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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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22 October 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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NEED TO IMPROVE WORK OF DISTRICT PARTY ORGANS

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Jul 84 pp 65-75

[Article by Cajup Rusmali: "Improving the Work Level of the Party Apparatuses Requires the Strengthening of the Unified Character of Their Work; From the Activities of the Party Organs and Basic Party Organizations"]

[Text] The apparatuses of the party committees in the districts and the regions, as helpers of these committees in their all-round work to insure the leadership of the party and the solution of problems within the region and the district, make a very important contribution in this work. In Lushnje, Sarande, Gjirokaster, Skrapar, Diber, Tirana districts and others, the district party committees have accumulated good work experience by using these apparatuses more effectively to monitor the implementation of the party line, its directives and decisions, and to bring the most important problems before the party leadership in the district. Nevertheless, in some districts, there is still a need to correctly evaluate the work of the apparatuses within the district party committees and to increase the productivity of their work.

Although the party Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha have for a long time stressed the correct perception and given guidance on the correct construction of the work of the apparatuses of the party committees, in practice there are still weaknesses and deficiencies in their work. There are, for example, instances when the work of the party committee in the district and the regions depends entirely on the apparatus, whereas, in other instances its role in controlling the implementation of the party line and its directives, to revitalize the life of the basic party organizations and coordinate the work of all the party levers in the district is not adequately exercised.

Both these attitudes are incorrect. In the first place encourages and gives impetus to the cult of the apparatus with negative results, to the extent that it takes precedence over the elected organs and creates bureaucratic practices in party work. In the second place a rather large and skilled work force of party workers is not properly utilized. In working for the leadership it is the duty of these people to help manage more efficiently all the party work in the district.

In opposition to these biased attitudes, the party Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha have recommended constant attention to increase and further improve the work of the party committees; their role and influence in party life in the district, so they will better respond to the demands of the times and be able to solve party problems within the present stage of our socialist development.

To accomplish these tasks efficiently, the district and regional apparatuses of the party committees need to be more careful, not only in selecting those who are to work for them but also a more skilled work for their training and education. Within this framework special importance must be given to the continuous guidance and training of the workers in the apparatuses, working at ever higher levels with them to explain the directives of the party Central Committee, the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and subjects which are discussed and settled by the party forums in the districts. The level of the meetings of the apparatuses must be raised and improvements must be made in the preparatory work for providing help and controls at the grassroots.

Despite positive efforts in all these areas, there is no room for complacency. Further improvements should be made in organizing and regular monthly meetings and other meetings of the apparatuses of the district party committee, which, as experience shows, when efficiently prepared and developed at a high level, serve to educate and mold the men and women from the apparatus as party workers. Experience has shown that the usefulness of these meetings depends largely on how these meetings are handled by the secretaries of the district party committees. Therefore, at these meetings where problems are discussed, opinions expressed and experiences exchanged about the work of the party in the district, it is necessary to insist on the attendance and the lively participation of all the secretaries of the party committees who have much to learn from the discussions of the comrades in the apparatus and have the task of working for their education.

In Tirana District, especially after they received help from the party Central Committee team, there has been more efficient use of the apparatuses of the party committee in the district and the region. In general, the special directives are being better solved within the apparatus and the meetings between the secretary and the comrades in the sector he oversees are more successful. The meetings of the unified apparatus, where instructors discuss the problems they have had and solved within the party organizations during the course of the month, are being conducted efficiently. At these meetings important problems are raised; the situation in certain organizations and collectives is examined, and the experience gained by basic party organizations and bureaus while implementing this or that party directive is shared.

This good experience can be found in other districts in the country. Meanwhile, we must recognize and isolate those deficiencies which are still noted in the work of some apparatuses of the party committees.

First, the apparatuses of the district party committees, must better explain to their workers the decisions of the Central Committee of the party, in strict accordance with the conditions prevailing in the district. Although

the work to implement the decision of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of December 1983 and the decisions for this year's party elections were carried out efficiently, we want to emphasize that some important decisions were not carried out everywhere as they should have been. For example, in all the district work programs, the decisions of the party Central Committee in connection with the 40th anniversary of our liberation were approved and set up to put into effect. However, in only a few districts did the apparatus of the party committee organize special meetings to discuss these decisions and set goals for the different sectors of the organization. Korce District behaved irresponsibly when the time came to explain and implement the decisions of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee for the development of hilly and mountainous regions, especially since 50 percent of this district has these zones. These decisions were not discussed by the apparatus of the party committee or in the district forums of the basic party organizations. Second, the secretaries of the district party committee have a duty to present every month topics for discussion which will continuously help to educate and train the workers in the apparatus as party workers. It is of utmost importance that the first secretary, or the other secretaries from the party committee, discuss with the workers the political situation at home and abroad, the political and moral situation in the district, the different ideological and political aspects that party work has to confront in a better manner, the internal problems within the party, work with the masses and ways to implement the economic policies of the party, and so on. In addition to the secretaries, other comrades from the apparatus in the district, such as cadres, and different specialists could be used for talks and discussions.

Third, in districts such as Tirana, Shkoder, Durres, Elbasan, Fier, Berat and others, which have regional party committees, it is necessary for the secretaries of the district party committee to work with the apparatuses of the regional party committees and consider them, as they truly are, a part of the party apparatus in the district. Regardless of how the secretaries of the apparatuses of the party committees in the region work with their own workers, the district party leadership must feel responsible and frequently supply the apparatuses of the regional party committee, with important party guidelines, disseminating these guidelines at the district level and thus become better involved in everything that is happening in the district.

The secretary functionaries in the party bureaus and committees in the economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, must be considered as an integral part of the apparatus of the party committee in the district and should participate in systematic educational and formative work. To neglect the monthly meetings with the secretary functionaries from the party committees and bureaus, as happened last year in Elbasan District, is wrong. If at these meetings unimportant matters are discussed at length and time is wasted, members should be reminded to get back on the subject; it should be emphasized that the work must be done right and not forgotten entirely.

It should be understood that along with the organized work to further educate and train the workers of the apparatuses of the party committees, the effort each worker makes to educate himself and become skilled is of utmost importance. His productivity and the quality of his work depend on how long he studies the instructions and directives of the party and how deeply he assimilates them,

how he works with the party documents and the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which are a priceless treasure for all communists, cadres and workers. Comrades who study these works in depth and systematically are distinguished for their creativity and productive work. The party requires every worker to maintain these standards. In some districts there is need for a more prominent role for the secretaries of the party committees and especially for those in the basic party organizations in the apparatuses of these committees, so they can guide, organize and monitor, in a better manner, the molding and training of the workers within the apparatus.

The work of the party is unified and complex. The goal of this work is to educate the communists and the masses in the teaching's of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha, to mobilize them to fulfill the tasks. This special aspect of party work requires, among other things, a further strengthening of the unified character of this work in all the activities of the apparatus of the party committees in the districts and the regions.

It is a fact that the unified character of the work of the apparatuses of the party committee in the district and the regions has been strengthened and perfected again and again. Nevertheless, the situation is not the same everywhere. Some districts have good work experience in this field which should be studied, generalized and implemented in other districts, where it will be in conflict with all sectarian expressions, attitudes and concepts, which are sometimes noted in the activities of some district party committees which has led them to biased, interrupted and partial work.

The unified character of the work of the party apparatus is necessitated by the broad and complex character of the party directives, which the apparatus has to implement and control. Every directive and every task that comes from the party guidelines has its own political, ideological, economic, social, organizational and technical side. This diversity of the directives and the tasks that are derived from it, imposes its own complexity in accomplishing these tasks. Under these conditions, it is impossible to believe that the organization and control over the implementation of these directives can be achieved solely with the forces of this or that sector of the apparatus, while every narrow representation of the work of any sector could lead to the scattering of the attention and forces of the apparatus' concentrating on many partial and tangential problems with all the negative consequences that will ensue. Naturally to avoid the scattering of the attention and forces of the apparatus it is necessary to have better coordination of work of all sectors by the secretaries of the party committee.

In some instances the sector spirit appears in the monthly work plans of the sectors of the party apparatuses, where little or no attention is paid to matters and need mutual help, control and study. The sector spirit also appears in the actual work of the sectors. Some workers from the apparatuses of the party committees who visit headquarters, show interest in specific matters which only concern their sector, and find it difficult, therefore, to give a knowledgeable opinion on problems from the other areas of the organization which concern the party organs, the work centers and other institutions. This is a very wrong attitude. Regardless of from which sector this or that instructor comes, he must see and discuss problems with the basic party organ-



ization, from an overall view of the party work. This would enable him to bring to the leadership in the district, in addition to the problems of the sector, a thoughtful commentary on the work and the situation of the organization he has come from.

Naturally, the sectors within the apparatus of the district party committee have their own characteristics. If the group of instructors is required to dynamically monitor all the work of the party, then the sectors are required to become familiar with the special problems within their own area, to execute studies, analyzes and a broad general activity. However, accepting the differences of the work in each sector and perfecting them continuously, must not be considered as approval of the narrow sectorial work that is noted in the work of some apparatuses of the district party committees. The secretaries of the party committees must insist that, each sector of the apparatus they oversee to accomplish its work as well as possible, and that the workers show the same determination to cooperate and coordinate their work in accordance with major problems which are monitored and studied in the other sectors, with the purpose of doing better and more qualitative work in every instance. Greater cooperation in work between the sectors and improved studies, analysis, and management, as well as better controls over the work of the bureaus and basic party organizations always had, and continues to have, the goal of raising the overall level of the party work in the district, to strengthen, motivate and continuously revolutionize the party bureaus and basic party organizations.

Today, more than ever before, the workers from the apparatuses of the party committees are required to increase their efficiency, while struggling against every expression of bureaucratization and technocratization which again and again is seen in the work of party organs in the district. As the experience of some district party organs has shown, their work efficiency depends considerably on how well they are able to remove from their work average and biased problems, and concentrate on key matters upon which depend the implementation of the correct party line, how much they will avoid technical aspects, records and statistics in numbers, and how well the workers in these organizations will accomplish the tasks as party workers, whose basic objective is their work with people; to persuade and activate them to correctly and consistently implement the Marxist-Leninist line of the party. The final issue remains to have every worker in the organization, no matter from what sector he may be, become familiar with and competently confront his tasks, keeping in mind that the problems at this stage of our development and their solution require knowledge and broad measures.

Although there is improvement in the activity of all apparatuses of the party committees in understanding the problems and in their complex solution, the level of the improvements is not everywhere as high as it should be. This is evident not only in the unsatisfactory work that is performed with workers at the grassroots base, but also in the poor quality of the materials that are presented to the leadership, in the shallow studies and superficial controls that are carried out in the grassroots, and even by the overall reporting and the phraseology that is used by some workers in the apparatuses of the district party committees.

We cannot pretend that the apparatus of the party committee has done its work well when conditions in certain backward agricultural cooperatives and enterprises have remained the same, even after they were visited several times by workers and cadres from the committee in an effort to improve conditions, or when, despite help and controls from the party committee, the situation in some basic party organizations is not sound. Many workers from the apparatus of the Gramsh District party committee have, for example, gone to agricultural cooperatives in their districts to help solve problems that worry the party organs, but the situation in the cooperatives has yet to improve. There are problems of regarding unity concentration on personal benefit, numerous requests to leave the village, and the non-fulfillment of tasks in animal husbandry and dairy farming. Three work groups and a team from the Korce District party committee have been going for the past 2 years to the Bilisht agricultural cooperative, but the situation has not changed. There are serious deficiencies in the work of the bureau and the work of the basic party organization in this cooperative. There is big gap here in the work of educating and motivating people, in organizing the work of the cooperative, in introducing scientific innovations and advanced technologies in the cultivation of different crops etc. These are weaknesses which have created perceptible short falls.

Justifiably, the question is asked: what kind of work efficiency by the apparatuses of party committee are we talking about in these instances? It is true that these weaknesses, which can be overcome, prove that the work of these apparatuses has not even come close to responding to the demands of the party and the times, it has not used the guidelines for a frontal, open and scientific confrontation.

Party work, as has often been stressed by the Central Committee, is a comprehensive scientific work, which grows and develops with the development of the country. All its political, ideological and organizational work must serve to educate and motivate the masses, to maintain a sound moral and political situation for greater economic results. The successful completion of the planned tasks reflects the level of the people's motivation, their unity and the level of their knowledge. It also reflects the party's mobilizing power. It is important, as was again forcefully stressed at the 8th Plenum of the party Central Committee in December 1983, that all the work of the basic party organizations, their forums and apparatuses develop at a level that will respond to this demand of the times. It is from this angle that we must also examine the struggle of the district party committees and their apparatuses to eliminate every aspect of average, biased and shallow work. This is the only way to help the basic party organizations understand the problems in all their depth and breadth and solve them correctly, to go into action daily in the struggle, setting an example, especially the communists.

