally this particular position was given to chairman or vicechairman of provincial PRON councils. And so, the chairman of the convention in Kielce became Tadeusz Zawistowski who is a vicechairman of the provincial PRON council. In Chelm the chairmanship was given to the director of Rural Commune Health Center in Zmudz Jan Kociuba-- chairman of the provincial PRON council.

12916  
CSO: 2600/896

POLAND

JERZY WIATR RESEARCHES SOCIETY'S VALUES, CONSUMER HABITS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 3 Jul 85 p 3

[Interview with Professor Jerzy J. Wiatr of the University of Warsaw by Janina Paradowska]

[Text] [Question] The oldest research program in the social sciences is the one you have conducted: "Changes in Values and Consumer Habits Within Polish Society".

[Answer] This program began in the 1970's under a different name by Professor Szczepanski. After 5 years, I was asked to take over direction of the project. The essence of the project has undergone some evolution. During the first 5 years, we placed primary emphasis on the consumptive desire for material goods. In the last 5 years, we also have researched the desire for non-material goods like health, culture and also so-called socio-political needs to take part in the political process, etc.

[Question] The development of events and social tensions during the past 5 years has given sociologists, economists, polyglots and other scientists in your group a real rarity on a world scale for "laboratory" research. Have you taken advantage of this situation?

[Answer] I think that the most important achievement of the past 15 years of research has been the perpetually widening research field of which I spoke earlier. This has brought us to the conclusion that in many environments the satisfaction achieved in non-material goods is more important than the achievement of some material standard. This is an important finding, because almost all Western research has shown that society needs high spiritual values after achievement of a high level of material standard.

[Question] This means that the one who is poor worries about bread, but the one who is rich has time to think about other matters.

[Answer] You can say something like that for simplicity. But Polish research shows something not in agreement with the Western theory. The sensitivity level in Polish society for non-material goods is much higher than is our material position. These two measures of our needs seem to occur independently. Better stocked shelves and more money in our wallets do not compete with our spiritual needs.

[Question] How then in light of what you are saying do statements in the press coincide, as they state that if we were able to improve the standard of living, then all of the rest would be normal?

[Answer] In some classes of society, this will be true, because these dependencies show up differently in different groups. However, a great desire to satisfy non-material needs can be found with age and educational level. Among the young and educated, this desire is the highest. This is why I feel that our research has practical value. For social policy and all policy in general there are clear suggestions, as you cited, that current problems are economic and as soon as we leave this situation all will return to normal. However, when we think about the future and plan for it, we have to think about all social needs. It is clear that the absence of just one element in the set can cause, and has caused in the past, mental tensions leading to political tensions.

[Question] Up to now we have discussed research from the past. But you are going forward by preparing for the next 5 years through a broadening of the research field.

[Answer] In the second half of the 1980's, we would like to determine how values recognized by our society influence or can influence upcoming socio-economic development. At this moment, the most important matter in our society is to free some authority to accelerate development. This will prejudge the future of Poland for many years to come. We are researching these collective and individual values and ambitions to determine their impact on future development. We also are asking a second question -- what breaks in the road to modernization impact on our collective mental health, values and ambitions. We are not starting from the beginning. We already have many answers to these questions in our research.

[Question] I do not think these are very optimistic answers. I know that you have been interested in the effect of the crisis on housekeeping. What of this?

[Answer] We found that a rather rare response was to look for another source of income. For the most part, people withdrew their savings or curbed their expenditures.

[Question] What then can be the future impact you discussed?

[Answer] Very bad. But we have to remember that social reality is changing. If anyone thought this crisis would be a short-lived one, then there is not any longer any doubt that coming out of the crisis will last a long time and a person's savings will not be sufficient. This is why we have to look constantly to changing reality and get the complete picture if possible.

[Question] That is exactly the picture. We could speak for a very long time about the different elements and the distorted view among many Poles of social justice and equality. Why are they so distorted? The value system is shaped under the influence of different factors like social policy, propaganda, etc. If we want answers to these questions, there are not enough to paint the

picture. The social sciences have been criticized in the past because they did not foresee nor signal . . .

[Answer] The picture is not painted without a goal. I do not share the view with those who state that the social sciences in the 1970's were used only for apologies for contemporary reality. I can show you many books that have foreseen and warned, but the fact is that they do less than they should. The worthless answer for that period is today's extreme pessimism. It is as worthless as the optimism of former times. The most important thing to do is to make conclusions from the past and look objectively and realistically at reality. We have to look this way so as to see the favorable factors in positive changes and also so as not to overlook the dangers, those dangers that cannot be seen with the naked eye. This is the special role of science. However, the disturbances in society already are visible, so science has become nothing more than academic gloss, as society is aware of the problems. This is what has happened here.

[Question] Then what do we have to do so as not to repeat this?

[Answer] We have to research the scientific basis for early detection of occurrences that accumulate and can lead to crises. Similarly naive are the beliefs of pessimists and political opponents that crises are inevitable and come in cycles or of optimists that the crises are behind us and it is safe to assume that history will not repeat itself.

[Question] Last year in POLITYKA you wrote about the necessity to create some scientific seismograph to detect early dangers. Are you proposing such a seismograph in the next 5 years? Is Polish science ready to create such a system of early detection?

[Answer] The creation of this system could have been a practical result of the conducted research we proposed. World science has achieved quite a lot of experience in this area. I would like to remind you of the Roman Club that supplied mathematical documentation on the pessimistic future of mankind. Unfortunately, world prognoses are only partially popular here and not enough appreciated.

[Question] But the apparatus of public opinion polling has been expanded in the last several years.

[Answer] The experience of public opinion polling in the world and Poland has shown it to be a competent way of discerning the views of the public. But the limitation of the system is that we cannot determine possible changes in opinion, even in the near future. This is why I recognize the risk of treating these opinion polls as a sufficient source of information about possible social tensions and approaching crises. We have to look for another method of making warning prognoses. I think economists should have a constant response system of economic factors like overuse of planned funds for investment, disturbances of the balance in the workforce, increases in unplanned inflation, aggravation of the living standard, etc. Scientists belonging to other disciplines should have similar systems for socio-political matters. These individual elements or

factors are well known by our science. We know, for example, that in times of social tension, various socio-pathological occurrences increase and loosen the social ties on human beings. Another problem of a psychological nature is deprivation or the feeling of not having made it in society. It is known that extreme deprivation can lead to aggressiveness.

We also have to look for any conflicts among groups because they signal that the environment is touched with antagonisms. Psychological tension is looking for an air vent, in essence. Other indications of social tension can be found in the distribution of wealth and the equality in life's chances. Polish science has penetrated many of these areas through the years. These occurrences can be submitted to better quantitative analysis through mathematics and computers.

Of course, there are political factors too, which cannot be subjected to these analyses as they are singular occurrences like personnel changes, but they must be accounted for in the analyses.

[Question] Can social science in our country really create this system?

[Answer] Methodologically, we can undertake this very difficult task. The difficulty comes in the accessibility of initial information, without which honest prognoses are not possible.

[Question] Who wants to be the messenger bringing the bad news? Is this the problem?

[Answer] This is true. Bringing forth alarming information is a scientific obligation. The problem is that the information is presented in black colors and resistance comes out of the information. In spite of this, the sincerity of the academician is recognized. Nonetheless, it is better to have an early prognosis than a later therapy.

9807  
CSO: 2600/892

POLAND

PARTY VIEWS COMPLAINTS AS LEGITIMATE, DUE CONSIDERATION

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Jul 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ludwik Loos: "Complaints: An Important Sign for the Party"]

[Text] Writing complaints and letters to party offices is still fairly often the only way for citizens to seek justice and protection against bureaucracy, impersonality and private interests. Therefore it is not surprising that the number of complaints remains high. Last year the Provincial Committee in Slupsk received a total of 1282 complaints, and local offices recorded 515-- this was affirmed at the plenary meeting of the Provincial Committee which took place on 1 July.

Party organizations and offices in the Slupsk province, implementing a resolution of the Ninth Special Congress of the Party, are boldly combatting everything which leads to violation of the basic principles of social justice and legality, and which also leads to a slackening of discipline and to demoralization, as was said at the PC plenum. However, this process has not been established firmly enough or long enough to be able to speak of substantial improvement.

The quantity of complaints addressed to party offices is justified, said Jan Siwek. The slowness with which they are dealt with is irritating. Fairly often the administration gives people the run-around. It sets deadlines for resolving their complaints which it doesn't begin to meet. As evidence he referred to many facts. There is also still no lack of arrogant treatment of workers by people occupying management positions, said Mieczyslaw Tomkowski of the state farm in Biesowice. It should not be allowed that party or union organizations should take a passive position with regard to such facts. We also had a case, he said, of blatant violation of workers' rights by managers. However, they were both penalized for it.

Participating in the meeting, Politbureau member Albin Siwak answered questions raised during the discussion. He recalled that problems referred to in citizens' complaints must constantly be the object of analysis and interest of the party. From them come important contributions to party work. He also discussed current problems of the economic and socio-political situation in the country.

The Provincial Committee adopted a resolution on the tasks of primary party organizations with respect to resolving citizens' complaints, and on implementing resolutions of the Ninth CC Plenum.

The meetings were presided over by Edward Szydlik, first secretary of the Provincial Committee. Marian Kot, head of the CC Office of Letters and Inspection, was present.

9970  
CSO: 2600/899



POLAND

SD CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM ON ELECTIONS, ECONOMY

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 3 Jul 85 p 2

[PAP item: "Variants of the National Socioeconomic Plan: Mode of Submitting Parliamentary Candidates: SD Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The multiple-variants conception of the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1986-1990, as well as the tasks of the Democratic Party in shaping the socio-economic strategy of national development, constituted the two main themes of the SD Central Committee Plenum, held on 2 July and presided over by Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, chairman of the SD Central Committee. Also discussed were the principles and the mode of submitting the party's candidates in the Sejm electoral campaign.

Members of the Central Committee alluded in their interventions to the principal theses of the report submitted by Jerzy Jozwiak, member of the SD presidium and secretary of the Central Committee.

Many participants quoted the results of the recent debate on the multiple-variants conception of the plan, held among party members. In this debate an overwhelming majority tended to prefer the second variant of the plan as the most realistic one.

The Central Committee stressed in its resolution that there is a consensus between the targets submitted in the conceptual variants of the National Economic Plan for 1986-1990, and the views of the Democratic Party expressed at its 13th Congress. The resolution lists some projects which the SD Central Committee considers especially important in shaping the socioeconomic strategy until 1990, including reduced energy- and capital-intensiveness of the economy, reduced input of raw materials and components, increased participation of small manufacturers in the industrial production structure, etc.

The resolution asserts the need for ensuring motivation for development of scientific and technical progress, implementation of new technologies, original, domestic technical inventiveness, and rationalization of production. It also postulates increased outlays in the civilizational and cultural domains, which are essential elements of progress, as well as accomplishment of tangible improvement in environmental protection.