It is common knowledge that the basic duty of the party apparatuses, especially the secretaries and the instructors of the party committees in the districts and the regions, is to help the basic party organizations. Therefore, the Central Committee of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, while evaluating with a critical eye the activities of the party organs, have directed "that the party organs and their apparatuses abandon their bureaucratic work and strengthen their ties with the basic party organizations, the communists and

the masses," they have criticized comrades comrades from the party apparatuses who make a "Flying tour" through the grassroots, and have made it clear that "in order to provide effective help...it is necessary to talk with people, exchange ideas within the organization and, above all, teach people how to work" (Enver Hoxha, Works, vol 20, p 239). Naturally, help for the basic party organizations must be concrete; it must start by preparing work plans, meetings and even providing incentives, it must organize and develop solid educational work with communists and the masses for the fulfillment of tasks. In order to provide this kind of help concretely and on time, it is necessary, as the party teaches us, "to spread the cloak well" in agricultural cooperatives and enterprises, and in their party organizations, and even to have one-on-one discussions with communists, cadres and workers about the party line and on how to implement it and fulfill the tasks.

When the necessity for vigorous, close and direct work between communists and workers has been evaluated and understood, the workers of the apparatuses of the party committees have changed their work method at the grassroots. Thus, the workers from the apparatuses of the party committees in Gjirokaster, Diber, and other districts, stayed in the village from 90 to 100 days in 1983. Whereas, in Elbasan, Lushnje, and some other districts, 150 basic party organizations participated in and helped to prepare and develop the meetings discussing communist militancy. This positive attitude of the party apparatuses in the basic organizations has helped the party organs in these districts to become more familiar with the situation and provide concrete help in solving quite a few problems.

However, although the success of this kind of work is well known, workers from certain apparatuses of the district party committees do not visit the basic party organizations and do not attend their meetings often enough. In certain districts the instructors from the party committees have, on an average, attended only three to five party organization meetings a month, whereas, the guidelines say that the instructor from the district party committee must have 10 to 15 monthly contacts with party organizations. The meetings of the basic party organizations are attended even less by the secretaries of the party committees in the district.

It is often said, especially by some district party committee secretaries that there is no time to follow the activities and the life of the basic party organization. But this is not correct or true. To go to a party organization meeting when you "have time," when you have nothing else to do means to under-rate one of the basic duties as a worker or cadre within the apparatus of the party committee, which is to be familiar with the situation within the basic party organization, to support and strengthen it and continually revitalize its life and activities. The example of a number of party cadres in the districts shows that time can be found to go to the grass roots regularly, when each party worker understands how important it is to visit the basic party organization. A serious evaluation of this duty impels the cadre to find time and plan his time better, even if he has to make sacrifices, because this kind of work is done on his own time.

The underestimation by some party workers and cadres of the necessity to closely follow the activity and life of the basic party organizations, is born out by the fact that the minutes from the organizations' meetings are studied very little by the instructors of the district party committees, and even less by the leadership who do not want to face problems. But since the minutes reflect the development of party life, the thoughts of the communists, the situation in the basic party organizations this lack of interest in studying these minutes is a serious drawback which needs to be corrected.

Like many other problems the close monitoring in a continuing manner with defined goals, of the life and activity of the basic party organization is achieved by programmed and systematic work by each worker and for each worker in the party organization, by eliminating every instance of opportunism, spontaneity, village bias or globalism. The communists struggle every day to fulfill their tasks. Assistance and control, is also required of the apparatuses of the party committees in the districts and the regions, on an everyday basis.

Help for the basic party organizations should not only be scheduled in the monthly plans, but must also be given concrete expression in the daily work plans for every party worker and cadres, defining the objectives and purpose for going to the grass roots; which organizations he will visit, which meetings he will attend, which minutes should be read, what conclusions are to be made and what real help will be available, and so on. Naturally, this work will be successfully achieved when the instructor's plans are carefully monitored and their fulfillment followed up by the district party organs.

A very important task for the apparatuses of the party committees is to ensure complete and valuable information for important problems. The party leadership in the district can do a good job when it is familiar with the problems, when it knows the conditions in the district, the enterprises, the agricultural cooperatives and in the villages. This information program, in which the apparatus of the party committee has an important role is carried out efficiently in some districts, however, generally, the information, especially that of the basic party organizations for the district and in some instances, that of the district for headquarters is not what it should be. The party organs need to be informed ahead of time about what is happening and the problems that arise. They need to know what the party organizations think of these problems, what the communists say, how the masses are reacting, how the cadres are working, and so on. Some districts send information to the party Central Committee without problems, full of numbers and percentages, with complaints and requests, with contents of a completely technical nature. The party's request for continuous improvement of the quality of information is well known. Therefore, this information must be evaluated better, and considered as factor which has its own influence on improving party work to achieve the important tasks set down by the 8th Party Congress and the plenums of the Central Committee.

A special role in the activities of district party apparatuses belongs to the group of instructors who as the district's most active unit, with a broad profile, monitors, controls and helps all the party work in the district.

It is a fact that the level of the work of the group of instructors has been rising. They have further improved the help they give to the basic party organizations and the party levers by shouldering a large part of the overall work, keeping in contact with them and confronting a number of problems that have come up in these organizations. Even so the group of instructors does not always keep its place and play its role.

The documents of the party Central Committee require the group of instructors to be more subordinate to all the secretaries in the party committee. But in many districts the management of this group is either left entirely in the hands of the secretary responsible for organizational matters, or becomes a spontaneous work depending on what comes up. For lack of well-programmed work, which should rely on important problems that need attention and are a matter of concern for the party in the district, groups of instructors in some districts are involved in routine work, such as checking correspondence, telephone conversations to ensure attendance at different meetings, gathering and calculating data, etc. In some districts the workers in the groups of instructors get more involved in economic problems and somehow forget about the life of the party which is their principal task. Since the group of instructors is in the service of all the secretaries of the party committee, it has to have guidance and help in monitoring and solving ideological, political and organizational problems and those dealing with the economic policy of the party. However, its principal duty is to monitor the work of the basic party organizations with skilled help in strengthening and perfecting their life and activities, and be able to solve the problems that arise and fulfill the tasks. In precisely this areas there are a number of problems, such as more scheduled activation of the group of instructors, as well as continuous progress in its qualitative and productive work by further perfecting the work method of this group and that of all the apparatus.

The 8th Congress of the party made it clear once again that life goes on, our socialist society continues to develop without interruption, however, conditions change and "this development requires us to become innovators, to find new, more skillful and varied methods of work, renewing and enriching them continuously, so they can better respond to the demands of the times" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the 8th Congress of the AWP (Albanian Workers Party)," p 76). We must also look at the activities of the group of instructors from this point of view, to make its work of helping and controlling the basic party organization more effective. Daily experience recommends that we insist more on the following goals:

First, to know the situation in the organization or sector to be visited ahead of time by studying documents records and other data, which can be found at the party committee or the basic party organization offices, by studying party documents and the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which deal with these matters, and by studying the principles and theoretical side of problems which will be the objects of help and control.

Second, to provide effective help and control it is necessary to insist on having a deep knowledge of the existing situation in a place, to find out what has not been done, why it has not been done and how it can be done better. Of

special importance here is extensive contact with people, open discussions with workers and cadres, with specialists and people in the vanguard, not only in an organized way, but also at home and at work.

Three, the party organizations, the communists and cadres must receive more help in the form of high level explanations and information on party directives and decisions, on how to organize their implementation, and monitoring this implementation. They must arrive at conclusions and, along with the criticism of the deficiencies they should emphasize the positive, and encourage and popularize it. The foremost task of the group of instructors is to promote and monitor the implementation of the party directives and decisions.

Four, the group of instructors must allocate more time to the study of different party problems in the district. In special decisions the party Central Committee has stressed that the group of instructors, as the most active unit of the apparatus, must not only be used for skilled control and help in strengthening the life of the party and increasing the role of the basic party organizations, the bureaus and party organs, but to make general studies on the problems of party life in their entirety.

Sometimes a narrow concept of the work of the group of instructors as a purely organizational one, for which only the secretary for organizational affairs is responsible, has created the situation in district meetings that when the comrades from the group of instructors make their reports, the first secretaries of the district party committee are not present. Very often even the secretaries responsible for propaganda avoid these meetings. Whereas, it was made clear by the 8th Plenum of the party Central Committee in 1966, "that when it came to organizing and reading the reports of the group of instructors all the secretaries must attend the meetings." To be uninformed about the work of the group of instructors about the problems which it has monitored and how it has reacted, means not to make use of a very important source of information on the situation at the grass roots, and not to properly evaluate the work with the party organizations. No matter how often the secretaries of the party committees go to the grass roots, and make use of other sources of information available to them, the work of the organizations, and, within this framework, the work of the group of instructors, cannot be replaced. On the other hand, the group of instructors has need of new horizons and should receive help in its work from all the secretaries in the district party committee.

The work of the apparatuses of the district party committees is broad and all encompassing. It has grown and become strong as the party has grown and become strong, and has faced and continues to face important tasks, which have led our country forward on the path to the complete construction of our socialist society. At the present stage of our socialist construction, the apparatuses of the party committees in the districts are requested to better subordinate themselves to the leadership of the party and to increase their efforts to continuously revitalize and revolutionize the basic party organizations and their levers, so they can implement the party line, its directives and decisions with a high feeling of responsibility.

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CSO: 2100/0062

## DOUBTS ABOUT VIDEORECORDERS VOICED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Sep 84 p 5

[Article by Lubor Kazda: "Has Pandora's Box Come Ajar?"]

[Excerpts] Several tens of thousands of recorders, mostly imported, are at work in Czechoslovakia by now. The domestic market has also offered the first series of these video devices produced through cooperation between Tesla and Philips. Great attention is paid to video by USSR industry, where they already have their own videorecorders. Their offering will soon be expanded to a wider type series, a representative of which is to appear in our sales outlets next year.

These are only the initial steps. Yet, regardless (or just because they are), it is high time not only to contemplate, but to start taking practical steps to prepare the potential distribution through which our cinematography will enter its video era. It is immaterial whether this will initially involve viewing in, e.g., social meeting facilities, clubs, hotels and amusement centers, or, later, to a wider extent, in households.

## A Novelty--But Not Just Any Kind

As time progresses, this video novelty will obviously match LP records and books in popularity. Thus, video offers not only a valuable means for promoting art, but also a means for developing general knowledge, a didactical tool. It is difficult to outline all the possibilities for its practical utilization in just a few lines. But even so, we can say summarily without any exaggeration that video can bring enormous benefit to mankind. However, there can be no doubt that it might bring harm as well, tremendous harm, if it were to fall into greedy cynical hands. This has clearly been shown by its development in the capitalist world so far. That social order has not used its technical lead in mastering video technology for the common good and improvement of man. It has not used it to enrich the spread of culture among wider masses. It has used it in its characteristic way, the capitalist way.

Some 3 million videorecorders are operating in the FRG, which found in video the "fascination of the 1980's" (SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG). In the United States there were about 8 million of them by the end of last year, a twofold increase over the preceding year. It is predicted that in 2 years that same country

will be inundated by 26 million videorecorders and the world at large by three times that number. Cassettes with videorecordings offer the advantage of not only being profitably sold, but also rented out (net profits in United States were \$0.5 billion in 1981, in FRG DM 1 billion last year). There appeared the vision of a repeated cashing in on prerecorded images.

#### Old Recipe in New Packaging

Few cultural phenomena reflect the features of capitalist enterprise as clearly as video. It materially symbolizes one of the latest accomplishments of modern electronics. And through its social function in the West, through its impact it became with the speed of lightning another assault tool of capitalist mass culture. Its producers immediately grabbed it and began to "stake out" still-intact "placers" of gold and innocent souls. This offered a welcome opportunity to the bourgeois amusement industry--interconnected with the propaganda machinery of imperialism--to take aim simultaneously at additional commercial and ideological targets.

Let us remind ourselves in this context of the by no means circumstantial fact that giant industrial monopolies and cliques of entrepreneurs have been sinking their roots ever more deeply particularly into American movies and amusement, which simultaneously affect the markets of many other countries; recently, e.g., the Coca-Cola company bought for a fantastic sum the entire Columbia Pictures firm and the Texas oil magnate Marvin Brown, to add to his several television stations, gobbled up the 20th Century Fox company. It is immediately clear whose interests such a movie industry will promote both commercially and ideologically.

If--let us admit for a moment, quite unrealistically--the capitalist society's notion that its technological progress serves man had true validity, that it benefits him, enhances his humanity and liberates him, then the emergence of video would have to be necessarily connected with the immediate mass availability of true cultural values contained specifically in that part of Western art which has not abandoned its responsibility to humanism and wants to develop human personality and enhance it, not devastate it. However, what happened was the opposite. From the very outbreak of Western "video fever," true movie art has been playing the role of Cinderella, standing quietly aside, while her mercenary stepsisters have been brawling over the new booty with shrill advertising clamor.

#### Video: A Mirror Held To Reflect Our Image

"Violence and sex are the two great 'guiding stars' accompanying our life...a sinner is always more interesting than a moral man," comments the West German paper WESTPHALISCHE RÜNDSCHAU. Quite a bit more about this type of thinking can be gleaned from the promotional blurb on the videocassette containing the movie "The Grim Reaper": "This movie is so horrendous that you will remember it for the rest of your life. The viewer undergoes a startling shock. 'The Grim Reaper' will haunt you even as a nightmare." And this "work," which by its repulsive lack of taste is obviously aimed at bestiality and perversity,



is touted shamelessly by videocassette promoters as being the "movie of the century." Capitalism forces on the movie just such "esthetic and moral" criteria.

Through sensationalism and shock it is trying not only to cash in on human curiosity, but at the same time top the real nightmares that day and night oppress the society in its blind alley. An indication of this was the emergence of "disaster movies," which appeared on a mass scale at the precise time when the capitalist system was obviously hit by a worsening general crisis. They are used to divert attention from such things as unemployment and existential insecurity and other social ills. "The fact that pictures of violence can be marketed on such a scale is proof of the extent of violence surrounding our society," opines the daily FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in an article horrified at the consequences of "video drugs," as they have come to call it.

Cruelty, brutality of the coarsest grain, violence, the abyss of human instincts. This is exactly where Western video "programmers" aimed most of their attention. The West German paper WELT AM SONNTAG pointed out that of the video cassettes offered on the local market, a full 45 percent are devoted to detailed depiction of the horrors of murder, rape, cannibalism, vampirism, etc. And the media of communication in this country, most violently hit by the tidal wave of video, share the opinion that it is specifically the share of decadent productions that is constantly increasing in the video cassettes on the market.

Not just art itself, but also the means for its propagation are a mirror of societal ties. Capitalism has imprinted video with very specific contents. By what it is spreading to such an overwhelming extent through this new medium, it has once again revealed the antisocial nature of its internal mechanism. Just as it has many times before, the Leninist theory of two cultures has been confirmed. Capitalist mass culture has yoked video into pulling the cart of the antihuman class interests of those whom it serves.

8204

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

16 YEARS AFTER SOVIET OCCUPATION

Paris LE MONDE in French 21 Aug 84 p 4.

[Article by Pavel Tigrid, Czech journalist: "What If Communism Were No Longer the Principal Danger? 16 Years After the Occupation of Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] On 21 August 1968, Warsaw Pact forces entered Czechoslovakia to put an end to the "Prague spring." In the following article, Pavel Tigrid comments on that anniversary.

For 50 years now, the Czechoslovak Communist Party has been famous for its originality, an originality of a quite special kind consisting of a total lack of originality! Absolute master of a country with a remarkable cultural tradition and a deep sense of humor, that government has found nothing that has not already been said and done elsewhere, in the Soviet Union, to be precise. And when, one fine spring, a handful of representatives miraculously dared allow themselves a few little quirks of language (saying simply that Soviet cooking could perhaps be suited to local ways), they had their mouths shut *manu militari*. It is forbidden to innovate! Big Brother has already said and done what is right, once and for all, in its empire, whose gigantism no longer needs proof: Everything is bigger there, even the midgets!

Naturally, there is nothing new about this observations. Fossilized ideologies that base their claim to power on an immutable thesis, holding firm by cutting off, stifling, anything that the social organism might contain in the way of non-conformity, meaning alive. What is even more serious is that this ideological weed, fed on artificial fertilizers, invades the ethical, civic and cultural fabric of society, weakens and paralyzes it.

That is what has happened in Czechoslovakia. It is the current situation of the country described as follows by one observer: "Czech society has disintegrated. Outside of private interest, there is no value whose need the citizens recognize. The public and civic dimensions of human life have disappeared. One loses the sense of personal commitment, the sense of responsibility in personal relations, inasmuch as all forms of relations have lost their depth. Friendship is measured by the acquaintances one has in black market circles. The breakup of society, the general softening, go hand in hand with the regimentation of human life (...). We all now find ourselves in a crisis which,

imposed from the outside by repeated violence, is now of an internal, spiritual nature" (in the periodical LISTY, Rome, July 1984).

The event whose anniversary we are recalling is naturally among the violent interventions touched upon here. But the roots of the dissolution of Czech society go much deeper and go much further back in the past. The Soviet occupation of August 1968 was not the cause of what one can now call the Czech ethical and political crisis. Rather, it was the direct, even logical, effect of an ideological and political orientation already outlined during World War II, under the direction of President Edvard Venes, by irreproachable republicans, an orientation entitled "people's democracy" and supposed to guarantee a better administration of public affairs.

In the immediate postwar period, this insidious conception was put into practice by those same democrats with such vigor that the communists had only to rub their hands in the corridors. It was therefore not at all surprising that in 1946, in a free election, 40 percent of the voters cast their ballots for this type of pseudodemocracy, thus clearing the way for the first "Prague coup," for that elegant formal takeover in a nation in which the Communist Party already had a monopoly over real power.

#### Seed of Munich

One could go even further back in the past to show that it was the Munich diktat (1938) which, although imposed from the outside, represents the cradle of the philosophy of capitulation now professed by the vast majority of the Czechs and Slovaks, a philosophy promoted (even by communists) to the rank of *raison d'etat*: survival at all costs. The price turned out to be higher than anticipated.

From there, the evolution leads in a straight line to the splinterization of Czech society, to the "I-don't-give-a-damn" attitude so widespread nowadays, to the lethargy and sterile recriminations: Everyone betrayed us (in Munich). Everyone sold us out (at Yalta). They do not care about us, they will not help us, they have forgotten us (in the West).

Is it a valid excuse? Another Czech observer comments: "Blaming the barbarousness of the Russians or the indifference of the rest of the world for our fate is to try to hide our own civic and intellectual laziness under a figleaf. The capitulating spirit and civic apathy undermine the Czech national substance much more than the presence of Soviet troops on our soil."

This judgment, leveled at a nation to which history has unquestionably been unkind, may seem harsh. And yet, developments in the Soviet bloc countries since 1945 clearly show that the room left for the struggle for a freer and more dignified life far exceed the limits one might believe inherent in the orthodoxy of a Soviet-type regime. Obviously, it is a field that must be exploited and that can only be exploited by a society morally and politically vigilant, not by an inert mass caught in the grip of consumerism. In that case, even the defeats, such as those suffered by the Hungarian revolution in

1956 or Solidarity's Poland in 1981 sooner or later bear good fruit, remarkable fruit that must not be underestimated and in which one can see a supposedly all-powerful regime periodically forced to conclude a new social contract that is more advantageous for the national community and rich in hope for the future.

In Czechoslovakia, only a handful of civic militants, improperly labeled "dissidents," speak out in that direction. They are both courageous and far-sighted men, attentive to the deeper causes of the crisis that cannot be attributed to the simple fact that the palace in Prague houses a communist president or that the Red Army is eternally in the barracks. They are men who thus give to the people whose secret opinions they express a social profile whose outlines had begun to grow fuzzy.

11,464

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HONECKER'S ABORTED FRG VISIT RATIONALE ASSESSED

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 14 Sep 84 p 2

/Article by Guenter Gaus, former permanent representative of the FRG in the GDR: "The Man Who Didn't Come From Over There"/

/Text/ Erich Honecker postponed his visit to the Federal Republic, for the second time. He is not coming this September. Before the consequences of his cancellation make themselves felt--and undoubtedly that will happen--to start with the cancellation of the visit appears to be just as nice, as stimulating as the visit itself could at best have been for parts of the West German and also the French and U.S. public.

After weeks of speculations whether he would come, how far he had disassociated himself from Moscow, inwardly of course, and what all that could signify for Germany (not for the relations between two sovereign states), many now see confirmed the accustomed, well-loved simple-mindedness by which it is once again definitely known that the Kremlin has forbidden the appearance of its puppet on the West German stage. The cliché is borne out. The frog was sick for 3 weeks, now he smokes again, thank God.

What is a halfway factual, somewhat safe perception in this 1984 German autumn? How is it possible to start to return to solid ground after the provincial gossiping had hardly died away prior to the cancellation and the modest self-affirmation since then? An attempt can be made, for example, with the 72-year-old man who was supposed to visit us within a week and a half. The self-confidence of many augurs in the country makes people prick up their ears. The author of this article occasionally held official talks for the FRG with the chairman of the GDR State Council. He makes a point of the statement that if matters other than objective data are discussed he submits his views only with hesitation, only with question marks, only with the request to the reader to remain skeptical. Where so much certainty is heard, the author claims the inability for himself to be able to lift all the veils of secrecy.

Now the portrait, the objective data: Erich Honecker was born in Neunkirchen on 25 August 1912, grew up in Wiebelskirchen, both localities in the Saarland, as a child of a miner's family. He learned the trade of a roofer. Even before that, while still in elementary school, he became a member of the Young Spartacus League and of the Red Young Pioneers. At age 17, as early as possible,

he joined the KPD (Communist Party of Germany). In 1930 he participated in a youth course at the Lenin School in Moscow. He entered the service of his party and, to start with, remained in youth work: since 1931 as secretary of the KJV (Communist Youth League) in the Saarland, then as leader of the KJV in ever bigger areas of West Germany; in 1933 in the Ruhr area; in 1934, in Hesse, Wuerttemberg, Baden and the Palatinate; in 1935, finally in Berlin. The work of the young functionary--an honorable term outside the bourgeois world--had already been illegal for 2 years, a perilous existence. In December 1935 Honecker was arrested by the then rulers of Germany, in 1937 he was sentenced to 10 years in the penitentiary, incarcerated in the Brandenburg-Goerden penitentiary.

After the war, following establishment of the four occupation zones in Germany, there was no interruption in his political commitment: Honecker immediately rejoined the KPD as long as there was a KPD. Then, starting in April 1946, he became a member of the new party consisting of the KPD and parts of the SPD, which very consciously, very ambitiously reached beyond the Soviet Zone with its name: Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

For 9 years, from 1946 to 1955, the still young man was chairman of the FDJ in the communist-ruled part of Germany where he remained after the liberation, far away from the Saarland which at that time was a French protectorate. Erich Honecker's photos from those days show a pale face under ashblond, thin hair, a broad forehead over thin cheeks. He looked emaciated but he was, according to everything that has been said, no child of sadness. In those years, the parts of Germany developed into two states. The Cold War prevailed. In 1956 the KPD was banned in the FRG.

Honecker would have been arrested had he gone to Wiebelskirchen at that time. According to the wish of some FRG citizens, such a sovereign act should have been performed against this official guest this fall--to pay back for the persecution in the other, in Honecker's state. In a once undivided country--so many are still alive recalling this fact--, in a nation and world divided according to questions of belief, there are always such terribly understandable justifications for settling accounts.

Too despondent to get into arguments with those directly affected who want to pay back, the question arises how quickly self-righteousness can become so strong in our times even among those not directly affected that the ability to communicate with persons of a different belief is lost. In our country, are we really more securely protected against that than only by the thin veil of intergovernmental treaties with the GDR as it has been woven for over 10 years? In the editorial offices where they like to isolate themselves, letters to editors occasionally provide a reflection of the undiminished strength of the hostile, illusionary delimitation, of the rejection of the reality of a communist state on German soil. After so much speculation about Honecker's freedom of action, the narrow limits of action of Federal Chancellor Kohl and his government party shows through in such news. East Berlin, too, may have been mistaken in this respect.

Back to the objective data of Honecker's further rise: In 1956/57, he went to the Soviet Union for training. After he had left behind the FDJ, had become too old for this position (as is now the case with Egon Krenz), the party entrusted him especially with security-policy tasks. When the Berlin Wall was built in 1961, Honecker was secretary of the GDR National Defense Council. He had been a Politburo candidate since 1950; since 1958 he has been a full member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee. In 1971, he became first secretary of his party's Central Committee as Walter Ulbricht's successor; since 1976, his position has been called general secretary.

Before this title, which is easy to say, was decreed, I always felt during my first talks with Honecker how stilted it sounded on my Western-practiced tongue to say: Mr. First Secretary. In the GDR, the protocol is a--also a touching mixture--of self-consciousness of the Fourth Estate which finally did achieve power and wants to be respected in this position and czarist bureaucratic mentality, which, as attested to by Russian literature, knows of gradations in many classes. Long before differences such as working visit or state visit, a distinction our sloppiness, too, still makes, played their part, slurs were heard here, deliberate or thoughtless which touched on authority and dignity, over there a not pretended occasion to feel hurt. This fact, as Ulbricht would have put it, can be derided here, ridiculed, and regarded as comical while possessing hard currency. But this fact cannot be excluded from German-German relations if the desire is to improve them.

In October 1976, General Secretary of the SED Central Committee Erich Honecker, as successor to Willi Stoph, also became chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic. Party leadership and highest state office henceforth were united in his hands. It was the time of the international recognition of the GDR. Honecker made numerous trips abroad, received many state guests, also from Western countries. He received the thing that is unavoidable for high-ranking politicians from West and East, from North and South: In May 1981 Erich Honecker receives the first honorary doctorate in a foreign country; Tokyo University requested the honor. Neither moaning nor cajoling before Christian-Democratic locals clubs helped: The man from East Berlin, home town Wiebelskirchen, had become an internationally recognized statesman.

Thus far the objective data. What they indicate permits at least three solid assumptions concerning Erich Honecker's basic pattern. In this connection it is not surprising that some lines intersect, some emotions are in conflict with one another. Honecker is not the insipid, smooth apparatchik which Western partisanship or also the point of view of disappointed former followers makes him to be. Even before the three conclusions which in my opinion can be drawn from Honecker's biography I want to repeat here what I have written before at another occasion about the complex, pensive ruler from East Berlin:

In his talk with me, Honecker briefly mentioned his predecessor twice. In both instances references to abortive attempts by Ulbricht to start talks with the Bonn government were involved. It was not the content of Honecker's remarks that made me prick up my ears. These were only footnotes to an at any rate past event. But the way he spoke of the predecessor conveyed the definite

impression to me that Honecker had become acquainted not without being hurt with the psychological problems of being successor to a founding father, to a once glorified Number One.