The resolution states that the Central Committee favors the second conceptual variant of the National Socioeconomic Plan, while pointing out that the party's suggestions should be taken into account in shaping the plan.

In another resolution, the Plenum approved the principles and the mode of submitting SD candidates for deputies in the Sejm electoral campaign.

12485

CSO: 2600/902

POLAND

MILITARY SCHOOL COMMANDERS DISCUSS CAREERS, DUTIES

Military Technical Academy

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 24, 16 Jun 85 p 5

[Interview with the Military Technical Academy [WAT] commander, Prof Dr Edward Wlodarczyk, by Tadeusz Oziemkowski]

[Text] [Question] The significant role of the intelligentsia in the country's life and its specific tasks in the current complex sociopolitical situation, was strongly emphasized at the 19th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee.

[Answer] At the 19th Plenum I represented, as an invited guest, the military technical intelligentsia. On the one hand, it acts on behalf of strengthening of national defense, which is its main task, and on the other, employs its strengths and skills on a broad scale in solving complex socio-technical problems important for the national economy.

[Question] To what extent, in the latter domain, does the military technical intelligentsia become involved?

[Answer] I would like to stress here the particular role of the WAT scientists, although they are not alone in scoring important achievements in this regard. We participate directly in the process of carrying out specified research-technical tasks on behalf of the national economy, and in intermediate enterprises consisting, among other things, of making the results of research in the field of defense technology accessible.

It is not a secret that our academy has the largest group of military producers of contemporary technical thought. These producers developed scientific-research activity on a relatively large scale. Its main goal is to support our weakened economic capacities. Despite popular stereotypes, despite the myths about the total incapacity and inertia of Polish technology, unique equipment has been built, and production of a series of items for anti-import [sic] and for export has been created.

[Question] Could Citizen General support this thesis with some typical examples?

[Answer] At the turn of the seventies and eighties, WAT scientific workers elaborated the theory of explosion and the technology of the industrial production of new explosive materials designed for strip and underground mining. I will add that we solved this problem jointly with the PRONIT-ERG Works in Pionki. Six doctoral dissertations were defended on this subject, several patents were obtained and a new theory concerning the role of gas bubbles in the initiation of viscous explosive materials, unrecorded in scientific literature was elaborated. On the basis of this theory the plant in Pionki is being built. It is worth recalling here that for the purposes of starting the production of viscous explosive materials in our country, final negotiations were carried out in the mid seventies with the Dipont firm, for the purpose of acquiring a multimillion dollar licence. That turned out to be unnecessary.

[Question] The abilities of our military scientists probably do not end here?

[Answer] I could quote many examples. I shall limit myself to some which bring measurable benefits to our economy. Many designs increasing work safety in underground mining have been worked out. Among other things, we designed jointly with the KOMAG Center for the Mechanization of Mining in Gliwice original equipment for dynamic testing of stands and mechanized armaments, simulating the phenomenon of bouncing. I shall add that the pile-drive stands used until then were not only much more expensive, but also energy-intensive and cumbersome in use; they also disturbed the work in the environment and did not meet export demands.

Mine life-saving has become our specialty. Military scientists prepared a system of effective location of the victims of the breaking down of the rock mass. For this extremely important mining service we are also working on the construction of new anti-explosive dams with a much greater resistance to the action of the percussive wave and, what is most important, the possibilities of their quick assembly at the place of the accident. Thanks to this equipment the work safety of rescue teams will increase considerably.

[Question] We know that scientists from the WAT to a large degree collaborate with the automotive industry. The greatest and most important problem at the moment is the conservation of fuels...

[Answer] Yes, the conservation of fuels, but not only that. Also the question of improving the quality of the suspension and the solid tire, and the diagnostics and increase in the solidity of the construction of new vehicles. Through a joint realization of tasks with the FSO [Automobile Factory] in Warsaw we have worked out and built a prototype series of non-blocking brake systems with electronic steering, considerably increasing the safety of driving. Our original Polish construction has diameters comparable with the best ones in the world.

[Question] Have you also constructed equipment of anti-import character?

[Answer] A typical example of such equipment is the apparatus for the coding of silicon plates, built for the needs of the electronics industry. It

was used in the production of united systems of a large scale of integration in the Scientific-Production Semiconductor Center, and its basic merit is a considerable increase of production efficiency: the Center has made savings in the amount of 100 million zlotys a year, to a large degree thanks to this apparatus.

Another final product, prepared by the WAT scientists together with the specialists from the Sylwester Kaliski Institute of Plasma and Laser Micro-synthesis, are detectors of infrared radiation. Some of them, exported to highly industrialized countries, bring several thousand dollars a year to our economy. Additionally, negotiations are being carried out with firms in Japan, Switzerland and the RFN on the sale of a licence worked out in the WAT concerning the technology of the fluid-crystal substance.

[Question] WAT scientists have also come to the aid of specialists from the health care field.

[Answer] This is an extremely important domain and hence our special interest in it. As this is a very broad subject, I can say most generally that in the laboratories a large amount of modern equipment and surgical, laryncological and optical instruments have been built and put in clinical practice. It is not a sensation any longer to state that in some of them, laser technology has been successfully applied. Our scientists also have begun intensive research work in oncology, and the technology of obtaining hematoporphyrins used to destroy tumorous cells is very advanced.

[Question] If it is said today that our people's Polish Army is modern and industrious, the contribution of the WAT graduates has certainly been considerable?

[Answer] In the past 34 years of its activity, the WAT not only educated the basic core of the technical cadre of our Armed Forces, but has also turned our graduates into citizens thinking in the categories of the state, and inculcated in them the moral-political motivations necessary for the execution of the difficult and responsible tasks of today and tomorrow.

[Question] One knows that the chief duty of the scientists in uniform is to carry out scientific work connected mainly with the development of contemporary military technology, raising the military readiness of the army and the defensive readiness of the state. How do military scientists realize these tasks?

[Answer] We devote the majority of our research potential precisely to these tasks. In the recent period, among our most important achievements have been command computer systems and laser equipment of various designation. The results of our thought on design have also materialized in the implementation of simulators for the training of crews in production, and in the service of military equipment. This brings considerable savings in equipment, fuel and energy and improves the effectiveness of learning the skills of using the military equipment.

Our numerous studies have gained the recognition and commendation of the Technical Committee of the Warsaw Alliance, thanks to which the export possibilities of our technological thought and the development of mutually beneficial collaboration with the armies of the socialist countries have expanded.

[Question] From what period of your life has your personal professional career, Citizen General, been connected with technology?

[Answer] I can say that from very far back, that is, from the moment when as a graduate of the High School in Lopuszno in 1954 I decided to bind my destiny with the army and apply to the WAT. After 5 years of studies I finished the Academy with honors and for a year I worked in industry. In 1960 I returned to my academic mentor, Division Gen Prof Sylwester Kaliski and my further scientific and professional career continued under his eyes. My personal scientific interests include: the dynamic problems of wave mechanics, the theory of percussive waves and the physics of explosions. I have promoted over 20 doctors and some of them are working on their habilitation dissertations.

[Question] Let us return to the themes of the 19th Plenum. What will be, in your opinion, Citizen General, the fruit of its deliberations?

[Answer] In the 19th Plenum participated a very broad representation of our intelligentsia; nonparty members also were invited. The pronouncements were very ardent, the speakers being guided by the good of the country. For me personally the participation in the deliberations was another specific lesson in life. Those 2 days gave me a lot to think about. The most important thing, I believe, was that everything said there ought to be correctly understood and implemented. Because even the wisest, most justes decree is not enough.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

Military Medical Academy

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 25, 23 Jun 85 p 5

[Interview with Commander of the B. Szarecki Military Medical Academy, Brigadier Gen Prof Wladyslaw Tkaczewski, by Czeslaw Rychlewski]

[Text] [Question] The military health service enjoys a good reputation...

[Answer] I am glad to hear it.

[Question] You are probably even gladder to know that the Military Medical Academy has contributed to it considerably.

[Answer] At least, we want it to be so... The matter is not simple. The training of a military physician is a complex and difficult process. Our graduate ought to possess not only medical knowledge and moral values, which are necessary in this profession; we also want to develop in him commanding skills and psychic and physical resistance, which an officer needs daily, particularly on the battlefield.

From this follows that a WAM student has more classes than his fellow student in a civilian academy.

[Answer] Undoubtedly. When we compare the programs, it results that during the course of the studies an Officer Cadet devotes about 2000 hours more to studying. This fact does not leave us indifferent. Modern education requires that a student ought to have as much time for himself as possible. We have already made some changes in the program.

[Question] This creates, I believe, a necessity of apparent choices. What is more important, for example, the knowledge of anatomy or the knowledge of military regulations?

[Answer] We do not put the problems this way, although indeed sometimes it is difficult to avoid making choices. Above all, however, we are searching for better possibilities of organizing classes, more effective methods...

[Question] Such as?

[Answer] Among other things, in the clinical hospital in Wroclaw we organized so called internships for small groups of Officer Cadets. Freed from any additional duties, they could devote themselves to a thorough study of a segment of medical knowledge. This was also helped by the conditions, similar to those in which they would work later, and the direct contact with experienced practicing physicians. The disciple-master relationship is very important in our profession.

[Question] Medicine simply cannot be studied extramurally.

[Answer] This is true. It is also true that every ten years, one third of medical knowledge becomes obsolete. Who forgets about this in his medical work, after a while becomes a physician from another epoch. For this reason we must get our cadets used to independent study, dilligence and methodicalness.

[Question] Usually life itself demands this.

[Answer] True, it demands it, but not always. We must be aware that among students there are people more and less ambitious. It is hard to believe, but one can finish medical studies without holding a syringe. In order to prevent this, for many years now we have been applying the principle of certification of the practical skills necessary for a physician. In students' individual cards, teachers responsible for this certify that a student mastered the technique of a diagnostic-medical treatment in a degree allowing independent execution. For the same purpose a school of life-saving in life-threatening emergencies, has been created at the WAM.

[Question] Doctors, and also medical students, are very well acquainted with these matters. Is additional learning necessary?

[Answer] No skills are acquired by themselves. Recently one of the WAM cadets found himself accidentally at a scene of a car accident. Thanks to the "additional learning," he managed to do a very good job. We received official thanks for his skillfully carried out action of saving human life.

[Question] However, the view that cadets do nothing else but participate in classes and study science would be mistaken?

[Answer] Of course. We do not want that at all. For example, our amateur theater "Verbum" is quite well known.

[Question] Yes. I have seen several of its diverse programs. I have also witnessed its winning awards.

[Question] In the Military Medical Academy there also are active: a literary circle and a Student Scientific Association, which have had successes in domestic and foreign competitions; various sport sections. We have two stadiums, an indoor swimming pool, a field house with 1200 seats, and a system of biological renewal labs... We have combined the development of physical culture with scientific work, creating an institute of sport medicine, whose services are utilized by the bicycling team, among others. This is the only post in the country created at a medical academy; others function in physical education academies.

One should not forget either about various volunteering activities. "White Sundays," that is, visits to localities lacking health facilities, are popular. The care of handicapped people is developing. Among the cadets are curators of juveniles. There are also propagators of teaching hygiene and health education.

[Question] Does a commander of a school of higher education functioning in this way have some time to himself, for his own scientific work?

[Answer] Certainly not as much as I would wish. In any case, I have escaped the transformation to an administrator. I continue to be a professionally active physician, I participate directly in teaching and scientific-research activity and I direct the Third Clinic of Internal Medicine.

[Question] They say that Internal Medicine is the queen of medical sciences.

[Question] Yes, but besides the "queen," I devoted myself to normal soldier's and medical service. I started in the Tadeusz Kosciuszko Officers School of Infantry in 1951, where I was sent with a medical diploma in hand, but with very little experience. I earned the successive degrees of learning in the Third Clinic of Internal Medicine in Wroclaw, under the guidance of professors Edward Szczeklik, Kornel Gibinski, Mieczyslaw Kedra, and Zdzislaw Wiktor.

[Question] In 1958 The Military Medical Academy was created...



[Question] I have served and worked in it from the beginning.

[Question] It was a different school than now.

[Question] Of course. We received the status of academy somewhat by way of promotion. The process of gaining independence lasted nearly ten years. Currently it is difficult to count the number of the academy graduates who had earned the degrees of doctor habilitatis and assistant professors. Among them are also professors: Hieronim Bartel, Andrzej Denys, Eugeniusz Dziuk, Jozef Kedziora, Jan Niedworok, and Henryk Tchorzewski.

[Question] This is one measure of progress. What about others?

[Answer] It is difficult to speak about the results of scientific-research work, because these are specialist matters, understandable to professionals. However, one can state that in the WAM many pioneering basic studies have been carried out, for example, those connected with the disorders caused by flu viruses and burns. The first operation in the country grafting an artificial valve in the outlet of the heart's chamber-auricle was performed there. Innovative methods of treating the injuries of circulatory nerves by the use of transplants have been undertaken. Laser energy has been used for treatment of eye diseases... These few examples are sufficient. I also want to add that the academy cooperates with Polish industry, carrying out ecological research in the Belchatow Basin in Plock. It is a very important enterprise because the battle for people's health begins at this level.

[Question] What can we wish you for the future?

[Answer] That I should always hold and feel the pulse of the academy's life.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

12270

CSO: 2600/922

POLAND

INTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICER SAYS SERVICE ACTS WITHIN LAW

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 8 Jun 85 p 4

[Interview with Lt Col Jerzy Karpacz, director of the MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Organizational-Legal Office, by Jerzy Pajkowski; date and location of interview not specified]

[Text] [Question] The work of the uniformed and civilian-clad public security services always and everywhere has aroused extensive interest, skillfully utilized by the creators of criminal in books, in film and in television. And the so-called average citizen always and everywhere probably has been interested, is interested and will be interested in whether this work, that is paid for, if indirectly, out of his pocket and in his interest, is regulated by the law and complies with the law. He also is interested in the way in which this is done.

[Answer] We are aware of this interest. Moreover, we value it highly in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Although this ministry has its own special character, it is not "Poland's specialty" and performs its service role for society. Like other ministries, it must be subject to specific forms of social control. To answer the preceding question most succinctly, the general directive of all our actions is the principle noted recently with great emphasis by the 17th PZPR KC [Central Committee] Plenum: "The law is one and it binds all equally." Very specific regulations delineate the role of the ministry in this regard, in the legally governed activity of all its elements and, more broadly, the strengthening of law and order in the state and in society, particularly the law date 14 July 1983, regarding the office of the minister of internal affairs and the scope of activity of the organs subject to him.

[Question] Will you please mention the most important elements of this law?

[Answer] It is a comprehensive regulation on the legal protection of security and public order. I note here that the legal position and scope of activity of the minister of internal affairs and the units and services subject to him were defined previously by regulations that were issued 30 years ago, in some cases. These do not meet current realities and social needs, nor do they set up the appropriate legal-organizational conditions for the operation of the ministry. The law in effect for almost 2 years defines the tasks that fall

within the competence of the minister of internal affairs and regulates the legal status of the Security Service, also defining its powers. Prior to this, such legal regulation did not exist. It also should be noted that the part of the law that defines the powers of SB [Security Service] and MO [Citizens' Militia] officials in using means of direct force also, for the first time as well, defines their types and the principles of their use in detail. The entirety has been published in the DZIENNIK USTAW, providing an optimum opportunity for informing the average citizen. I also would like to point out that the Sejm Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice, when rendering its opinion on the currently implemented process of enforcing the law, stated the view that such a comprehensive regulation on the one hand sets up guarantees of the legally governed operation of the ministry and, on the other, strengthens the officers of the SB and MO in their valid belief that their actions are based on the law. In other words, acting in the name of, and on the basis of, the law, we have not only the statutory but also the moral right to require obedience of the law from others.

[Question] Let us agree, however, that our average citizen does not have the DZIENNIK USTAW at hand. On the other hand, due to common ignorance, he may be consumed by various kinds of doubts and may be consciously and willingly saturated by foreign anticommunist centers and their domestic counterparts. Specifically, the legal institution for arresting persons that endanger public order and security and checks made of persons and baggage in centers of transportation, in the past as now, has aroused certain emotions.

[Answer] The right to arrest persons that endanger public order and security, as well as the execution of checks on persons and baggage, as well as cargo checks in ports, in airports and at highway, rail and water stations, inscribed in article 7 of law, is essentially something new. However, it should be considered that the arrest of persons that endanger public order and security was determined by such behavior that creates the warranted suspicion that the given person plans to commit a crime or transgression that threatens public order or security, or has committed such an act; the use of other measures than arrest against that person would be inadvisable. As Radio Free Europe notes, the time limit for the arrest is not specified in the law. However, this is unnecessary, since the 48-hour constitutional time limit is binding. Incidentally, this time limit is specified in a published executory document for the law, i.e., in a decree of the minister of internal affairs dated 6 January 1984 (section 2). One can only dismiss with amazement the Radio Free Europe attack on the rights of officials to take specific action at train stations and in means of transportation, given the increased threat of terrorism, especially on aircraft and given the fact that similar actions are taken by police in all airports throughout the world. No one is indignant at this; on the contrary, society encourages it, for it is done in the name of the security and the good of people, regardless of their political convictions.

[Question] Among the so-called means of direct force, police dogs are a source of anxiety for Radio Free Europe.

[Answer] According to section 24 of the minister of internal affairs decree dated 6 January 1984, concerning conditions for the use of means of direct

force by SB and MO officers (DZIENNIK USTAW No 6, item 29), a police dog may be used as a means of force if it is muzzled, i.e., it may not inflict any injuries but at most may be used to frighten someone. Unmuzzled, it may be used only in cases where the officer is legally authorized to use a firearm. As a side-note it should be added that a police dog is used primarily as a means of criminalistic work and its use as a means of direct force takes place extremely rarely in practice, against the most dangerous criminals. This is demonstrated by the fact that, during the past several years, there was not even one such case.

[Question] The principles for using firearms expressed in the law raise similar doubts.

[Answer] Let me stress emphatically that the law permits the use of firearms as a last resort, when other means of direct force have been found to be insufficient (article 9, paragraph 1). Moreover, the decree of the minister of internal affairs issued on the basis of the law defines in detail the conditions for the use of a firearm. It specifies the duty of appealing twice to the person to act in a specific way or to halt and gives warnings on the use of weapons, but it also specifies the duty of firing a warning shot into the air before the actual use of the weapon. I would like to point out that not all foreign legislation stipulates such rigorous conditions for the use of firearms.

[Question] Diversionsary centers, dreaming afar of the shedding of Polish blood, unctuously lament the lack of penal or disciplinary responsibility imposed on "policemen," even for taking someone's life.

[Answer] Of course the law does not stipulate penal or disciplinary responsibility for officers, even for taking a citizen's life. It does not stipulate this, because it does not replace the penal code or the law on the official relations of SB and MO officers, where matters of penal and disciplinary responsibility are unequivocally regulated in detail; they are applied consistently in practice. It is so obvious that such charges are nonsense that often one cannot even polemicize with them. Moreover, in my opinion, it does no good to take issue with them, since the diversionsary centers you mention, particularly Radio Free Europe, read into them something else than is written, even though they often use the very same language.

Since we are talking about law enforcement, I would like to point out something that is seen as a problem by larger and larger groups of Polish citizens, i.e., the conscious breaking of the law by a small group of determined political enemies that is relatively vocal, due to their Polish-language broadcasts and some publications in the West. Society rightfully demands that the breaking of the law by this category of persons as well be prevented with equal resoluteness and consistency, and that it be informed of these efforts. In my opinion, how these people live and how they make their living also should be reported. I assure you that their standard of living usually differs substantially from the standard to which we have become accustomed, the standard we can afford.

[Question] I admit that, since I opened this discussion with "criminals," I would like to close it by asking whether you like Chandler and watch Kojak, but that probably would be out of place.

[Answer] Why so? Like every official in our ministry, I have my book and film favorites. But in concluding it probably would be better to talk about more important matters, for example, the questions addressed by Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski at our recent PZPR KD [District Committee] reports conference in the MSW. The PZPR KC first secretary stressed that ministry officials should be aficionados of the law in implementing their obligations. As an official with 20 years in the ministry, I am able to state with full responsibility that this was and is the kind of service performed by the vast majority of my service comrades. And the unprecedented incident of the violation of the law by four MSW officials, such a painful experience for us as well, cannot alter this opinion. Thus, it is also in the interest of the ministry that the problem of state and party control of the prosecution apparatus, posed so unequivocally and resolutely at the 17th PZPR KC Plenum, be implemented consistently.

8536

CSO: 2600/927

POLAND

NUCLEAR PHYSICIST DECRIES S&T UNDERFUNDING

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 15 Jun 85 p 11

[Article by Prof Zbigniew Bochnacki, director of the Institute of Nuclear Physics in Krakow; material enclosed between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The specter of underfunding again shorts the covers for Polish science. This time it was called up by Minister Konrad Tott, who announced in an interview for POLITYKA: "Obviously, there is not enough funding for all valid financial goals." And so the specter circles around us, as it did 5, 10 and 15 years ago, as well as during revisions of every 5-year plan. It circles us and sows destruction.

Pulling the cover in one's own direction is becoming an issue of local and national patriotism. This is being done in the interest of the group, but also in the interest of the country, for please show me a scholar that does not consider his research to be important. The honest assessment of a proposal made by one's neighbor (who claims a spot under the same cover) is becoming a rare phenomenon. One's colleagues may consider it to be a betrayal of community interests. One formulates his proposals and revises them, only to have them cut in half. That is how things have ended in general until now, regardless of how people have broken their necks to ensure priority treatment of a topic preferred by the central authorities. It also has happened that, although some always have had too much and others too little, I cannot recall any year, even during the depths of the crisis, when we gave out nationally all of the funds earmarked in the plan for research and implementation. Is science this good at putting on the squeeze?