He did not utter any derogatory remark, there was no bad turn of phrase. It was not the tone of voice, it was not the choice of words. Let us say: The combination of a fleeting facial expression with an aloof conciseness in this part of the conversation gave me the definite feeling that Honecker experienced phases of impatience under the once all-powerful Ulbricht; he probably also felt bitterness over wrong decisions of his predecessor, who was obstinate towards the end, wrong decisions which harmed the GDR economy--and that he, Honecker, definitely wanted to be more than a mere successor.

Here are the three conclusions to the biography: First of all, Honecker belonged to a generation to which an undivided Germany was completely a matter of course. Whoever was active as a young German in the underground in Hesse, in Wuerttemberg carries memories of people and places with himself into old age, which cannot be banished as foreign, as nonrelated by the Allies drawing up the course of the borders, by the postwar order. Much between the two German states will become at the same time easier and more difficult when the now young ones in the SED Politburo, now between 40 and 55 years old, will some day be the sole determining factors.

Secondly, Honecker--how could it be any different--has been shaped by almost 10 years of incarceration by the National Socialists, the fascists, whose movement he regards as a completely natural, logical consequence of the capitalist society under certain circumstances. Even as a child in a family, in an environment of opinion at home for which the Social Democratic cousins are in hopeful anticipation ready for compromise, for Honecker the--now no longer very recent--past of his compatriots, the 1933-1945 period, is no accident of an otherwise civilized society, no intellectual occasion to draw upon Freudian explanations. What occurred to him and his equals under Hitler's Germans is evidence for him of the critical development of the class struggle in late capitalism, a confirmation of his own teachings, of his own belief.

In the face of this quite firm conviction, many a West German starting point of hope, which appeared prior to the canceled visit here and there subliminally, is terribly comical: the hope that Germans like Erich Honecker are only misguided, rebel sons who will someday come to their senses (to our senses).

Actually we cannot even count on a sign of a beginning. According to my observations, among the SED comrades in Honecker's age the situation of struggle, the lot of the industrial work force, the mass misery of the late twenties are such dominating memories that changes in the bourgeois society, as they have occurred to some extent in the FRG, are hardly noticed.

Finally, thirdly: The Red Army liberated Honecker. Over many bitter years all hope was concentrated in the Soviet Union. The SED General Secretary may occasionally be displeased by the overbearing manner of a Soviet ambassador. Undoubtedly he is considerably disturbed by the clumsiness of the Soviet economy, the slow pace of its technological development (except for the military),



because the GDR suffers as a result of these factors. He is self-confident. He would not reject it if the structures of the East Bloc, especially the CEMA economic system, would develop more in the direction of independence of the individual partners. In my opinion, not at any price would Honecker want a European order in which the Soviet Union would not be a very strong co-determining factor. But this basic attitude of the SED chief does not constitute the desperate loyalty of a man who, without the protection of the Soviet bayonets (the trained reader will note: Reminiscent of the cadence of certain organs of the Western world), would be swept away by popular wrath. The real world to which the GDR belongs is not as simple as we picture it for ourselves.

To express it in the extreme: If Moscow were to release the GDR tomorrow from its sphere of influence, the GDR would look different the day after. But it would not disintegrate; its representatives as a result would conduct quite open, though tough negotiations with us concerning questions of property in industry and natural resources, concerning Krupp and Krause, as the saying goes. All of them would want to travel to the Adriatic (not necessarily to the rainy Wanne-Eickel [in North Rhine-Westphalia?]) but meanwhile not all of them would want to completely reorganize their state according to the FRG model.

In the case of Erich Honecker at any rate, the ties to the Soviet Union are not rooted in his power calculation even though the location, the bases of existence of his state of course advise in this direction. What is involved are rather emotions deeply anchored in the biography of this German Communist and his contemporaries in the party. I am unable to say whether that will change with the succession of generations. Therefore, it is inconceivable to Honecker not to be a German, as is occasionally suggested in the FRG, as the same suggestion would have been to an ultramontane Catholic during Bismarck's Kulturkampf.

The form of the alliance with Moscow could change if basic changes took place in the Western pact. But the dependence on the Soviet Union -- above structural questions, more of a voice--is so obvious that for this reason alone limited conflicts with Moscow have been possible for a long time but of course never in a question vital to the Bloc. That is where all-German common factors of East Berlin and Bonn become evident.

Honecker's visit to West Germany this fall was hardly a vital question for Moscow. The single-cause explanation for the cancellation of his visit, as it is now in vogue, therefore belongs to the self-confirming prophesies. We quickly become victims of our own cliches. We believed so strongly in Honecker's complete political freedom of action that during recent months we were no longer able to get out of the public cackling when he moved. The present quick relapse into our error that the GDR, one of the 12 leading industrial states of the world, can be governed by push button from the Kremlin, is actually so governed, arouses fear of a repetition of our error.

According to its requirements, the GDR needs a degree of political and economic emancipation from the Soviet Union in the medium and long range, particularly so that it will not be completely dragged into the technology gap between East and West. In this connection, the ruling ideology is not at issue nor a union with West Germany. The bloc to which the GDR belongs must remain untouched

because destabilization of Europe, which would otherwise be the consequence, is neither in East Berlin's domestic nor foreign policy interest. Perhaps it may be said that in the long run a change of the status quo is involved for which the term evolutionary is much, much too strong, already too revolutionary.

That is a journey along a very narrow ridge. We have not made it any easier for Honecker. He must expect distrust as do all German politicians who want to conduct an independent policy within the framework of their possibilities. This time, perhaps he gave the impression of impatience in Moscow. When as early as the mid-seventies the first sizable package deal between the FRG and the GDR was successfully tied up, Abrassimov, the then Soviet ambassador in East Berlin, said: "Too much, too quickly."

The crisis between Washington and Moscow has of course affected the visit and its cancellation. Not to consider the tensions now revealed in the East-West relationship in connection with the missile question signifies not only banking on the bad memory of the people--it is the bad memory itself.

12356

CSO: 2300/3

## CLOSING COMMENTS ABOUT EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 10 Aug 84 pp 1, 4

[Article by Bela Kopeczi, minister of culture and education: "Education--Talent--Democracy"; the closing article in a debate series dedicated to problems of education that began in 27 April edition. Since the whole series is far too long to reproduce, this semi-official summary and position statement describes the main subjects covered in the debate.]

[Text] Our debate, popularly known as Tani-Tani II [a neologism meaning approximately "Theory of Teaching"], ends this week with a closing word by Bela Kopeczi, minister of culture--not that our editorial files are exhausted. As you will recall, the polemic began with the publication of a national assembly speech by literary historian Istvan Kiraly ("The Level Required of Education," ELET ES IRODALOM, 27 April). This was followed first by Mihaly Andor ("Bad for Lack of Better," 11 May) and Kata Beke ("What Is a Person Worth If He Teaches?", 18 May). The other contributions were: Gyorgy Gyori, "Bad Instead of Better?", 25 May; Otto Javor, "A Flower on the Desk," 1 June; Istvan Harsanyi, "A Defense of Talent--Thoughts and Hopes," 8 June; Jozsef Nagy, "Elite Training," 15 June; Pal Tamas, "Talent Deficit," 22 June; Kata Beke, "Optional Studies and Their Province," 29 June; Dr Jozsef Nagy, "Kata Beke-ism"; Gabor Boldizsar, "An Open Letter to Teacher Kata Beke in Defense of Optional Studies," 6 July; Rozsa H. Varro, "Democratic Elite Training Without a Democratic Debate?", 13 July; Pal Laki, "School--Politics," 20 July; Istvan Kiraly, "Letter to the Editor," 27 July; and a compilation of readers' letters (Laszlo Arato, "Racing Stables--Lying-in Hospitals"; Istvan Tanacs, "Arany and Babits, Gentlemen Teachers"; Agnes Kasznar, "A Teaching Fable"; and Anna Ricsei, Mrs Egyed, "Punished by Genius"), 3 August.

In his national assembly speech about the developmental programs for education and in a later expansion of his remarks in ELET ES IRODALOM Istvan Kiraly called attention to two questions, the selection and care of talent

and the system of values being realized in schools, from the ethical viewpoint. The debate developed primarily around the first problem and the opinions were divided. I feel that they were divided not primarily about whether a selection and care of talent are needed but rather about how general development can be made compatible with this. And on the other hand whether the Hungarian educational system is able to meet even its most elementary tasks. In the process extreme pronouncements were voiced about the status of our education, and in such a way as to start every debate anew, hardly taking into consideration the situation analysis widely debated in 1981-1982 and the developmental programs.

#### The Real Situation and the Real Tasks

I feel that the document accepted by the Central Committee in 1982 titled "Experiences With Execution of the 15 June 1972 Central Committee Resolution Concerning State Education and Guiding Principles for the Further Development of Public Education" gave a realistic picture of the circumstances and indicated that there are contradictions between econo-socio-cultural development and the content, and especially effectiveness, of education. It called attention to the lack of material conditions including overcrowding of the schools, shortage of teachers, weaknesses of school democracy, inconsistencies of guidance and its bureaucratic aspects. I would like to emphasize that we are talking about things established by a document of a party forum, about things which naturally could be dramatized but which in actual fact oblige us to make changes. This document together with the developmental program debated in the national assembly and adopted by the government tried to formulate the tasks too. It appears that today the political leadership, state-council guidance and the schools themselves agree with the designation of these tasks. The time for ringing alarm bells is past. Now we must act, and we have a program for it too.

Let me begin with the economic conditions for development, which justly give rise to alarm within a broad circle. It is true that education did not prepare in time to receive the--unfortunately only temporary--larger age groups, but with a swift combining of forces--from central resources and with social aid--we increased the number of elementary school classrooms by 10,000 from 1975 to 1983, from 32,000 to 42,000, and this was an achievement even if a part of these are makeshift classrooms. Although the number of students per classroom was reduced nationally from 32 to 30 we could reduce the crowding to only a small degree, especially in the cities. According to the developmental program we must increase the number of elementary school classrooms further by the end of the century, but parallel with this a greater proportion of development than heretofore is needed at the secondary level as well. The total classroom need to be built in the next 15 years--in all types of schools--is about 15,000, which naturally will require significant economic resources.

Let us look at the other problem, the supply of teachers. In 1983-1984 there were 83,500 teachers working in the elementary schools, almost 82 percent of them women. The increase in the last 8 years was 16,700, about 25 percent. Despite this there are not enough teachers, and this has forced

us to employ those without training. These account for 4 percent of the staff, and their number exceeds 6,000 if we include substitutes. Naturally one can justly object to this, and it may be that guidance is to blame, since it was not able to foresee the needs. But let me add that a role was played in this not only by overoptimistic and rigid planning but also by the fact that many are leaving the field for various reasons, including income reasons.

The number of secondary school teachers (in high schools and vocational secondary schools) is 16,899, and 57.8 percent of them are women. There are problems with supply here also. About half of those getting degrees in the teacher training university branches select other careers, often careers for which they are not trained. Here too the reasons must be sought in part in the income relationships, in part in the fact that a number of them wanted positions in other cultural areas in the first place. In our developmental program we prescribed a broadening of teacher training in such a way that in the next decade we will increase personnel in public education by 19,000 so that there will be no need for those without training.

We want to improve the living and working conditions for teachers. Within this framework, beginning 1 September, we are increasing the salaries of teachers working in public education. In our present economic situation we must consider this fact significant despite the modest nature of the sum. We intend to increase teachers' freedom to choose textbooks and supplementary study materials and to decide on extracurricular activities. We would like for them to participate in the educational bodies, help develop the school spirit and assist in the leadership by having a greater say in selecting the director. Further training of teachers will be organized and standardized--so far justly complained about and never realized.

In every educational debate much is said about social respect for teachers. I believe that public opinion today acknowledges the significance of teachers' work, yet in order to strengthen this recognition it is necessary for the profession itself to dispel the one-sidedly dark picture, painted by those who do not recognize themselves, or at most portray themselves in a corner of the picture as ironic observers.

A portrayal of the situation also includes our recognition of what has happened and what is happening in the modernization of the content and methodology of education. We began to introduce new study plans and textbooks in 1978. This entails gigantic tasks because many thousands of textbooks and other aid materials had to be written, discussed and published in a relatively short time. This process will be completed by 1985-1986. When the work began, leading scientists, researchers and experimental teachers took part in the experiments and in giving advice. It is true that control of the exercise and the way in which research results were transferred were not appropriate in some subjects. Errors appeared in attitudes too, primarily in judging what could be taught. It is part of our developmental program that we will make corrections on the basis of experience. The work has already been started this year and is taking into consideration the changes caused by introduction of the 5-day

teaching week. We are not going to delay the modernization work, for we are far from having satisfied the scientific, social and cultural requirements of the age.

I believe it would be proper to repeat here the basic principles of substantive-methodological modernization:

--In contrast to instruction burdening the memory we should put the development of aptitudes and abilities in the foreground;

--We should increase collectively the role of general culture;

--We should teach broad-based, convertible professional information, putting professional basic training in the foreground;

--We should create connections with producing and managing organizations in the area of professional-practical instruction;

--Instead of orienting the educational level of work toward the average we should develop individual gifts and abilities in a differentiated way and promote talents of various types; and

--We should modify the one-sidedly intellectual activity of the educational institutions and develop possibilities for physical education, recreation and social life within the institution.