/ The specter also sows destruction/

in the attitudes of mid-level officials. In their view of state interests, science is losing its position of desirable partner. It is shifting to the position of somewhat suspect suppliant standing in line for the government's money. It is not too bad when he comes with something simple, comprehended without specialized knowledge, ideally ordered by someone that produces for the market. Here it suffices to look at his hands to check whether he is attempting to sneak in something more ambitious. But when it is a question

of projects that are ambitious and less comprehensible in general, then these are considerable dispensable as a rule, or at least unnecessary luxuries. This is so even when they were previously considered to be very important to the development of Poland at the highest levels.

A manifestation of such an attitude is the deterring of institutes in recent years from government programs and crucial problems by putting low rates of profit on them. Another example is the view that the institute itself should earn the money for its ambitious "cravings" by implementing orders in industry or by export. There are already institutes that have turned their experimental plants into mini-factories, whose structure is not always in accordance with the scientific structure of the institute, but that are lucrative all the same. True, these institutes have processing capacities designated to build apparatus, prototypes and trial series tied up in ordinary production, but for the time being they are not doing badly. But why does the implementation of goals that are important for the entire economy or its major sectors have to be financed from the profits of a single institutional mini-factory?

Once I wrote in POLITYKA that I was pleased with the economic reform and its future prospects for science. Many of my colleagues considered this to be an attack against the central accumulation of funds for science and the central financing of science. They misunderstood.

/I like central funding, I live off central funding, /

I believe that central funding is necessary for science and that there is far too little of it. The childhood disease of our reform that consists of an otherwise understandable fear of the central financing of goals common to the entire economy is passing, along with the more and more frequent joint undertaking of joint ventures by groups of autonomous units in all areas. To believe this, one need only look at what happens in countries where market mechanisms operate without systemic restrictions.

It is not necessary to look very far to realize how cheap science is in Poland. Dispensing funds that are several times less compared with the national income than both our stronger and our weaker neighbors, we often seek to justify this in words that have no meaning. We say: there is a crisis, even this is a lot, we cannot afford more. In difficult situations, faced with a real sea of social and economic needs, we must make a rational decision by determining what must be financed in order to move us forward and by specifying the degree of financing that will ensure effective work. The consciousness of the fact that, without science we cannot make up for the lag known as the technological gap, that without science we are threatened by the continual widening of this gap, is quite universal, at least "at the top."

We are much slower in realizing that the current level of financing of science does not exceed the threshold that enables the effective attainment of goals. This has its effect on directive decisionmaking. We attempt to bypass this threshold by concentrating funds on selected goals, i.e., by establishing priorities. We have tried this for years, almost without success.

stage of the battle when, instead of an effort to hold it, there is only information on the situation of the enemy. It supports us with fire only when we join forces for a general attack.

The third type of division in science (I promise not to invent any more) is comprised of the specifics of research related to their placement in the full research cycle. Those spheres in which it is possible, with relative ease and precision, to define the specific goal of research, its methods and the indispensable funds, and where it is relatively simple to assess the value of the end product in the economy come into contact with industry. At the opposite extreme are the basic, so-called cognitive, studies. They are conducted to gain cognition or to create new items, i.e., those whose kind no one in the world knows of as yet or those of whose existence no one knows. Thus, the specific purpose of these studies does not lend itself to being defined here. At most we can set up hypotheses that will be verified in research. The past history of science demonstrates that the most valuable discoveries were made during attempts to verify totally unrelated hypotheses, in other words, the results were totally unplanned.

The directions of research, the methods used and the "tactical" goals are selected here primarily on the basis of world developmental trends in a given discipline. Thus, our national studies generally are part of international research programs. This implements, on a worldwide scale, the principle of concentrating the funds designated for them.

/At the same time, the developmental trends are determined neither by contract nor through a referendum./

They are dictated by the person that achieved the most recent success. Usually, success is made up of an idea and the equipment. Anyone can have an idea; only those that are better off normally have good-quality equipment. But a new, original idea is a rare phenomenon. Hence the tremendous need for international cooperation in basic research, especially since the barriers of industrial secrecy do not restrict it, due to the great distance between the result and its concrete applications. No patents or licenses are sold here; the result is published and is basically available to all. Solo attempts at conducting research, without international cooperation, are doomed to fail from the outset, and the only level of research that is recognized here as reputable is conducted on a worldwide scale.

The difficulty of assessing the value of a result (determined by its use in further basic and applied research) and the level of groups and individuals as well is another characteristic feature of this field of research. It leads to the danger that people from the outside, dilettantes and maniacs will hide here behind the screen of lack of knowledge of the subject. Science has developed effective methods for limiting this kind of phenomenon.

A basic one is preserving the balance between conservatism and innovation in science. Every result must wage intense battle with former views before it gains recognition. At the same time, the field of this battle is not one's own group, although this is where it starts. The battle must be won on the



I would like to speak about these differences. Forgive me in advance for repeating the obvious, but there is a hidden subtlety in these differences. The difference between scientific disciplines and within the disciplines, between the various directions of research, are the most obvious. There are many of them. Over 120 PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] committees patronize a considerably larger number of areas of research, branching out into a veritable jungle of specializations.

The differentiation of the level of research projects in progress is somewhat less obvious. It travels a crooked line through the disciplines, specializations and phases of the research cycle.

The technological gap that divides some fields of our economy from the level of their counterparts in the most highly developed countries has its parallel in science. The consumer and, specifically, his current needs determine the level of research in those areas that cooperate directly with industry. Simple but resourceful and profitable innovations and the adaptation on our soil of technical solutions used in other countries, usually as difficult as the creation of something new, cost more than discovery on a worldwide scale for which the consumer in the economy is as yet unprepared and that he still cannot use. At the same time, we have teams, both in the economy and in science, that have managed to hold their ground over and above the technological gap--bridgeheads on the other side. For various reasons that I shall mention presently, it was easier in science to keep up with the world in basic research and that applied research that maintained close contact with basic research.

/ Thus, we are working away at the technological gap both "from above" and "from below." /

While the effects of our attack on the gap "from below" are immediately apparent in the economy, the effects of our attack "from above" can be disclosed on the larger scale only when the two extremes meet. This is one of the primary reasons that the full research-development cycle, a lovely idea, has been throttled. It is also the reason for the internal quarrel in science: who is more important and more necessary--we that work away at the bottom, strong in our immediate effect on the economy, meeting its direct needs, or we that work away at the top, brandishing our standard of world quality and voicing our grudges against the economy for being so impolite as to make little use of our discoveries? As always the truth is dismal for the backers of the "too short blanket" idea and the primitive concentration of everything, everywhere. Both one and the other are indispensable.

There is no need to defend the spheres of science that cooperate directly with industry. They have a terribly strong patron that knows their value. The idea that the others are indispensable must be defended. Entire books have been written on this subject; thousands of arguments have been cited. Perhaps it is that there are so many of them that their power of persuasion seems slight of late. I do not intend to repeat the mistake. Let me only give the basis for my belief that we will not make rash and unwise decisions. We have in the government a number of military people that have an excellent understanding of the value of a bridgehead on the opposite shore, even during that

I do not have any reason not to believe that Minister Tott will be able to do this better. It seems to me, however, that the problem does not lie only in the method of organizing and directing science. Changes in the system for the sake of important economic goals are, of course, possible in science. On the other hand, it is impossible to shift the entire program of central direction of science towards the implementation of several or several dozen blocks of subjects in a single planning document; every 5 years we try to "plow through" scientific research in this way to its very bottom, leaving some margin of freedom for basic research at most.

One of the major causes of the failure of such attempts is

/ the complexity of science, that we are notorious for undervaluing./

Science is a system with a tremendous number of internal and external connections; it is not an organism whose hands we may cut off and then water, hoping that it will grow again and be strong and useful. We probably understand this better today in the case of farming. Anyone that wanted preferential treatment for farming to mean that we all are to be farmers would expose himself to ridicule. Then what is the basis of such preferential treatment? Its primary basis is certainly that we are trying to fill in the gaps that are preventing the economy as a whole to work effectively in the service of agriculture.

The principle of sound and effective operation in science is the same. We must ensure funds for, and the profitability of, studies related to a priority subject that are already being conducted solidly. We also must try to fill in the gaps, which is considerably more difficult in science than in the economy. The difficulty lies in the fact that it is not enough to make the investment alone. New teams of specialists must be created or expanded. Time is needed for them to attain a level that ensures effective operation. The undervaluing of the complexity of science means that we are not always aware of this.

Rather, we have the dominant belief that it is enough to select goals and distribute funds, and science should solve the given problems. We give too little thought to whether it will be able to solve these problems and to how much times it requires to learn to solve them.

The operation of combining all of science into a single organizational system had the beautiful and convincing goal of eliminating artificial ministerial and institutional barriers and of combining basic research, applied research, developmental studies and training work into full, uniform research-development cycles, thus ensuring the unobstructed flow of results from the initial front of research through its full utilization in the economy.

/ Then why did this real and expensive organizational revolution in science lead to such a small scientific-technical revolution?/

The causes are many. But here I would like to point out one that I consider to be very important. It is again the failure to consider the internal differentiation of science.

international forum. One form of this battle is submitting every publication, i.e., report from the research, for review by the best, anonymous (so that they may express their opinions more freely) specialists. Thus, publication in a reputable scientific periodical is one of the vital signs of a good level of scientific scholarship in basic research. On the other hand, we should not attack science both for its conservatism (no doubt every journalist today knows someone that discovered something and is harassed by a community of envious colleagues) and a lack of criticism (in the theses of the Third Congress of Polish Science, we lament the disappearance of scientific criticism, although it functions quite well in good teams, and we praise the system of organization of science that makes everyone dependent upon his colleague, both substantively and financially).

The second basic method

/ of struggle against shoddiness in basic research, /

is the periodic assessment of the achievements of scientific workers by large, independent teams of specialists, documented by the conferring of academic degrees and titles. The expansion of its scope from the spheres of research in which it is indispensable to those spheres of science and technology where the research result itself demonstrates its value leads to misunderstandings. The academic degree and title becomes merely a distinction, a privilege there where it is not indispensable as an assessment of the level of work. Hence our discussions on the multiplicity of degrees and titles, along with the simultaneous initiation of annual assessments and cadre reviews; hence the attacks on the criterion of novelty on a worldwide scale (and not only the economic effect) in the work of the Central Qualifying Commission.

Let us return, however, to the specifics of basic research. Here the position of particular workers, confirmed by the academic degree and title, is the second important element enabling the external assessment of the level of quality of the team or the scientific institute. The distance and quality of international contacts may be the third criterion for such an assessment. With today's competition in every field, weak teams have no chance. At the same time, free international cooperation in basic research and the contiguous spheres has made it easy for those teams that have managed to attain a good level of scientific research to maintain it over and above the technological gap despite crises and lack of equipment.

All of the methods of self-assessment in the scientific community, representing a point of departure for external assessments in basic studies, begin to operate effectively only at a certain level of work that allows the team to come into contact with the rest of science in the given field. Below this level, one may produce shoddy research for years and publish it in local periodicals that no one reads, not realizing that all of this activity is worth very little. It is very difficult to surmount the barrier to this indispensable level, that is therefore known as the "worldwide" level. It is surmounted by accident or as a result of many years of hard work, often the work of more than one generation, when it is said that one has created a "school." For this reason, all over the world, good teams are valued and

/ the basic method for concentrating funds on basic research is concentration on the work of good teams./

Changes in the structure from the viewpoint of the future needs of the economy are made very cautiously and slowly, as a rule by expanding the research subject matter of good teams. I am afraid that our haste to declare our concentration on selected areas, and in basic research as well, creating the impression of prospects for quick results, is a declaration of the impossible, or at least of something that the two major negotiators--science and the economy--understand in different ways.

Between the extreme spheres of science--the region of contact with the economy and the regions of basic research--exist a whole chain of intermediate elements. Each of these requires a different specialization, and the shift from one to another demands difficult and risky re-qualification. The quite common belief that if it wanted to, basic research could work directly for the economy is in error. No reasonable person requires a miner to smelt the extracted ore in the mill and then to design and construct a car.

/ Nor would it be wise to expect a chicken to lay an egg with its beak./

There are processes in which the head, the trunk and the bottom each must perform its own function. The bottom itself is not enough, even though it works "in contact" with the consumer. The cockscomb may be lopped off, the wings may be clipped, feed may be geared towards egg or meat production, for a short period the head even may be bypassed and feeding may be done intravenously, but these are roughly the limits of manipulations. This is the case in science as well. Of course, this refers to the primary results of basic research and not to the methods of measuring that arise during research, the equipment and the materials, that always are in use and that can and must be used immediately.

Thus, the specter of the "too short blanket" cannot play at least one of its intended roles for objective reasons. That role is that of a scarecrow that frightens scientists that are overly ambitious for our times into embarking on projects that are recognized more generally as useful. Does its role portraying the financial potential of Poland remain? Certainly, more must be expended for science than we have been spending thus far. But is the major restriction how many zlotys we designate for it?

I reiterate (for it is very important and not often recognized) that the barrier to effectiveness in science may be surmounted only through an increase in the funds designated for it. At the same time, the major problem is not increasing the number of zlotys, but creating conditions in which these zlotys can be distributed for the good of science. This requires the removal "from the top" of at least three barriers: the capital spending barrier, the foreign exchange barrier and the wage barrier. That is why I dream of a leader of Polish science that finally will say: the money will be there! Good-quality research can expect to be supported; we will support those initiatives for closing the gaps that now reduce the effectiveness of science in the fields that are most indispensable to the economy.

The failure to appreciate the difficulties, the risk and the costs of requalifying old teams or creating new ones in science has yet another negative consequence. We always begin planning from the economy, from which science is assigned its tasks. We are generally aware that

/ science is engendering new industry somewhere in the world. /

In Poland, we rarely require the demonstration of the existence of a good scientific base when decisions are made regarding major capital spending projects. And this is very much needed today, especially in the case of investments related to production for export. Some ministries also apply this principle at times, although without special publicity, for it has ceased to be in vogue to ascribe a leading role to science. Meanwhile, in the ministry closest to me, atomistics, for example, POLON owes its success in export to the fact that it arose and operates on the basis of a strong scientific base.

One thing more. A good team must have some common location on the map, equipment and service facilities. In the present organizational structure of scientific research, the scientific institute as a whole has been forgotten.

/ I grab some overalls here, he grabs some there, the institute has lab coats, and somehow we manage. /

But the joint purchase of major research equipment is becoming a serious problem. How is it to be accounted for without agreements made at the highest levels? It seems to me that new central research programs ought to give more consideration to the "institute" structure of science, even at the expense of a certain expansion of the field of research.

Sometimes it happens that an important field of economic activity does have a strong scientific base. This is the case with atomistics, whose applications to the various fields of the economy are taking on more and more momentum. This field also represents a base for the atomic energy industry that is finally starting up in Poland during the coming 5-year plan. It would be a strange sort of misunderstanding if atomistics were not on the list of research priorities. I did not find it there in the theses of the Third Congress of Polish Science. I propose that this be corrected.

8536

GSO: 2600/927

POLAND

URBAN, OTHERS IN PANEL DISCUSSION ON POLITICAL LANGUAGE

Warsaw ODRÓDZENIE in Polish No 28, 14 Jul 85 pp 1, 3, 4

[Panel discussion organized by the PRON weekly, Part 1: "The Language of Politics"]

[Text] Why are we unable so far to translate what are attractive political objectives into calls which would motivate citizens to join political life? Why is it that in the Poland of the mid-eighties the language of politics, although it is more a language of facts than of gestures and words, remains obscure for some people and sometimes is even misconstrued? Why are we witnessing a great deal of apathy and frustration, or even clearly disappointment with real socialism, among a considerable proportion of Polish citizens?

These and some other questions were pondered by a group of journalists and writers who sat down for a panel discussion organized by the PRON weekly ODRÓDZENIE. They included Wiesław Bek, chief editor of TRYBUNA LUDU and deputy chairman of the journalists union SD PRL; Stefan Garczynski, writer and essayist; Professor Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, sociologist and columnist, member of the PRON National Council; and Minister Jerzy Urban, columnist and Government spokesman. The PRON weekly was represented by Jerzy Grzybczak and Zbigniew Siedlecki.

[...] Siedlecki: Poles have assimilated the basic values of socialism, namely social ownership of the means of production, abolition of exploitation of man by man along with the principle of social justice, and the ideals of socialist humanism. This has furnished the precondition for mobilizing society to join in the work for the construction of socialism.

But, of course, everyone can see that this precondition isn't taken advantage of the way it ought to be and that the degree of dedication to civic duties differs from group to group and from class to class. [...]

Let us try to see to what extent we have managed to avail ourselves of the following opportunities:

--the message of the 9th PZPR Congress, which launched an all-out critique of deformations of socialism in the 1970's and formulated a program for socialist renewal;

--the endeavors of General Jaruzelski's government, which has consistently been acting for a consolidation of the Polish state, a cause which can be joined by any Polish patriot regardless of world outlook or political orientation;

--the activity of PRON, which is designed to bring closer the day of national reconciliation, which fulfills the function of public opinion, and which organizes community work for all those who are active and who accept the Polish Constitution.

Let me first say why we picked you gentlemen for this discussion. We have invited Mr Bek because he was the official spokesman for the 9th PZPR Congress, and so he is perfectly familiar with what was said during it. Moreover, as chief editor of TRYBUNA LUDU, the first among all PZPR dailies, he commands enormous experience in implementing the 9th Congress decisions and, I hope, has a clear view of successes and failures in this respect.

We have invited Minister Urban as the man who in his capacity of Government spokesman created something which has no precedent in the socialist community of nations and probably also in the world--namely an information system so broad that foreign and Polish journalists find it to be the chief source of information on anything the government is doing or is planning to do, a system which is open and free of prevarication. If it is mainly foreign reporters, not Polish ones, who avail themselves of this source of information, then I willingly admit self-critically that this is a fault of reporters themselves.

We have invited Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, one of the founding fathers of PRON, a public figure and columnist who has all along been creating an intellectual and political ferment. Professor Kozakiewicz, by the way, is quite critical of the movement he himself helped to create.

We have invited Stefan Garczynski, whom we expect to produce the counterpoints to the drift of our discussion, because he takes the detached view of a moral philosopher of what is going on in Poland and does not succumb to emotions which overwhelm us, as we are close to the political scene.

It should also be honestly said that some chairs around this table are empty. We have invited representatives of the community of people who are described as the intellectual opposition, that is, people who accept the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic and, with varying measures of satisfaction, endorse the construction of socialism, but who are very aggrieved at the authorities and hold many views which are remote from ours. Alas, our attempts have failed.

I am saying this without rancor, for participation in any discussion makes sense only if people have an inner desire to exchange views with others and feel they are under no pressure, not even moral pressure. I am saying this only in order to underline that we are willing to engage in dialogue with representatives of that community, and we want them to present their views in ODRODZENIE in order to face questions from other participants in the discussion. I can only regret that our invitations have been turned down.

By the way, this absence, and not just in this discussion, results ultimately in a deformation of the picture of the political situation in Poland. Only those opposition views are now taken note of which are spread by Polish-language radio stations in the West, while the views held by the intellectual opposition are getting none of the publicity they deserve.

Finally, let me make three technical points. Our success and failure, the effectiveness of our policies, are largely dependent on the development of the economic situation, but the group of people gathered here cannot be expected to provide any exhaustive discussion of this matter. As this group is dominated by journalists, it may happen that we will discuss not so much the language of politics as the language of propaganda, which is a narrower kind of language. I do hope we can avoid this pitfall. And, third, such discussions held here at ODRÓDZENIE have always been very spontaneous, so let us abide by this tradition.

Bek: In his introduction, Mr Siedlecki said the basic values of socialism have taken root in the consciousness of Poles and he mentioned social ownership of the means of production, abolition of exploitation of man by man, and the principle of social justice. But various polls and studies I have access to disclose that a vast majority of Poles also mention universal access to education, the right for a job for everyone, the public health service, and the broad range of social benefits, as the advantages of socialism. People don't always associate these institutions with socialism directly, but in naming them as advantages provided by socialism people draw from their own observations of Poland's political system. By the way, the same polls also show that disrespect for the law is one disadvantage of socialism named by most respondents.

What we are facing, then, is an acceptance of many policies pursued by the socialist state along with a certain passivity, or even dislike of the system, on the part of some groups of society. If our discussion is to be about the language of politics, then perhaps that passivity on the part of some social groups has something in common with it?

In my view, which is borne out by many polls, this attitude may have different causes, but at present it derives primarily from a fear about living standards, for people are worried that they may find it more difficult to live in the future than now; they fear their earnings may lag far behind indispensable and growing needs. Moreover, people fear that the various forms of expanding democracy we have been pushing recently are indeed permanent in character and not just ad hoc moves serving current purposes. Finally, people fear there are too many programs for implementing the 9th Congress decisions and too few facts which would confirm that policy out there in the villages or small towns where they live.

So, as we begin our discussion I think we ought to consider the causes which brought about that passivity and which are largely responsible for its continuation now. When we have clarified this we will be able to talk meaningfully about the language of politics, that is, of one way of addressing one sector of society.



Garczynski: I wish to thank you for your invitation, which came as a surprise to me. I admit I wasn't quite sure I should accept it. I had three reasons. First, I'm no match for such seasoned fencers in the art of discussion. Second, I realize that some people will regard my presence here as an anti-Polish and anti-patriotic act, the way others regard oppositionist activities as anti-patriotic and anti-Polish. Third, I have been warned that if I say anything that may be recognized as very improper and to which there is no devastating retort, then those words will be replaced by dots. I am skeptical about statements by people who are so deeply involved in the matter, and this is one reason for which I am here.