Here I must mention international comparisons, about which there are many mistaken views. As for the general schools, 95-96 percent of the children now complete eight grades, and there is no backwardness in this respect. The structure of secondary education differs from country to country. Secondary school has become common in a few countries, but compared to the majority it is a good achievement if 97 percent of those finishing elementary school study further. In regard to the number of students enrolled in higher education we really are among the last, but the question is whether we should consider this index alone or rather the number of graduates. From this viewpoint we place in the middle of the field, which suggests that the dropping out during university studies is greater in other countries. It is also worth considering among the achievements that Hungary, together with the other socialist countries, has realized greater equality of opportunity. Nearly 40 percent of the students in higher education are children of laborers, which is one of the greatest achievements of building the new society, even if the division by branch varies.

As for expenditures, with 6 percent of the GNP Hungary placed at the level of Finland and Austria in 1981--according to the 1983 Statistical Yearbook of UNESCO. We turned 5.5 percent of the so-called government expenditures, that is out of the budget, to education, thus more than Switzerland and almost as much as Great Britain. It is most difficult to compare the substance and effectiveness of education, but on the basis of partial results we can say that we place in the middle of the field at the average international level and there are more than a few cultivated talents who are

recognized even abroad. I say all this only for the reality of the picture and not as if we did not need to do more in the development of education or learn from abroad as well.

#### General Requirements and Differentiation

After only outlining this background I might undertake to comment on the question of how we might choose and cultivate talent in Hungary. Istvan Kiraly advises that we should continue a bipolar educational policy, thus developing education in general, corresponding to the interests of the majority, but should also have regard for the minority and the talented. For him this does not mean an elite but rather quality, and he urges special institutions to foster this. I understand why he puts an emphasis on the selection of talent and I agree that this is also a task of educational policy. But still I must say that our chief problem is how to raise all education to a higher level, make the transfer of knowledge more effective, but from the viewpoint of cultivating the personality as well. Every survey proves that the level of knowledge is relatively low, that there is little information and experience serving social orientation and that humanistic and socialistic values are not determinant to the degree desired by society and the individual world view, behavior and life style of the youth. It follows from this that in addition to improving the conditions, education must give more and demand more from young people and must reject all sorts of permissiveness.

It is true that an education ministry directive appeared in 1977 which states that in grades 1 and 2 of elementary school we must see to it that there is no repeating of grades, by reducing or ending lost school years. Pedagogical-psychological arguments and the requirements of counterbalancing disadvantageous circumstances argued for this, but I agree with those who object to the procedural method. In practice, in any case, the failures have not ended. In 1982-1983, for example, 4.3 percent of the first graders were directed to repeat a grade. This ratio is also 4 percent in the first grade of secondary school and in the first year of the universities. In general the ratio of those directed to repeat a grade is 2.4-2.8 percent in the various grades.

Can the small number of failures be explained by the fact that the leaders in the schools and universities are afraid of bad statistics or is there a more general problem involved? Many, referring to the system of admissions to higher education, find our selection system too severe. Every admissions system has its failures; not a single one can take into consideration all the circumstances. It would make the preparation and selection more reliable if the elementary school and secondary school required appropriate, sensible, systematic effort. So meeting the requirements should begin earlier; before all else the work of the elementary school must be improved and differentiation must be built on good foundations at the secondary level. At the same time an evaluation system is needed, which from the beginning performs the necessary supervision and selection at various stages of preparation.

We do not want to make the present school system uniform in the sense that it does not take into consideration differences in the abilities of young people, but the fact is the pedagogical-organizational forms of differentiation have been developed and implemented to only a small degree. When we take the position that we should maintain three types of schools at the secondary level--the gymnasium, the secondary trade school and skilled worker training--we are starting not only from the needs of the economy and of society and not only from the restricted nature of the conditions or resources for development, but also from the fact there is a need for differentiation at the secondary level. We have opposed the idea that this differentiation should begin too early and one of the chief messages of the developmental program is that we should increase the weight of subjects increasing general culture in the secondary trade schools and in skilled worker training, bringing the skilled worker training closer to the secondary trade school level, thus increasing the general level and above all emphasizing the fundamental education in trade training.

A differentiation between compulsory and supplementary study materials in the various school levels and a differentiation of requirements and methods together with this is intended to take into consideration differences in abilities and local conditions. One means of differentiation is optional studies, free selection of certain subjects. We should introduce optional studies in the 7th and 8th grades of elementary school; this has been done already in the 3rd and 4th year in the gymnazia. The objection to the earlier departmental classes was that a sort of elite training was taking place in them, because one could select only from among a few subjects and only in a small percentage of the schools. Optional studies make selection in regard to a number of subjects possible for every school and for everyone. The selection in the gymnasium was in three directions--special classes were established, hours for the further development of the study material of basic subjects were held, or some form of practical instruction was introduced. The experiences differ, but the task is for optional studies to receive an appropriate function, to really aid differentiation and thus career guidance.

#### Concerning Talent and Its Function

What is talent? Many quoted the old definition of F. Galton according to which talent presumes higher degree of abilities, steadfast, strong motivation and great physical strength necessary for the work. The range of abilities is extraordinarily broad, but in the case of every talent there are dominant features which determine the more general orientation. According to recent studies these are pedagogical-research, creative, psycho-social (leadership), artistic, athletic, manual and technical; or, according to another division, there are intellectual, creative, scientific, pedagogical and leadership talents. These classifications caution us that we are not dealing with so-called complex talent when we must determine the direction of training, rather we are dealing with something specific, and we must not espouse intellectual talents alone.



In addition to considering its character a significant role in connection with talent is played by the judgment of whether it can be developed. There is an international debate concerning the extent to which talent is determined by the properties we are born with and how much its development depends on environment, those external circumstances which surround us primarily in childhood. It is well known that in recent times neo-conservative ideologies happily cite certain theses of social biology according to which a person is predetermined genetically, not only as an individual but as a member of a race or social stratum or group. In reality scientifically thinking biologists do not accept this fatalistic and in the final analysis unscientific concept, but this does not mean that in the capitalist world those belonging to various races and social categories can start with approximately even chances. (On the basis of experiences acquired with intelligence tests in the United States the experts say that one can consider 3-5 percent of the school population to be talented--the majority children of the leading stratum--and that special education should be provided for them.) No one can accept--I believe--a "segregating" method, if he rejects racial-social determinism and is convinced that there are talents in every race and social stratum.

I feel that when defining our tasks the starting point for us too can be the character of talent, but I would add to this--its function as well. We frequently cite the example of Eotvos College. Well, Lorand Eotvos founded this college in order to train outstanding teachers and not to espouse talent in general. This determined the viewpoints for selection and, naturally, the content and method of the training too. I feel that we should follow this example, and we should take care to produce appropriate possibilities for the development of various talents.

In our social system selection includes the institutional realization of the viewpoints of social justice and equality of opportunity. We have now proven in practice for almost 40 years that talented people come not exclusively from the old ruling class or from the old or new intelligentsia, but rather from the other classes and strata of society as well. When we seek institutional forms we must prevent any social stratum or group from getting into a monopoly situation. Protectionism is a real danger in Hungary and we must put every possible obstacle in its path.

Taking everything into consideration, I do not consider useful the segregated instruction of talents or--if you like--outstanding people, but it would be correct to provide more possibilities than heretofore for differentiation within the system--and in some cases outside it--in special forms, depending on orientation and function.

For this very reason we would like to increase the number of practical, experimental and special schools, not in the urban centers but rather in the outlying districts and in the provinces. We would like to turn special attention to collegium training and education, which is important also from the viewpoint that not only teachers but student communities also judge the values. With the cooperation of the universities and scientific institutes we want to organize postgraduate training thus aiding not only scientific

replacement but also the selection of leaders in other areas. We want to develop the foreign scholarship system in such a way that it will support rising talent better than heretofore and become a more organic part of educating replacements.

Quality is a requirement which can and must be realized at various stages and levels. In every category--from semiskilled worker to engineer--there is quality and there is an average, or even weaker ability and training and, primarily, performance. Performance is the measure of quality and talent. The debate gave excessive emphasis to intellectual talent, and for this reason an interpretation might arise that on the one side we want to take into consideration only democratism, whatever the level, while on the other side we want to take into consideration only rising talent, independent of the state of the majority. We do not need a bipolar development, rather we need the realization of the goals of a democratic educational policy, which include the selection and cultivation of talent.

8984

CSO: 2500/587

## 'REM' ATTACKS TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY EDITORIAL POLICY

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 32, 7 Aug 84 p 3

[Article by Jan Rem: "Comments on the Birth of Turowicz"]

[Text] The 29 July issue of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY deals mainly with the subject of World War I. For example, this issue underscores the great acumen of Minister Sergei Witte's policy. Perhaps if Andrey Gromyko waits patiently for the next 70 years, his policies might also be discussed in Krakow's TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY.

The only longer text on a contemporary subject was about skiing. This article was written by Father Adam Bonicki. If this writer were to limit himself to sports reporting, that would certainly be good news from Rome for Polish affairs.

Two other short articles in this issue of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY were devoted to contemporary questions. More than anything, this could already be Kisiel's 794th article about his creative impotence. Since you can live a good long life from impotence in Poland, I should go into the sex business and become a gigolo for female foreign tourists.

The other little article devoted to the epoch following the birth of Turowicz was titled "Amnesty."

Amnesty is the first move the government has made in as long as anyone remembers that TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY has endorsed unconditionally. Every neophyte idea leads to exaggeration. Too late, too suddenly and too incidentally, the gentlemen from Wislna Street have opened their eyes to the value of the political policy taken on 13 December 1981, especially that taken in August 1980. (December was a change of methods rather than of policy. The government banged its fist on the table to defend the course taken after August 1980.) On the amnesty, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY writes: "This first important step has made possible some social openness in Poland and shown people the real prospects for existence and action." The editorial board of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY overrates amnesty because it sat with its eyes closed and suddenly recovered its sight. The decree of 21 July 1984 is neither the first important act of openness nor the last. Turowicz's editorial board has presented the

amnesty as an unexpected angel suddenly appearing from the infernal gloom. This is actually the fourth such act of grace in the past two and a half years. It is true that amnesty has been the most far-reaching step, but it was made possible only due to the effectiveness of prior actions. Amnesty was the complement to a very rich policy of changes encompassing all fields. I would also say from impulse that, without a line of struggle, the manifestation of which was not only legal repression, it would have been impossible to have reached the situation we now have making amnesty possible. The course of events in Poland would make it necessary to increase repression. To put it simply, the government would not be in a position to be so noble now if the opponent of national interests had not already been sufficiently weakened.

The editors of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY slept through tens of other previous and important steps to broaden "public openness" from month to month. The "real prospects of existence and action" that TYGODNIK's editors have only now proclaimed were opened much earlier than the prison doors. Meanwhile, TYGODNIK feels that the amnesty is the first step toward an openness that is only "the condition for the coming together of different factions of society, for overcoming the crisis and economic stagnation and for development of the nation and society." Therefore, all of these benevolent processes have already been under way. The amnesty itself is proof of this because it would have not been possible without these processes.

If a newspaper wants to be highly political in content and get out of the trenches at Verdun, then it is worth looking at the world around it with a little good will. Then it will perceive events and see in their aftermath the spectrum of causes and effects and not be suddenly blinded to moderation in its assessments.

TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY is stubbornly convinced that it is speaking in the name of society and that it sees modern Poland through the same eyes as the public. The editors thus report that the amnesty fulfills society's demands. This may be true, but only to a certain extent.

The public opinion samples taken on the day before amnesty was declared in Warsaw, Krakow, Wroclaw, Gdansk and wherever else still show that the overwhelming majority wanted amnesty for prisoners that had acted from political motives, whose crimes had been deeds performed under orders from their leaders. Meanwhile, opinions were divided over whether the opposition leaders themselves should be released. The public's attitudes to the leaders were very varied. When asked whether this group of seven former Solidarity leaders should be released, nearly three-fourths of the adult inhabitants in the large cities polled answered affirmatively. A knowledge of Poland's political geography leads one to suspect that a poll taken throughout all areas of Poland would have worse results for the Solidarity leaders. The public opinion in large cities is evenly divided on KSS [Committee for Social Self-Defense], KOR [Committee for Worker Defense] and KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland]. Interpretations of these differences in opinion would be very interesting. In my own opinion, these differences are the result, on one hand, of a certain feeling of sentiment to the old name of Solidarity and therefore indulgence of the leaders elected and supported in 1981 by the

greater part of the citizens polled today in large cities. On the other hand, there is public hostility to the West's policy on Poland and this hostility is directed at groups that are the direct exponents of the West's policies. For the same reason, people from KPN and KOR are also sharply criticized.

Public opinions are quite complex in their diversity and very fluid. Regardless of its own orientation, a political group must observe and note changes of public opinion in order to participate in political life.

The author's thesis of the moral and political unity of Poles compels one to be strongly surprised to see that a simplification that failed us once now has its heirs located at Wislna Street, in the diocese of Krakow.

The newspaper edited by Jerzy Turowicz has recognized amnesty as the first step and is demanding more. Five demands are presented. The first contains digs at "excessive exposure (author's note: by the government) of irregularities in the private sector" close to TYGODNIK's heart, but, otherwise, this is simply an imposingly concise description of the party and state's economic and social policy. Obviously, the TYGODNIK's editors have not had any acquaintance with this program but have worked out one of their own which has turned out almost same. Maybe we have a case of copyright infringement here or we should invite the editors on Wislna Street to join the PZPR.

TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY is mistaken not only when it expresses the opinion that economic reform, the sheltering of the poorest people and the overcoming of false egalitarianism are aspirations that must be forced upon the authorities. It is also mistaken in the belief that the entire public in whose name it speaks dreams of rigorous and immediate realization in practice of all parts of this program. For example, every limitation that the government places on the action of market mechanisms is approved by the people whereas it is criticized whenever it gives these mechanisms free play. Instead of demanding in the name of society market mechanisms from the government, let TYGODNIK instead support the economically justified price increases before the majority of the public, oppose unnecessary social demands, and also speak out for factory wage agreements. We would quickly see what it means to lean out of a heaven of sweet phrases, become immersed in the real conditions of our country and have to deal with real public opinion.

The second demand is for the government to find "an authentic basis for agreement between the authorities and the public on the most important social and economic questions." If the economic reform in our country spreads and at the same time the numerically predominant public unwillingness to face the effects of the action of economic logic is taken under consideration, this means that there exists such a level of understanding and that the system of compromises between the program and the real facts is functioning. The government policy has been to try to make everyone happy. This is also the desire of TYGODNIK with its "spokesmen for the important factions of public opinion." If the editors wish to be among these spokesmen, let them first get a little better acquainted with the public opinion and then show that they are not only capable of currying favor but also of standing up for sound program

principles. The problem is that TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY has turned its back on all real public and political life and considers it all only long enough to get a taste. Suddenly then it descends from the heavens, invents the wheel and says that if an axis is inserted we will have a vehicle on which to ride.

The third and fifth demands are generalized calls for "understanding of the authentic needs of culture," the "restoration of hope" to the cultural community and "a change of the authorities method of ruling so that it might attest to the government's understanding of the interests of the people and state." As I see it, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY feels that such language is conciliatory in tone. I am, however, of the opinion that this is in no way the language of political discussion but an inarticulate riddle usually used to inflame the emotions of political opposition at various meetings. Since TYGODNIK does support the government's economic and social program, why does it then suggest that the government should be changed to be able to understand the interests of society and state? What is the logic in this?

As TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY sees it, there does not exist any society organized into a state according to complex procedures constituting its authority. TYGODNIK has cultivated a view that society has an existence separate from that of the state and is antagonistic in its desires and wishes to the government. TYGODNIK is even inclined to accept such a fatal state of affairs as long as both antagonistic parties would be willing to reach an agreement if the government so occupied with eating away at the public will consent to that. Turowicz is so sweetly persuading the government to loosen the grip of its teeth.

I dare to express the view that no understanding with a party such as TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY is possible as long as it perceives the government and society as forces of opposite interests and the state as the property of the authorities and not of the public. The editors are playing mysterious figures: neither the public nor the state and its leaders are made up of the type of people that TYGODNIK supposes. He is therefore aspiring to a type of mutual relations between these factors that cannot be realized. The authorities and the public are simply parts of the same organism of complex internal functioning and not alien powers that can make peace with each other by compromising their own conflicting interests. The degree of ignorance about the public, state and the state's programs is so great in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY that I have the impression that this newspaper is worse than an emigree publication.

The fourth demand of TYGODNIK is that the government give freedom to the churches so that they can do its pastoral, educational and charity work. Since it cannot be said that TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY does not know the church's situation in Poland and this ignorance is topped by a lack of knowledge about society and the state, this demand shows that the newspaper is knowingly engaged in falsehoods. No one in the whole wide world, not even our opponents such as President Reagan, feels that the church in Poland is without the freedoms and possibilities that TYGODNIK is demanding from the state. A fable about an enslaved church would not even be fitting of Radio Free Europe.

I fear that, of the two evils, it would be easier to come to terms with an intransigently critical and offended TYGODNIK than with a TYGODNIK that has fallen from the moon formulating its own format for agreement. This is because it would be necessary to begin to talk by means of toilsome agreement on basic information about contemporary Poland. TYGODNIK says that it is expressing "elementary hopes" in the name of society. We therefore have in our country some sort of mainstay of delectable feeling. It is a shame that we always get this good mood from either ignorance or falsehood.

12261

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## RAKOWSKI DISCUSSES REALIZATION OF GDANSK ACCORDS

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYDOGNIOWY in Polish No 35, 26 Aug 84 pp 1, 4, 5

[Interview with Vice Premier Mieczysław F. Rakowski by Artur Howzan: "The Spirit of the Agreements"]

[Text] [Question] One frequently encounters the opinion that the greatest benefit of the whole post-August period is the Poles' awareness that they can have an influence--some influence--on the fate of their country, or, looking at it from another perspective, the greatest sin of the past governing parties was the effective preclusion of its citizens from responsibility for Poland. This led to economic and moral catastrophe, brought about a decay in social activity and an alienation of authority. Do you, Mr Premier, agree with that opinion?

[Answer] If such an awareness already is a social fact, then that's good. I don't believe, however, that it's already widespread today. After all, there still exists, though it's difficult to pin down its magnitude precisely, a part of the population which considers that it doesn't have such an influence. That is a feeling that can't be disregarded.

The party and its allies as well as the country's highest authorities, in establishing the chief foundations of social and economic policies, keep in mind both those who have such an awareness and those who don't. This statement is not an assertion without any backing. On the basis of the program adopted by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR, from year to year we enrich our social life in those areas about which our citizens can, and should, express their views, opinions, and desires in matters that stimulate their interest. I have in mind, among other things, the more and more efficiently operating system of consultation by PRON, the new law on people's councils and local self-government, workers' self-government, collective self-government, etc.

From the experiences which are accumulated by everyone who is interested in citizens' active participation in public life, it turns out that the areas referred to are not taken full advantage of. The reasons for this vary. Some believe it not worthwhile because "my voice won't mean a thing" anyway; others, recalling their activity of 1981, have limited their interest to purely professional, familial matters, while still others look for



additional zlotys, since so-called hard money is not, after all, a purely theoretical concept. To comment on each of these attitudes would take up much more space in your paper.

I'll limit myself to the attitude one meets most often: that "it's not worth it because it doesn't influence the decision anyway." Well, this is a mistaken feeling. It's true that it is formed by experience, but that fact doesn't free me from polemics. The system of which I am a part analyzes very carefully the opinions expressed by citizens at consultation meetings, in letters sent to the head of government and to members of the Council of Ministers, the results of studies of public opinion conducted by specialized institutions, and the like. The conclusions proceeding from these analyses have an influence on the decisions we make. Naturally, not every opinion can be taken into account. We must always search for a decision that attempts to reconcile as aptly as possible different interests, different points of view, and the like.

So it is worthwhile taking a stand vis-a-vis questions which the life of the nation currently raises. In asserting the durability of such a mode of government, I am far from trying to convince anyone that the authorities on all levels always and everywhere do not show a tendency to neglect or minimize the views or opinions, etc., expressed by citizens. Things aren't that good. We also have to overcome all kinds of inherited customs. I also have to fight in myself the conviction that is characteristic of every person, that I know best what is beneficial and what isn't for the citizen for I have all kinds of information at my disposal, I can "hear the grass grow," etc.

In essence we could already pass on to the next question, but I am haunted by the "effective preclusion of citizens from responsibility for Poland." I think that that's too simplified a view of our post-war past. For one thing, a black-and-white method rarely lends itself to the formulation of opinions about social phenomena, and for another, even if preclusion did occur, and it did, then at the same time one cannot disregard millions of citizens who did have a sense of responsibility and expressed it in everyday life. Can we, for example, belittle the efforts of a great number of citizens who, despite adverse conditions, such as, for example, the indifference or outright reluctance of the executive organ, spoke out loudly in public affairs and through their activity brought about the elimination of many flaws from our lives? Can we say, for example, that all the activists of the National Unity Front served only for the sake of getting decorated or that all the councilors were shiftless? Let's steer clear of such simplifications.

[Question] The August agreements are an extremely exotic form of negotiations between the government and society. Strictly speaking, however, it differs little in its climate and spirit from the methods of forcing privileges and statutes which we know all too well from history. A weak government has always made concessions and little good has resulted from these concessions.

[Answer] I don't share your opinion about exoticism. The march of events forced the August agreements. In that sociopolitical situation they were essential. Even if some of them, such as, for example, the Gdansk agreements, had distinct traces of behind-the-scenes activity by political powers which in the conflict that arose between the party along with the national government and millions of working people glimpsed a chance of attaining their goals, which were at odds with the vital interests of the working class, then the spirit of those agreements was dictated by the collective feeling of the working people. One should remember that apart from these three most important agreements after August 1980, there were 600 others signed in Poland. Was this a continuation of the forcing of privileges and statutes which we know all too well from history? Yes and no. There were demands which fit this theory to a "t," but there were also others that were completely legitimate. With regard to concessions on the part of a "weak government," there too one should submit each stipulation recorded in these more than 600 agreements to a discerning analysis and answer the question of in relation to what was the concession made. If, for example, in 1979 there was issued some order which was a sign of neglectfulness of the legitimate interests of the working people or voluntarism, then a departure from it wasn't a concession, but a return to common sense, to a sense of social justice and the like.

[Question] Hasn't the fact that the government itself signed the agreements, and that then in a general sense that same government acknowledged them as partly unrealizable, left in the minds of Poles a mistrust and disbelief in promises, even those formulated in the document?

[Answer] I share this view, but I'd like to add that that mistrust or disbelief which today comprises a social category cannot be examined in isolation from our attitude to the nation as a common good. This attitude, as everyone knows, has been most often permeated with mistrust, disbelief and the like. That's the way history has shaped us. Returning to the mistrust existing today: the state administration is fully aware that seeking support of the citizens for policies laid out by the PZPR and its allies can take place only through deeds, i.e., the consistent realization of the aims formulated in the programs.

I believe we offer a lot of evidence that we don't make promises without carrying them out. Through deeds we are trying to persuade citizens that they can trust us. This aspiration is evident not only in the fact that we learn lessons from the past, that we do not treat lightly the psychology, the feelings of individuals and groups, and the like. It is evident also in our wish for success, for we want to prove that we can not only lead our country out of a critical situation, but also create such socioeconomic conditions that in the future it will be impossible to repeat those dramatic situations which we've experienced in the past few years. It's also a matter of personal pride.

[Question] Which point in the agreements aroused particular controversy formerly and which arouses particular controversy today?

[Answer] It's difficult to speak of particular controversies formerly and today. Doubts were born regarding the feasibility of certain points of settlement that was included in the Szczecin agreement on the topic of solving the apartment issue. One of the stipulations stated that the period of waiting could not last longer than 5 years. From the first moment there was controversy over the issue of introducing free Saturdays in view of an already obvious fall in production and worsening living conditions. I wish to remind you, however, that the controversies surrounding the feasibility of this or that point of settlement sprang up not only along the line of the government versus Solidarity. They appeared in various environments on various occasions. Reverting in this context to the preceding question, I do not share the opinion that "in a general sense" the government acknowledged the demands as partly unfeasible. Certainly the government did, but not it alone. A different question is how many citizens then thinking similarly to us in the government openly voiced doubts as to the advisability of including certain points of settlement in the agreements.

[Question] To what extent was it vital who signed the agreements on the part of the government?

[Answer] Naturally, the persona of the negotiator, his mode of thought, his intentions, and even his character traits have by no means trivial significance, but in this case I would not ascribe primary significance to them. The contents of the agreements were defined above all by the situation which was created in Poland as a result of the July-August strikes, reactions to the former leadership of the party, etc. This is a huge separate topic. One also should not forget that a negotiator does not act alone according to his own discretion. He has specific powers and instructions. These may be more or less detailed, but they do exist. One should also add that the agreements that Kazimierz Barcikowski and Mieczyslaw Jagielski signed were accepted by the plenum of the Central Committee, which was convened urgently on 30 August.

[Question] Mr Premier, on an everyday basis not many people really remember what the agreements concerned in detail. That is a politicians' matter. The citizen is interested in what as a consequence of these agreements has changed for the better in his or her purely individual experience. It is difficult to recognize the result of these feelings as being optimistic...

[Answer] You are right, of course. If someone were to ask, let's say, a thousand citizens whom one met by chance on the street what demands and proposals the August agreements negotiated, it is obvious that he would drive them into a corner. For the point is that in the course of development of the political situation in the country in 1981, the agreements became a synonym for a specific policy. After 13 December, the oppositional forces started to promote the theory that the government had trampled underfoot the agreements that it had signed. And in this way a certain pattern of thought came into being and began to circulate. It is very simple in its construction: the agreements existed while Solidarity functioned, but when

it was no longer with us, the policies which issued from the spirit and the letter of the August agreements came to an end. This is a manipulation which has all the traits of falsehood on a huge, so to say, historical, scale. On what is its essence founded? Well, primarily on the fact that the substance of the agreements was reduced to the existence of Solidarity, while the agreements did not anticipate the rise of "a social movement," as Solidarity started being called by its leaders, or rather by a conglomerate of political forces openly aiming to change the social structure of Poland.

In the agreements there was mention of "the creation of new, autonomous trade unions which would be authentic representatives of the working class" (the Gdansk agreement). A similar formula was repeated in the Szczecin agreement ("It is agreed that on the strength of the opinion of experts it will be possible for self-governing trade unions to be set up which will be socialist in nature in accordance with the Constitution of the PRL..."). And another fragment from the Gdansk agreement: "In creating new, independent, self-governing trade unions, the Interfactory Strike Committee states that they will observe the principles specified in the Constitution of the PRL." In the flow of stormily developing events in 1981, especially in the summer and fall, the principles in question were violated by the leadership almost every day. Such is the historical truth.

Since Solidarity has entered our conversation, I want to make clear that in speaking of it, in pointing to its ideological-political aspect or its pursued practices, I always have in mind the leadership of this organization, on various levels, of course. I make this qualification because I have always before my eyes the millions of workers who joined Solidarity who are far from any thought of fighting against socialism.

You assert that a citizen is interested in what as a consequence of them (i.e., the agreements) has changed for the better in his purely individual experience. That is true; it could not be otherwise. One could speak a long time on the topic of what has changed since August 1980 in Poland. To summarize very briefly the essence of these changes, I would say the following: People's Poland has embarked on the road of socioeconomic change, the consequences of which have already proved or will prove to be beneficial for the whole nation, for the socialist country, in a word, for Poland. I will add that in many essential matters we have gone far beyond the points negotiated in the August agreements. The democratization of many domains of our national life is a fact that one cannot fail to notice. Of course, that is so provided we are dealing with people who can afford an objective assessment of the situation, unmixed with spleen or common hatred.

In your opinion the result of the citizens' feelings up till now is not optimistic. I would avoid such a generalization of attitudes and feelings. They are differentiated. Alongside very positive, there exist extremely negative ones, and between these two poles one finds a whole gamut of attitudes and feelings of the "yes, but" variety, of partial satisfaction, dissatisfaction with some Sejm law, government resolution and so on, and so forth. It is also patent that the main social attitudes are defined by the living conditions of the majority of citizens.

[Question] No one today knows what dose of democracy constitutes a nutrient for our country, and what dose causes heavy indigestion. Do you, Mr Premier, perhaps have your own personal prescription? Do you consider yourself a democrat?

[Answer] It is tempting to give a good deal of thought to the answer to that grateful question, but despite that I will not allow myself to be drawn into that intellectual adventure. For the fact of the matter is that I would have to open up a new, vast chapter in our conversation. One would have to recall, after all, what is understood by the word "democracy." For me, for example, what happened in 1981 in many instances had nothing in common with democracy but much more with anarchy. We would also have to distinguish between bourgeois and socialist democracy and also to give some thought to the history of our people and country. As concerns a personal prescription, on the other hand, that would also be topic demanding extensive consideration. Do I consider myself a democrat? I would answer in this way: in my political activities I try to act democratically, or to avoid autocratic gestures and autocratic decisions.

[Question] I am told that the place for reflection and an analysis of the errors and successes of a politician is in his diary. But I cannot forego asking this question: as a vice premier, what do you consider your greatest achievement, and what your greatest defeat.

[Answer] That is the next question which I shall dodge. I do not believe that I shall accomplish that analysis only in my diaries--if I have time to write those at all--but today the definition of both of my greatest achievement and of my greatest defeat alike would be even for formal consideration a risky enterprise. I am one of those people who reluctantly confine themselves to a one- or two-sentence explanation. That is to say, one would need to use up many pages of your paper to explain the motives which prompted me in taking stock of my activity as a member of the government of the PRL.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

12584

CSO: 2600/1243

## 'FORTUNE 500'-STYLE RANKING OF FIRMS STIRS CONTROVERSY

## Historical Background of Project

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 29, 15 Jul 84 pp 1,4

[Article by Marek Misiak: "Drawing Back the Curtain"]

[Text] The publishing of selected statistical data on the 500 largest enterprises of the processing industry in the monthly ZARZADZANIE has inspired commentary by other periodicals as well. Although these enterprises generally are less well-known and are much smaller by comparison with the 500 largest American enterprises represented by the American monthly FORTUNE, the event is no ordinary one, and it makes a special statement under our conditions. The editors of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE decided to reprint most of the information published in ZARZADZANIE on the first and last 50 of the list of 500. Technical considerations do not allow us to include statistics on the entire 500 in a single issue of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE. In discussions and articles, however, we shall attempt to give our readers the possibility of taking a closer look at the "500," as well as at comparable statistics for other enterprises, not only those in the processing industry.

It is hoped that in time the open publication of selected data on 500 of the largest enterprises in the June issue of ZARZADZANIE and on 100 of their representatives in ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE will become something completely natural, a good practice. During work on the economic reform assumptions, the idea of such a publication was framed in very general terms. No clear plan was developed regarding how to implement the idea. While history is infernally conditioned by various objective factors, this does not mean that people and their subjective actions are of no importance here. By chance I witnessed the birth of this endeavor and I cannot help remembering some of the related details, although this may give the impression that I am writing some sort of personal column.

I first discussed the idea of publishing statistics on the 500 largest domestic enterprises with Professor Jan Mujzel in April 1983. He had been considering this and wanted some competent body of individuals to determine whether it would be possible, given the existing state of computerization. Quite soon (in May 1983) a meeting was held in which the GUS [Central Office of Statistics] Director of the Department of Production Funds and Finances Henryk Radecki and his deputy, Jan Korwin-Szymanowski took part. Also participating in the meeting were Dr Tadeusz Baczko, an employee of the Research Center for the Functioning of the Economy directed by Prof Jan Mujzel, the author of the article on the 500 [enterprises] published in this issue of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE. The Research Center for the Functioning of the Economy is one of the units of the PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] Institute for the Economic Sciences.

From the viewpoint of the sources of data, the potential for preparing the list of 500 was considerable. This was the most important fact emanating from that first meeting. We considered whether income from sales (sale value) would be an appropriate criterion for selecting the 500 for the list. We also discussed preliminarily which indexes ought to be chosen to characterize the largest enterprises. It was clear that these should include capital stock formation and financial performance records (profit or loss). We considered how to present the reconciliation of the 500 enterprises with the budget and whether to give additional information on the use of particular production elements, including employment, fixed assets and average emolument. We decided to present the relevant suggestions to the GUS leadership and the directors of the PAN Institute for the Economic Sciences, as well as to the government deputy plenipotentiary for economic reform affairs, Minister Zdzislaw Sadowski. We likewise informed the chiefs of the editorial staff of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, the potential publisher of this venture, of the initiative. The initiative assumed a formal nature.

A meeting was then held with the GUS president, Prof Wieslaw Sadowski. A preliminary list of 500 enterprises was prepared initially with data for the first half of 1983. Within the framework of the GUS leadership, GUS Vice-President Stanislaw Paradysz was in charge of the endeavor. More and more people began to favor the initiative. This included adherents from the Planning Commission and in other institutions as well. These efforts were crowned with the appearance of the first of a series of articles on the 500 in the June issue of ZARZADZANIE and their presentation in ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE.

I decided to make public some fragments of the history of the birth of this venture since, except for individual cases, to date in our country more extensive information of general availability has been lacking on the impact of particular enterprises on overall performance records in the economy, on what enterprises draw from the economy and on their input into it. Thus, this is something really new in Poland, attesting to our step forward in creating conditions of the openness of economic life and of the progress of the economic reform.

The economic performance records of enterprises hitherto presented by ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE have been in aggregate form, encompassing entire sectors and subsectors of the economy. The suggestions and warnings regarding the various

phenomena occurring in cost and price formation have gone unheeded. On the other hand, information in which an enterprise is mentioned by name is much more effective. It is one thing, for example, to talk of the lack of profitability of the coal, milk or meat industries and something else to name specific mines and processing plants. As yet there are no mines on the list of the 500 enterprises, but there are processing industry enterprises from entire subbranches and subsectors that function efficiently. At the same time, information on lack of profitability and on subsidies and credits that mask the effects of excessive capital spending is especially significant.

I already have encountered the initial reactions of enterprise representatives to the list of 500. Some of those concerned first learned of the degree of their inefficiency from the published material. Likewise, in many cases, data indicating the high rate of positive results was shocking. Most were becoming aware for the first time of the proportions and relationship between the performance records of their enterprises and those of other, similar enterprises. A number of remarks were made noting the need to expand the list of enterprises whose performance records are published. In construction, trade and services there also are many enterprises whose income from sales is considerably higher than 2.7 billion zlotys, the amount making up the criterion for including an enterprise among the processing industry's 500.

Selected economic performance indicators, however, should not be the criteria for making rash judgments regarding who is taking his meals with whom. The fact that the highest capital stock formation stream occurs in POLMOS does not mean that less milk, which is subsidized, ought to be produced and more vodka, which is profitable, ought to be manufactured. The potential for steering the development of particular enterprises in a different direction is limited by various considerations, some of which are of an objective nature. Money is made on vodka in all countries and agriculture is subsidized in most countries, as is milk.

Finally, there are circumstances of another nature that dictate restraint in assessing differences in the economic performance indicators of particular enterprises. The potential for the growth of capital stock formation and profit is different in enterprises where prices are set by the national government from the potential in those where they have the character of regulated or contractual prices. Substantial differences also exist within the framework of each of these groups. For example, the prices of coal, electrical power and some other materials, as well as of PKP [Polish State Railway] services are kept by the state at a level considerably lower than the social costs of production. As a result, in many processing industry enterprises, the capital stock formation is higher because their production costs are lower than they ought to be due to the utilization of certain materials and services.

Differences in the financial situation of enterprises likewise may result from the method used to calculate them emanating from the costs of the capital spending projects implemented by the enterprises, a method that is not up to enterprise to determine. This applies especially to buildings built or substantially expanded during the 1970's. In many of these enterprises, investments were implemented on a scale and structure that departed considerably from the real needs and potential of these enterprises.



The list of 500 certainly will evoke various reactions from the particular enterprises. Enterprises that make a fairly weak showing on this list in light of their economic performance records (and often they are so-called leading enterprises) sometimes may take offense.

Despite the 2 years of implementation of the economic reform, enterprises often still do not pay enough attention to financial results. There are various indications that enterprises are more interested in comparing their average emoluments than economic performance indicators of profitability. I do not mean for this to be understood as a condemnation of the interest in comparing emoluments. Differences in emoluments impact on the flow of cadres, and are linked in many enterprises to real problems in filling out workforces.

The publication assumes the creation of premises for motivating enterprises more strongly to improve their effectiveness. It would be ideal if the information presented in the table indicating the relatively weak economic performance records of enterprises would become an incentive leading enterprises to find ways of more economical materials management, a better use of employees and an improvement in production quality, as well as the improved adaptation of the production structure to consumer needs. It likewise would be good if the published economic performance indicators led to greater caution in the commitment made by enterprises to certain capital spending projects characterized by lengthy implementational cycles. Enterprises ought to be more aware of the cost of such capital spending projects.

The publication should serve to uphold the implementation of one of the basic economic reform assumptions: the creation of closer ties than exist at present between the level and growth rate of average emoluments and the efficiency of the enterprise. These interdependencies are still insufficient, as is clear even from a cursory glance at the information contained in the table of 100 enterprises published in this issue of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE.

Perhaps I am overly optimistic here, but I believe that the positive effects of the publication of the list of 500 outweigh the real and potential doubts and anxieties concerning it. It will be easier, however, to grasp the positive effects after some period of time, when the undertaking will have included a number of articles covering a period of several years.

In this context, the statement made by GUS Vice-President Stanislaw Paradysz that in the future, the list of economic performance indicators characterizing the 500 enterprises will be expanded to include "fixed assets, their productivity, the technical equipping of production, the creation and distribution of the development fund and growth rate comparisons--comparisons of changes over time" is promising (see ZARZADZANIE, No 6 (1984)). Likewise, the statement made by Prof Jan Mujzel in an interview published in the same issue of ZARZADZANIE is a reason for optimism: "We are promising ourselves a great deal. We know that we still have not identified all the research possibilities. For example, we will calculate the growth rate from year to year. This will allow us to uncover interesting correlations, between the growth rate of wages and profitability and between profitability and credit granted to enterprises. I think that this will enable us to verify many reform assumptions."

I believe that if the publication of the 500 presented this year allows even a part of these forecasts to be developed, this too will bring satisfaction.