As for our topic of the language of politics, I don't think the language used in polemics is always that of politics. Especially not in the kind of polemics which are customary in Poland. Polemics in Poland are generally aggressive, brutal, derisive, and their purpose is to attack individuals who sometimes have to sacrifice a great deal as they fight for what they consider to be right or as they choose the lesser evil and thus expose themselves to painful unpopularity. (Maybe choosing the lesser evil is precisely what all politics is about?)

I do see the origin of that tone which strikes such a jarring note in my ear. I try to understand the one side on account of its frustration. Frustration, of course, makes people aggressive in what sometimes is a fierce, implacable and blind manner. I try to understand the other side on account of their feeling insulted for being insulted. Somebody hit in the stomach feels an urge to repay in kind. This is understandable. But to understand is not the same thing as to excuse. I wouldn't excuse any aggressive tone or attacks against individual persons, especially when such attacks are coming from prominent personages, because the latter set the example for many others.

The language of politics, as distinct from the language of polemics, is characteristically pragmatic in character. By pragmatism I understand the pursuit of concrete, feasible, and relatively well-defined goals. Also, pragmatism implies resistance to evils which are closely around us or the capture of some good which is closely around us, rather than chasing after imaginary things. By pragmatism I also understand an attitude of trusting a theory arising from practice more than a practice arising from some theory.

I am saying all this because I am sure that two people with pragmatic minds stand a better chance of reaching agreement than those who think in categories of any fideism or some very ardent idealism.

Kozakiewicz: At this point let me just add a few words to what my predecessors said. In the introduction, as well as in Mr Bek's second introduction, there was a danger of losing sight of the main topic of this discussion, because Mr Bek actually took up the problem of Polish society's stratification as disclosed in polls from the standpoint of those who wonder, how can the unconvinced be convinced? This question tacitly implies there is one side (on behalf of which Mr Bek himself was speaking) which knows well what should be done, what is right and necessary, and there is another side, that is, society, which is basically ready for accepting the truth propounded by the authorities.

Mr Bek's only concern, then, is to find a channel, or style, which could be used to reach the masses in order to take advantage of their potential readiness to accept the values inherent in socialism and then to induce people to accept "the truth of the authorities" along with an ensuing willing participation in realizing the only true plans and goals. But this view of the matter, in my opinion, is unacceptable to anyone outside the system of authority. In reality things are different. Society doesn't accord the authorities any monopoly of truth or correct policies. As I understand it, "the language of politics" must be a device for two-way or even multidirectional communication. It is not true, then, that all the authorities need to do is to use the language of politics to reach the masses, among whom there are indeed many confused, uncertain and misled people, but also many people who are positive about their convictions. What is also necessary is for the language of politics to ensure the communication of opinions, arguments and positions also in the opposite direction, even if these opinions are at odds with what the authorities hold as true or are planning to do. Without fulfilling this condition there can be no talk of any dialogue.

That much about Mr Bek's opinion. As for what Mr Garczynski said, I don't think the language of politics need not be free of polemical tones. On the contrary, the language of politics (by the way, we ought perhaps to distinguish between this and "political language" for these are by no means synonymous) should be polemical in character. Among other things, what you said here was shocking for you, namely that individual persons are attacked, is something which I think belongs in the world of politics. People have a right to attack individuals, but only provided that the given person's right to reply is not limited in any way.

For me, the moral (though not political) problem is not that people are attacked publicly but that in Poland the attacked are not granted an equal position--say, they can't reply to charges made against them on television, for example. Only some of them can reply through foreign Polish-language stations or in underground publications. This is undoubtedly not a useful thing for Poland, and the interested people aren't getting the possibility of addressing the public with arguments promoting their case. As things are now, communication between different sides is extremely difficult, and this weakens the offer of dialogue as an offer not only in the eyes of attacked people but even in those of the incomparably more numerous and watchful observers of penalty shooting at a goal from which the goalie has been removed.

Another thing about the language of politics in Poland I dislike is that, with time, it has been systematically purged of authentic clashes, heated polemics, differences in outlook, and, instead, is made to sound as if everyone is singing in unison. This unison is heard only in the media, but not in informal discussions of Poles, where temperaments are still boiling. Only none of that appears in public.

In his introduction, Mr Siedlecki pointed out the exceptional position, and the exceptional style of work, created by Minister Urban here. Indeed, he is the most widely read columnist but also the most controversial one, loved by

some people but hated by others as the government mouthpiece. It is now already clear that Jerzy Urban is a unique phenomenon which will become part of the history of the press and of political history in Poland.

But just what is the secret of Mr Urban's unquestionable, yet ambiguous success, from the standpoint of my own theory? His secret is that he is simultaneously official and individual, political and polemical (sometimes aggressive) in his writing. He pokes his finger unceremoniously into other people's eyes, but then he doesn't dodge questions concerning things which are painful and embarrassing for those he represents. His replies to reporters' questions may be disliked, may even be reacted to vehemently, but they can't possibly be ignored or dismissed. Mr Urban has his own political language, almost never uttering the words one would expect to hear even before the inquirer has finished asking his question. I don't know if Mr Urban is a good spokesman for the government, but I do know he is an extraordinary, and not a trite, one.

The question arises as to why don't other journalists use a style of their own? Why don't they have the courage to say something in a language of their own and why don't they take the risk of having their own style and, even worse, their own views? In my view, Mr Urban and the other journalists quite simply aren't given equal chances. What Minister Urban can afford to do as government spokesman will not be permitted for many journalists. I don't even think this is what is happening due to censorship, but I think this is mostly a fault of chief editors and of authors themselves who exercise something like self-censorship?

I'm not comparing my own status to Mr Urban's (fortunately, I'm not a government minister) but I'm sure that if I'm read when writing on political matters (even though I'm no expert because I'm not a politician, yet I answer whenever I'm asked a question), then I owe this also partly because I use my own language and I say what I believe is true. That people may feel furious with me for what I think is true is another matter, but I know for sure my texts are being read. Briefly, then, the chief weakness of the language of politics in Poland is its triteness and lack of originality, apart from the absence of any real polemics, confrontations of positions, or opportunities for discussion among people of differing orientations, without which no dialogue can ever come about.

Recall the stormy years of 1980 and 1981. Recall the press of those years. Your TRYBUNA LUDU was a hot seething newspaper, it was polemical and militant, because it had adversaries to challenge. It could challenge not some book, leaflet or broadcast "in absentia" so to speak, a text nobody has read, but could challenge face to face texts published openly in some other journal.

Urban: Let me start with a few words on the absence of some of the invited guests here. When somebody says, "Look, I'm not coming because I'd like to express views which will not be allowed to circulate in public," then his argument sounds quite convincing to me. This is an attitude of people who don't accept the constitutional groundwork, those who fight the system, but I think that this category of people haven't really been sent invitations, those who have are people who don't share our views but accept the rules of

the game as it is played in Poland. These are the people who have been more vocal than any other group calling the other side to establish a dialogue. I'm sure they feel the kind of dialogue which is now held is insufficient or inadequate. My point is that if somebody calls for dialogue but refuses to turn up for it, then such a person is harmful for political life. Where does such an attitude have its roots, I wonder, because these people seem to realize that there is something wrong about the whole situation of complaining about nobody wanting to establish dialogue with them and subsequently not turning up for discussions. I think it's not any great political principle which is behind such an attitude, but a parochial and narrow-minded mode of thinking of some characters on Poland's political stage. If this discussion were staged, say, by Fr Alojzy Orszulik, the Episcopate's spokesman, they would come, but they won't honor a journal which wants to sponsor a discussion with their participation. Such animosities often have a personal background, and they have nothing in common with political principle, which has a disastrous effect on the openness of public life.

Now let me say a few words on the topic of our discussion in the narrow sense, that is, on the language of politics. It is commonplace to say that words have strongly lost their value in Poland, and the same necessarily happened to the language in which political truths are uttered. At first that devaluation was caused by the policy pursued in the 1970's due to which the actual situation in Poland was increasingly at variance with what was being said about it. By the way, I don't share the view about the predominance of what is called propaganda of success during that period, for what dominated then were critical tones. Only they failed to reach the roots of evil, as it turned out later.

A second disappointment came from the extraordinary eruption of words in 1980 and 1981. It was an eruption of verbiage on both sides, yet Solidarity clearly carried the day as far as loquacity was concerned. Solidarity produced very many words, but words which were just generalities, sounding fine but gradually forfeiting whatever meanings they may have had, both because of the obscurity of their meanings and because few of what Solidarity leaders actually said proved really useful for the nation or even for the presentation of a unified concept by Solidarity to the people. In my view, that crisis of words continues in Poland, probably also because we have so pitifully little to say. There is a wide gap between the eruption of fine words of 1981 and what is now being said by the party, the authorities, and the government. We argue that Poles must work hard, that Poland must be hoisted from its slump, that we must catch up with 1979 development levels, that national income needs to be redistributed equitably. We say a host of down-to-earth things, all of which are subordinate to work. These words are unlikely to carry away anyone, for they merely reflect our very modest material scope.

So, the chief dilemma of the language of politics today is this: should this language seek to depict the uninspiring situation of today's Poland, or should it try to elevate this situation painting a vision of a happy Poland for the 21st century? But this involves a danger of fraud. To put it differently, should we go for pragmatism and a certain crudity of the language, which we in fact are doing already? But in such a case words have little motivating power.

Such down-to-earth words are received with mistrust and pessimism among many people.

That mistrust stems not just from national experiences of the Poles. It took root not only in the 1970's, when the political concepts pursued then failed to produce the promised effects, but above all that mistrust goes back to Solidarity. I am sure many of those who have a personal attitude toward the catchword 'Solidarity' and who cherish great sympathy for that period have in fact a very ambivalent attitude toward that love affair of their lives. The human mind is characteristically disappointed with anything which fails. Various kinds of disenchantment have produced a mistrustful attitude, and this explains the paradox that today people are mistrustful of whatever is being done. People don't even believe in what they can see with their own eyes. If we started to tell people, "Look, there were no shoes in shops and now you can buy as many as you want; shop shelves were empty and now they are full; and living standards were stabilized within 2 to 3 years"--then even such truths, all of which are easy to check, would be received with mistrust and coldly by a large proportion of the public.

This has multiple causes now. On the one hand, successes are not as convincing as people probably expected, and, on the other hand, when the government points at what are easily verifiable accomplishments then people don't believe even such verifiable words. What language can be used in propaganda, then? In order to dispel the population's general pessimism, it would be necessary to point to positive things all the time. Optimism is needed as a driving force, so we should put it this way, "Look, it's true we haven't built as many apartments as people need, but we have done this and that and that." But if we kept doing this all the time we would be accused of once again launching a propaganda-of-success bid. People are extremely wary of this kind of propaganda because they fail to see the difference between propagating real tangible successes and propagating successes which are just on paper or which are no more than swan songs of a passing epoch.

When you watch the development of the language of politics in Poland you will also notice that words tend to forfeit some of their meaning simply because of the huge number of words said. As government spokesman I've got to talk about austerity measures, about the energy situation, about relations with the United States, and about many current matters. I'm perfectly aware of helping to create a kind of information noise, out of which nobody can be expected to choose what are really important things. There are so many actors and so many motifs on this open stage that observers can no longer discern that the whole play is about or see who plays the main roles in it. This surfeit of information comes at a time when no efficacious tools exist for channeling the public's attention in the desired direction.

Words appear in print or heard on television belong roughly to one of two classes, depending on the intention with which they are printed or uttered. One intention, quite simply, is to make politics. If we publish a report, then only part of the truth said in it is printed with the intention of getting people to read it and to endorse the meaning implicit in it. Such

reports, incidentally (except for General Jaruzelski's own speeches which have usually a very broad audience and are readily understood), are designed less to reach the general public than different, often selected addresses of any given political message--be it the French Government, the U.S. Government, or some group of industrialists; such words are uttered sometimes to define more accurately the party's current policy on any given matter.

I say there are too many words which make politics and too few words which address the mood of the public, doubts plaguing the people, the public's prevalent mode of thinking or the specific modes of different population groups. This is one drawback of public life in Poland, and a drawback which is becoming more serious because of the multiplicity of purely political needs and the gradual departure from the mood which prevailed in 1981, when all sides (for there were more sides than just two then) in the growing conflict tried to present their arguments succinctly, in simple words which would be easily understood for anyone. We all said that there was a great new experience as far as the use of political language is concerned. By now, however, the impact of tradition of our public life has brought back a certain lack of economy and accuracy in the use of words.

Mr Garczynski said he was turned off by sharp personal attacks. My own temperament makes me fond of polemics with individual persons because if notions alone are attacked hardly anyone cares. Quite simply, to make the public aware of your point you've got to personalize it. More generally, I don't think we indulge in any kind of cut-throat attack which would be incompatible with the rules of public life. But I do think that one drawback of polemics, especially of polemics against adversaries (who, after all, are much more ferocious in their own personal attacks), is that there are too few polemics trying to probe the given matter more profoundly. We tend to evade matters which are inconvenient for us, we fail to retaliate against most of the things which are being said by Radio Free Europe, for example. Instead of proving our adversary wrong, we tend to blacken his image.

I don't accept Professor Kozakiewicz's oft-repeated remark about the criticized who are given no opportunity of reacting to charges made against them. The system of circulation of ideas is such that one side has its own media and the other side has its own media at disposal. This distinction shouldn't be overlooked, because, say, (oppositionist Adam) Michnik in TRYBUNA LUDU would affect this party daily's identity, just as Mr Bek would do to RFE should he reply to RFE charges personally on the air of that radio station, thereby inadvertently acknowledging RFE as a worthy adversary. The circumstance that instruments of propaganda are held by both sides doesn't mean our adversaries need to keep shut. Their propaganda possibilities are much greater, because they are created by the West, than their actual political base or importance or meaning would justify. They themselves admit they are in an impasse and in decadence as far as their program is concerned.

In conclusion, let me make a few remarks about what was said here on some of my own practices. I don't think Polish reporters are to blame for failing to use as much as Western reporters the kind of information I or others supply,

or that they fail to press hard enough on representatives of the government for information. It is the government spokesman's role to actively seek to get his message published by the press, for he must realize that if nobody asks him for information than the given matter doesn't circulate in the public and that this is not his fault.

I'm surprised to hear Professor Kozakiewicz say that what an Urban is allowed to do will not be something others will be permitted to do. My own freedom is actually much smaller than that of any other reporter because I feel fettered by the awareness of having to represent not only myself personally in what I say. The sources of information I have are mostly accessible to every journalist. But if views are to be formulated and said in public, then I feel very hampered both as columnist and as government spokesman, for I can't come forward with views which are at odds with the official position. This is true even of my columns, which are treated as semiofficial publications. But I do agree with Professor Kozakiewicz that there is a shortage of polemics, or, perhaps even more, a shortage of verve in Poland's public life. I don't refer to polemics between those who associate with RFE and those with links to TRYBUNA LUDU but to a political spectrum such as the one we represent here. It is regrettable that the pulse of public life is weakening, and one manifestation of this is precisely a weakening of polemics between those who are in agreement as long as fundamental things are concerned but who quarrel over many specific points.

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POLAND

## NEW PENAL CODES EXPLAINED, QUALIFIED SUPPORT GIVEN

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish 4 Aug 85 p 1

[Interview with Jan Olszewski, lawyer, by Marta Miklaszewska: "A Season for Judicial Severity"]

[Text] [Question] New penal laws took effect on 1 July. You can find almost daily press reports of severe punishments being handed out on the strength of these new regulations. What major changes have they brought into the judicial procedure?

[Answer] Two kinds of changes were introduced. Apart from a number of amendments and supplementary regulations which change indefinitely some articles of the penal code, there is the law. "On special criminal liability" which is to be in force only for a specified period, namely until 30 June 1988. This is tantamount to proclaiming something like a state of emergency to fight crime. It is this law which has been watched by the public with particular interest. It introduces significant changes both concerning the severity of punishments for various crimes and the judicial procedure in criminal cases.

An old maxim of lawyers is that the penal code is introduced for criminals but regulations concerning the due process of its law is for the benefit of honest people. The purpose of the code is to make sure that no evildoer gets away unpunished, while the purpose of judicial procedure is to make sure that no one who is innocent is punished. The law on special criminal liability is unique in that it not merely sets up more severe penalties for crimes against life or the person, especially those committed in a condition of drunkenness, or for crimes against property, for corruption or profiteering, but that at the same time it submits some of these crimes to a special judicial procedure in which, to speed up the process, a number of defendant's rights designed to protect a suspect or an accused person (such, e.g. as the mandatory provision of a copy of the indictment to the defendant) are now curtailed or abolished. The law-makers' intention was to speed up the process of the law considerably.

The almost proverbial tardiness of courts in passing verdicts is regarded by some groups of society, especially those unfamiliar with the specific character of judicial procedure, as a very irritating thing. But anyone knowing the Polish judicial system not only from the outside but also from its internal



workings will tell you that most cases of protracted administration of justice are due less to red-tape or sluggishness than to the dismal conditions of work and the enormous shortage of personnel (especially clerical employees) in the judiciary. The recent legislative changes will certainly improve the "statistical mean" both as far as the time needed for considering a case and the severity of penalties is concerned. However, these changes also carry a certain cost to the judiciary system, and this is something all of us should realize.

Some streamlined forms of the process of the law (immediate procedure) will be applied not only in cases of what are called common crimes but also for some deeds committed mostly for political motives. This involves regulations as intricate as that described in article 282 "a" of the penal code (undertaking actions to cause public unrest or riots and leading protest actions in violation of the law) or as serious crimes as that described in article 286 of the penal code (illegal production or possession of firearms). This imposes a special responsibility upon judges. The law considerably restricts the scope of judicial freedom as far as what is called the judge's own discretion is concerned; for example, judges will no longer be able to suspend prison terms for persons found guilty of various crimes regardless of the given deed's seriousness or the convict's personal situation. On the other hand, when passing the verdict, the judge is now deprived of the civic representative's support, i.e. in keeping with article 59 of the constitution, of the support given by assessors. In each of the special procedures introduced in this law (simplified, immediate court-order), cases are considered by one professional judge alone. As a consequence of expanding the scope of application of these special forms of the process of law, assessors are excluded from a majority of the cases considered by criminal courts. This is more than just a legal or constitutional question. It is difficult to withstand the temptation to quote at this place the Justice Minister, Mr Lech Domeracki, who said, "It should be realized that the judiciary in Poland now is dominated by young people. One in three judges in district courts are not older than 25. This means that people with little personal or professional experience are deciding the fate of other people" (RZECZPOSPOLITA No 142 of 20 June 1985).

Now these young judges will have to decide the tough problems which arise from the new legislation--not just legal problems at that but also moral ones. The constitution stipulates that "judges are independent and are subject to the law alone." The judge's own conscience is an inalienable attribute of his or her independence. This is why I contend that the new regulations put a very difficult personal test before every judge, not only of his professional expertise but also of his moral and civil integrity.

[Question] These severe penalties were justified by the necessity of combatting the growing wave of crime more effectively. Do the specific penalties provided for in the law bring the prospect of this any closer?

[Answer] First of all, it is difficult to assess the real rate of crime. Only a short time ago we could read official statements drawn up in an

optimistic tone, "Considering all conditions, the past year can be said to have been moderately encouraging as far as the scale and structure of crime incidence. It was a new stage in curbing the upward trend and the appearance of new developments which are indicative of some, albeit slow, progress in this area" (RZECZPOSPOLITA 26-27 January 1985). On the other hand, the elucidation of reasons for the government's decision to draw up the law discussed here contains reports of a dangerous growth in crime rates, especially of crimes against life, the person, property, and of profiteering. Undoubtedly, the current crisis was bound to generate criminal behavior, especially economic crimes. But when assessing statistics you ought always to remember the "shadow figure." Specialists use this term to denote the number of actually committed crimes on which the law enforcement organs have no information and hence these crimes are not recorded in the statistics. This "shadow figure" is not always easy to estimate. One of the factors helping to determine it is the activity of the law enforcement organs itself. In 1984, for example, Militia (MO) statistics pointed to a surge in thefts of goods carried on trains. Does this prove that it was only last year that Polish trains became all of a sudden the favorite target for thieves? The simple truth is that last year the MO conducted a long series of surprise actions designed to strengthen the safety of goods transported by trains. This promptly resulted in a surge in the number of discovered crimes. In earlier years these offenses were concealed in that "shadow figure." A similar situation presumably exists in many other areas. We should therefore not be upset by alarming reports of an allegedly vehement surge in criminal behavior. It is true that various social maladies as well as offenses against the law long ago surpassed the level of what is called the social fringe. These are all processes caused by various social developments which have been underway for decades now in this country. To combat them efficiently it is necessary to apply a complex body of economic, educational, social and other policies, none of which can be substituted by penal repression. This is all awfully platitudinous, and I'm sure the authors of the new legislation are perfectly aware of this. That's why I don't think anyone deludes himself that we can achieve any major breakthrough in the fight against crime by the year 1988. The new regulations seem to have a more limited purpose, and are designed to have primarily a psychological effect. At this place let me again quote the Justice Minister, "penitentiaries do not have now to fill up with convicts. Our hope is that the adoption itself of these regulations will have a preventive effect, that is, the awareness of more severe penalties being possible may in part deter people from doing things which are incompatible with the law. Time will show whether this indeed is so" (RZECZPOSPOLITA of 27 June 1985).

[Question] Have there been previous attempts by law makers, during the 40-year period of postwar history, to combat crime by way of introducing more severe penal policies for a definite period of time? If so, did such attempts work?

[Answer] The regulations concerning special criminal liability automatically bring to mind the so-called March decrees of 1953, when a package of penalties was introduced to deal with economic offenders and with crimes against public property. Some of the adopted provisions were similar to those enacted now, say the ban on suspending prison terms for people found guilty of the

appropriation of public property. An intensive press campaign was launched then as it was now. But its ideological background and theoretical justification were entirely different at that time. The theory was in force then that all adverse social phenomena were relics of previous capitalist influences and subsisted only as residual elements of individual and social consciousness. Cases where severe punishments were dispensed were cited, in combination with propaganda designed to show the people just how harmful crime was, in the hope of rapidly uprooting crime. In contrast to the law discussed by us, the "March decrees" named no specific deadline for their expiry. It looks as if their authors designed them as part of an epoch-making comprehensive body of regulations. Just like most other ambitious legislative undertakings, they turned out to have been a short-lived legislation package. Not even 2 years had passed before their most controversial provisions were repealed.

Now, 30 years later, that experience gives one at least one reason for optimism. The decrees issued then included one which was really a novelty at that time namely the very severe punishment of up to 10 years in prison for manufacturing defective or substandard products. That decree survived unchanged until 1970 when it was abolished when the new penal code was enacted. But I do not recall even one single conviction for this offense during those 17 years. Today, in mid-1985, the losses we incur in any 1 month in this way are probably much greater than those suffered in a whole year because of theft, appropriation, fraud, etc. Yet the law on special criminal liability issued in the year of the Lord 1985 includes no provision which would authorize public prosecutors to do the job of quality control supervisors at factories. What is more, not a single voice was heard calling for this kind of legal device. So, we do seem to be learning from past experiences, don't we? Even if it is taking an awfully long time.

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POLAND

BRIEFS

BRIEFING FOR PROVINCIAL PRESS--On 27 June a press conference was held by Jan Glowczyk, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party. The secretary presented to reporters of the Kielce and Radom Krays the socio-political situation in the country, and he underlined the assignments of the press, radio, and television, and their roles in the unfolding campaign prior to the elections to the Sejm. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Jun 85 p 2] 12650

VISIT OF AUSTRIAN MINISTER OF JUSTICE--The Austrian Minister of Justice Harald Ofner's visit to Poland was the result of an invitation of the Polish Ministry of Justice. In Poland Min Ofner met with Attorney General J. Zyta, President of the Supreme Court J. Zhak, and President of the Administrative Court A. Zielinski. The Austrian Minister of Justice, accompanied by Min L. Domeracki, was received by Deputy Chairman of the State Council, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party T. W. Mlynczak, and Vice-Premier M. P. Rakowski. The Austrian ambassador R. Wotawa participated at the meetings. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Jun 85 p 2] 12650

RAKOWSKI ON BOOK PRODUCTION--The executive board of the Polish Association of Book Editors held its session on 27 June, which was attended by Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski. The agenda of the deliberations included the situation in the publication field, and difficulties facing book editors. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Jun 85 p 2] 12650

CHINA'S WANG JUNGING VISITS--In the course of the meeting between Boleslaw Faron, the Minister of Education and Culture, and Wang Jinging, Ambassador of the Chinese People's Republic, held on 27 June, actual problems of education in both countries were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Jun 85 p 2] 12650

NICARAGUAN VISIT, COOPERATION--The Nicaraguan delegation for the 40th session of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid, headed by Henry Ruiz Hernandez, Nicaraguan minister of cooperation with foreign countries, met with Benon Mifkiewicz, Minister of Science and Higher Education. Issues of mutual cooperation were discussed, including an exchange of specialists and assistance to be rendered by Poland in forming cadres for Nicaragua in Polish schools of higher learning. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Jun 85 p 2] 12650

MO PROMOTIONS--A promotion of civil militia graduates took place at the "Witold" Gen Franciszek Ministry of the Interior Higher Officers' school in Szczecin. The festive promotion act to first-step officers of civil militia was performed by Chief Civil Militia Commandant, Div Gen Jozef Beim. Following the promotions, the commandant heartily congratulated the newly appointed officers, and wished them success in the difficult assignment. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Jun 85 p 2] 12650

PZPR MEMBERS IN HUNGARY MEET -- At the Polish Embassy in Budapest on 28 June the first program-electoral party conference took place. It was attended by over 100 delegates representing the more than 1,300 PZPR members temporarily working in Hungary. At present in Hungary there are 38 basic party organizations grouping together PZPR members employed at various Polish offices, and also specialists providing services in construction and industry as part of our export. The conference elected a 33-member committee and an 11-member review commission. Zdzislaw Paprocki was named First Secretary. [By Andrzej Dzierzanowski] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Jul 85 p 7] 9970

PARTY POLITICAL SCIENTISTS MEET -- A national seminar of party political scientists took place on 28 and 29 June in the PZPR Central Committee. Prof. Jan Baszkiewicz, chairman of the group of party political scientists in the Science and Education Department of the CC PZPR, presented a report entitled "The Tasks of Political Science in Light of the Directives of the Political Bureau of the CC PZPR Regarding the Directions of Development of the Social Sciences." Prof. Marian Orzechowski, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC PZPR and President of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences, and prof. Stanislaw Nowacki, Vice-Minister of Science and Higher Education, met with participants in the seminar. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Jul 85 p 2] 9970

RAKOWSKI BOOK APPEARS IN FRG -- Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski's book has been published in the FRG in German by Econ Verlag publishers under the title "Ein schwieriger Dialog--Aufzeichnungen zu Ereignissen in Polen 1981--1984" (A Difficult Dialogue--a Record of Events in Poland 1981--1984). [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2 Jul 85 p 4] 9970

PZPR TEACHES WORLDVIEW --In the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences in Warsaw, post-graduate study in philosophy and religious studies for teachers has been inaugurated. It is intended for future organizers and lecturers of the system for improving the qualifications of teachers of worldview subjects in high-schools and colleges starting in September 1986. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 3 Jul 85 p 3] 9970

TALKS WITH MONGOLIAN REPS--An expression of the importance which Poland and Mongolia attach to the development of mutual contacts is the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Mongolia and Poland, signed 4 July 1975. It has become the basis of comprehensive cooperation between both our countries. This applies to political relations as well as to economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation. During the present five-year period alone trade has increased by 80 percent in comparison with the previous five-year period. These and other facts were mentioned by Mongolian Ambassador Uldzykhuzaglin Choidzilsuren at a press conference in Warsaw. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Jul 85 p 2] 9970

AFGHAN MINISTER MEETS--The Afghan Minister of Education Abdul Semed Kalumi began his visit to Poland, to last several days, with a meeting with Minister of Education and Upbringing Boleslaw Faron. The ministers exchanged information on the educational systems in the two countries. They also discussed the development of mutual cooperation in the exchange of pedagogical periodicals, textbooks on history and geography, as well as the education of Afghan citizens in Polish colleges. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2 Jul 85 p 2] 9970

SLUPSK PARTY MEETING --In Slupsk at a plenary session of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR, last year's decision of the provincial party organization regarding letters and complaints addressed to the party was discussed. Taking the floor during the debate, CC PZPR Politburo Member Albin Siwak emphasized the party's role in defending the principles of the system and social justice. He spoke for the need for greater self-control in workers' groups, and the need to combat corruption and abuses which occur not only in the distribution of apartments. Marian Kot, head of the CC PZPR Bureau of Letters and Inspection, also took part in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2 Jul 85 p 2] 9970

KALKUS AT GORZOW MEETING --At the "Stilon" Chemical Fiber Factory in Gorzow a meeting took place between CC PZPR Politburo Member Stanislaw Kalkus and a group of several score activists from the party-economic enterprise and representatives of city factories. Answering many questions, Kalkus emphasized that the recent Twentieth CC plenum marked the end of an important cycle of consultations and talks with party members and non-party people. He spoke of the role of further strengthening and increasing the ranks of the party. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2 Jul 85 p 2] 9970

CZECH REPS IN WARSAW --On 2 July a delegation of the Control and Inspection Commission of the Prague city committee of the CPCz arrived in Warsaw for a 4-day visit at the invitation of the Warsaw PZPR Committee. The delegation was led by Committee Chairman Jiri Randak. That day talks were held in the Warsaw PZPR Committee and in the Warsaw Party Control Committee. Central Party Control Commission Member Tadeusz Nowicki also participated in the talks. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 3 Jul 85 p 2] 9970

IRANIAN OFFICIAL VISITS--On 4 July Vice-Marshall of the Sejm Piotr Stefanski received the General Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Mohamed Sadra, and held discussions with him. The vice-marshall acquainted the Iranian guest with the structure and role of the Sejm and its important achievements during the eighth term. The Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Abolfazi Rahnama [possibly--illegible] took part in discussions. On the same day Mohamed Sadra was received by Foreign Trade Minister Tadeusz Nestorowicz. Some aspects of bilateral relations were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Jul 85 p 2] 9970

UGANDAN OFFICIAL VISIT--On 28 June Jan Glowczyk, alternate Politburo member and CC PZPR secretary, welcomed J.M.M. Luwuliz Kurunda, general secretary of the People's Congress of Uganda, to Poland on an official visit. The two briefed each other on the activities of the PZPR and the People's Congress of Uganda, and also discussed cooperation between the two parties. Expansion of economic cooperation and trade between Poland and Uganda was the subject of talks between the Ugandan guest and Foreign Trade Minister Tadeusz Nestorowicz. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29-30 Jun 85 p 2] 9970

WARSAW MEMORIALS DISCUSSED--The presidium of the Citizens' Committee for the Protection of Monuments to the Struggle and Martyrdom of Warsaw has met, presided over by its chairman the mayor of Warsaw Mieczyslaw Debicki. It discussed the work of the social committees for the construction of monuments "To those who gave their lives in the service and defence of People's Poland" and "Heroes of the Warsaw Uprising." Motions to commemorate places of struggle and martyrdom of residents of the capital during World War II were also discussed, and appropriate decisions were made. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29-30 Jun 85 p 2] 9970

POPE MEETS WITH EMIGRES--On Thursday John Paul II called on Polish emigres to maintain close ties with their homeland wherever they might be. The Pope made that appeal at an audience with a group of about 250 Polish emigres. He told them that Poles living in the West must maintain their national identity and culture. He added that they must at the same time contribute to the prosperity of the countries they live in. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29-30 Jun 85 p 4] 9970

LOPATKA MEETS WITH RESURRECTION PRIESTS--On 29 June Minister Adam Lopatka, head of the Department of Religious Affairs, met with the leader of the General Assembly of Resurrection Priests, Father Robert Kurtz, Father Tadeusz Kaszuba, the attorney general; Secretary General Father Franciszek Grzechowiak; and Father Grzegorz Treder, head of the Polish province. The Assembly's activities in Poland and abroad were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Jul 85 p 2] 9970

PRL DEFENDERS' MONUMENT--In the Gliwica Technical Equipment Factory the final touches are being put on a monument "To those who gave their lives to defend and strengthen the PRL." Over half the pieces of the monument have already been delivered to Warsaw. It will consist of a total of 483 parts and will weigh over 60 tons. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Jul 85 p 1] 9970