Table 1. Selected Data on 100 of the 500 Largest Polish Processing Industry Enterprises

Sales position '83	Enterprise name	Sales		Turnover	Subsidies	Capital stock formation from all activity	Economic performance record	Income tax	Net profit	number of employees	Employment	Average monthly emolument
		mln zlotys	position									
Total of the 500												
1	POLNOS Warszawa	4424792	668108	139747	944796	434712	256788	12,5	1684345	25	13541	316
2	PETROCHEMIA Plock	444525	377096	--	388498	11402	9363	20,5	8471	24	14882	188
3	Huta im. LENINA Kraków	234751	76856	--	98364	18354	16222	14,5	200	1	19932	1
4	Huta KATOWICE	91615	548	245	9341	9038	4890	11,0	282	3	19316	2
5	Polskie Gorn. Nattowe i Gaz. W-wa	89788	296	5865	--	5171	1812	5,7	404	493	19026	7
		72215	--	--	9694	9557	7728	15,4	179			
6	FSM Bielsko-Biala	63531	11034	--	21703	10924	7981	25,6	75	2	14995	137
7	Z-dy Rafineryjne Gdańsk	57763	24261	--	28981	4534	3703	15,9	170	345	16552	52
8	Komb. FSO Warszawa	53972	14009	--	20808	10442	7890	29,2	55	22723	6	14144
9	Okr. Przedz. Przem. Mięsn. Katowice	52445	1	1810	--	1562	499	2,9	470	9437	19	12718
10	Zrzeszenie URSUS Warszawa	42540	3628	434	7704	4772	2915	13,6	218	23371	4	15512
11	Huta im. BIERUTA Częstochowa	39873	3	1982	--	1395	558	3,4	453	12111	13	17718
12	Huta STALOWA WOLA	37291	4	465	2794	4258	489	12,3	243	23344	5	16809
13	Huta Met. Nieżelaznych Katowice	35327	2	--	1316	1314	703	3,3	447	4018	120	17975
14	Zakład Eks.-Imp. Gdynia	34559	0	--	500	308	204	0,9	488	327	493	10972
15	Okr. Przedz. Przem. Mięsn. Bydgoszcz	30654	0	3547	--	727	256	2,2	484	7911	30	13344
16	Huta WARSZAWA	26854	12	--	3171	3159	1873	13,3	228	9304	20	19223
17	Okr. Przedz. Przem. Mięsn. Wrocław	26585	0	4560	--	410	--	1,3	486	6130	54	12495
18	Huta im. NOWOTKI Ostr. Świętok.	25313	146	590	157	406	80	2,0	487	15884	9	16173
19	Okr. Przedz. Przem. Mięsn. Warszawa	23313	0	1255	--	657	233	2,7	472	5902	53	13900
20	Komb. FSC Starachowice	23238	2107	--	6065	3968	2579	22,8	99	16343	8	12642
21	Komb. Koks. Zabrze	23183	5	4822	--	458	2747	15,3	174	4976	81	18485
22	Okr. Przedz. Przem. Mięsn. Łódź	22910	0	2939	--	439	--	1,4	495	7401	37	13661
23	FSC POLMO Lublin	22403	3758	--	6689	2935	1294	18,6	133	9991	16	14335
24	JZS Jeż	22342	695	--	6010	13	4406	83,2	83	8139	27	12918
25	H. CEGIELSKI Poznań	22275	66	--	1460	94	752	8,2	345	15295	10	15110

Table 1 (cont'd)

Sales position '83 '82	Enterprise name	mln zlotys													
		Sales	Turnover	Tax	Subsidies	Capital stock formation from all activity	Economic performance record	Income tax	Net profit	number of employees	zlots position	Average monthly emolument			
26	37 Z-dy Metalurg. Trzebinia	22077	4	—	838	187	967	109	720	4,5	431	1613	360	19852	3
27	30 Sl. Z-dy Rafin. Czechowice	21857	7846	—	9204	8	1357	76	978	10,7	231	1298	401	14674	154
28	26 CHEMIA Oświęcim	21800	25	47	2027	57	2049	23	1228	10,3	296	7831	31	15188	110
29	28 TARNOAZOT Tarnów	21691	17	1037	1204	130	2224	30	1037	10,8	286	9552	18	15242	108
30	34 Komb. BUMAR-LABĘDY Gliwice	21091	1	—	1663	78	3091	19	620	15,9	169	10489	15	18152	20
31	32 Okr. Przeds. Przem. Mięsn. Poznań	19911	0	2985	—3354	497	372	331	65	1,9	492	4366	101	13837	347
32	33 Cukrownie Lubelskie Lublin	18972	1	2124	115	419	2238	23	1237	11,6	263	6779	45	16439	57
33	43 Z-dy Telew. UNITRA Warszawa	18738	6146	—	7452	19	1312	77	964	11,5	266	5034	78	18011	394
34	36 Okr. Przeds. Przem. Mięsn. Koło	18722	0	2413	—1359	470	608	207	292	3,0	467	4534	93	13264	357
35	41 ZYG INCO Warszawa	18684	1596	—	5974	14	3860	12	2360	30,2	49	11090	14	12893	425
36	45 Z-dy Włók. Chem. Gorzów Wlkp.	18222	905	—	4329	17	3424	15	2558	24,5	85	7919	29	14649	159
37	49 Okr. Przeds. Przem. Mięsn. Olsztyn	17843	0	2216	—1835	475	497	267	34	2,4	477	3713	138	18122	373
38	39 Huta BATORY Chorzów	17794	0	82	573	260	655	184	218	3,8	449	7516	36	19009	10
39	35 CHEMIA Białochomla	17765	19	—	1521	87	1312	55	1085	9,3	314	3924	125	14878	139
40	38 AZOTY Kędzierzyn	17747	7	415	585	278	1076	91	452	6,2	393	6598	48	14491	182
41	50 Huta KOSCIUSZKO Chorzów	16993	0	62	554	283	615	203	176	3,7	451	5695	64	19010	9
42	40 Z-dy AZOTY Puławy	16864	1	—	1681	74	1603	45	915	11,0	281	5370	69	14047	232
43	56 Z-dy POLAR Wrocław	16867	4040	—	3441	15	1933	44	1152	14,6	198	8460	51	13021	391
44	51 Huta ZAWIERCIE Zawiercie	16753	40	13	929	173	931	124	415	5,7	403	6078	56	17683	27
45	31 Okr. Przeds. Przem. Mięsn. Lublin	16313	0	2033	—1633	472	343	234	81	1,9	439	4842	83	13325	343
46	47 Huta FLORIAN Świętochłowice	16230	95	—	1509	89	1418	65	993	9,5	309	4381	105	13017	8
47	44 VIS Warszawa	15240	235	1	2985	33	343	15	2906	26,0	72	12243	12	13636	272
48	46 Huta BAILDON Katowice	15156	22	—	1377	68	111	27	1052	13,4	234	8149	26	17263	32
49	60 ELANA Toruń	15121	28	—	2910	35	232	21	1967	22,6	109	7098	41	14383	291
50	52 AUTOSAN Sanok	14455	670	—	2439	54	1132	49	1073	14,4	202	6114	55	12539	456

Table 1 (cont'd)

Sales position '83 '82	Enterprise name	Sales	Turnover	tax	Subsidies	Capital position		Economic performance		Income tax	Net profit	number of employees	Employment position	zlotys	Average monthly emolument	
						stock formation	from all activity	position	record							
mIn zlotys																
451	486	ZNTK Bygoszcz	2959	0	—	410	322	449	288	—	17,4	148	3265	173	15654	87
452	445	Z-dy Przem. Baw. FANAR Zielon	2957	25	—	137	407	132	479	52	4,6	428	1798	342	12413	434
453	463	UNITRA-BIAZET Bialystok	2953	75	—	397	396	325	367	238	12,6	239	2285	275	10555	493
454	497	Z-dy ERG Dabrowa Gornicza	2933	74	—	512	301	444	235	259	12,3	141	1324	237	13838	269
455	X	Z-dy Odzież. Im. PROCHNIKA Lodz	2932	0	—	244	386	243	423	112	9,0	323	2901	195	13983	241
456	X	Cukrownia ROPCZYCE	2930	0	1004	—438	454	566	223	343	16,8	156	872	488	15739	84
457	411	BUMAR-FAMABA Glogow	2929	0	—	213	393	247	418	92	9,0	322	1173	417	15238	105
458	X	Cukrownie Kiel. Ostrow. Swietokrz.	2921	0	631	—338	449	293	391	138	9,0	325	1261	402	13091	378
459	396	AGROMET Brzeg	2921	52	—	371	347	319	371	143	12,5	241	1246	403	14630	153
460	X	Z-dy Futrzarskie Zywiec	2905	425	—	748	215	357	342	235	16,6	159	535	463	13267	356
461	422	Dom Mody ELEGANCJA Katowice	2899	163	—	424	330	241	425	76	9,7	307	4791	166	11869	493
462	449	Z-dy Lmlar. LEN Kamienna Gora	2893	0	—	151	411	151	473	27	5,4	493	2830	228	13643	300
463	386	Cementownia Ozarów	2890	37	—	—3	435	—35	539	—	—	—	1464	330	12184	478
464	457	Z-dy Przem. Baw. I MAJA Lodz	2890	19	—	63	438	57	497	4	2,0	483	2632	332	13933	251
465	412	Z-dy Wytw. Magnet. UNITRA Lubartow	2881	513	—	837	186	244	422	113	11,9	247	2032	336	10935	504
466	X	Przeds. Mat. Budowl. Katowice	2869	4	—	297	370	292	392	111	11,3	273	2951	190	15018	128
467	X	Przeds. Przem. Ziemiacz. Lubon	2861	0	—	533	352	353	344	239	14,0	212	897	435	3087	120
468	X	Fabr. Mebli Trzcianka	2859	238	—	413	331	232	427	111	9,4	311	2101	301	3352	246
469	497	TECHMA-ZUGIL Wielun	2854	3	—	726	223	722	163	437	33,9	33	2733	218	14376	169
470	424	AGROMET-ARCHIMEDES Wroclaw	2847	79	—	276	375	197	450	45	7,7	358	1942	324	13344	344
471	465	POLAM-FAREL Ketzyn	2645	344	—	686	240	342	356	219	15,6	172	1724	350	19360	469
472	X	Z-dy Przem. Wein. TOMEX Tomaszow	2345	546	—	339	192	283	397	164	14,0	213	2109	297	13806	424
473	440	Z-dy Pylt Wior. Grajewo	2336	10	—	408	333	338	314	235	16,4	163	931	446	14956	129
474	X	Z-dy LENPOL Szcztyno	2837	4	—	133	409	143	475	18	5,5	408	2316	193	13066	383
475	433	Z-dy Papier. Konstancin-Jeziorna	2838	12	87	117	417	203	446	121	7,5	360	1791	344	13945	299

Table 1 (cont'd)

Sales position '83 '82	Enterprise name	Sales	Turnover	Tax	Subsidies	Capital stock formation		Economic performance record		Income tax	Net profit	number of employees	position	zlotys	Average monthly emolument	
						mln zlotys	position	mln zlotys	position							mln zlotys
475 871	AGROMET-FAMAROL Slupsk	2826	143	—	—	560	282	418	304	280	18,6	139	338	338	12597	451
477 489	Fabr. Automat. Tok. PONAR Wroclaw	2825	0	—	—	628	263	628	194	387	28,7	56	2216	282	13721	284
478 438	Fabr. Urz. Mech. PONAR Ostuszezow	2821	14	—	—	138	110	1314	76	886	88,1	3	1889	393	15024	121
479 500	RUNOTEX Kalisz	2819	755	—	—	1949	148	294	388	169	16,5	161	2576	241	13830	273
480 X	Fabr. Przewod. Energ. Bedzin	2814	0	—	—	294	371	296	367	178	11,7	256	399	497	14457	187
481 441	PZO Warszawa	2804	63	—	—	430	336	449	282	83	18,8	133	4230	110	14573	155
482 409	Pomor. Odlew. i Emalier. Grudziadz	2801	6	—	—	196	393	190	457	44	7,3	372	2309	283	12353	437
483 X	Z-dy Lniar. CAMELA Wabrzyc	2788	157	—	—	737	218	580	215	457	23,1	61	1143	421	13646	298
484 402	PZZ Stoislaw	2786	—	2120	—	—	1860	477	312	180	6,6	355	927	451	13990	336
485 390	Z-dy Pap. Krapkowice	2783	16	0	—	238	387	229	430	91	9,0	325	1924	327	12563	455
486 X	Z-dy Wezn. MAZOWIA Tomaszow	2781	572	2	—	866	164	396	315	266	21,6	107	1934	325	12648	443
487 429	Przeds. Przem. Drzew. Torun	2781	99	—	—	293	396	144	477	44	5,5	408	2252	276	13742	281
488 X	BACUTIL Krakow	2789	0	61	—	147	412	208	443	131	7,9	352	735	478	12053	464
489 437	AGROMET-INOFAMA Inowroclaw	2788	144	—	—	449	329	305	382	79	12,9	234	1921	329	13650	297
490 483	Z-dy Mat. Ogniotr. Gliwice	2788	3	—	—	343	356	339	360	185	13,9	215	1368	394	17637	28
491 491	Z-dy Tworzyw Sztucz. Knurow	2776	101	—	—	262	382	161	469	19	6,4	391	1135	424	15820	79
492 410	PZZ Lublin	2768	0	2397	—	—	2183	484	214	113	4,3	489	1118	429	14069	230
493 X	Z-dy Pivowarskie Glubczyce	2767	1227	—	—	1390	102	163	467	98	11,9	251	848	461	13722	233
494 X	Komb. Dzwig. Osob. ZREMB Warszawa	2764	5	—	—	480	314	476	261	296	20,7	114	2382	247	13667	245
495 475	BACUTIL Lublin	2761	0	66	—	131	414	197	451	147	7,4	365	535	494	12892	407
498 454	Fabr. Sprzetu Samoch. Lodz	2754	378	—	—	768	299	391	316	248	19,7	128	2221	280	12607	447
497 X	Z-dy Metalurg. MYSIAL Myszkow	2754	0	—	—	377	543	377	326	178	15,8	173	2658	231	16478	54
498 476	Fabr. Mebl. Olszyn	2752	153	—	—	223	389	110	485	23	4,3	433	2043	314	13995	238
499 X	Z-dy Pivowarskie Wroclaw	2740	1429	—	—	1658	82	229	431	143	21,1	111	594	445	13826	274
500 455	Fabr. Srub. Lanout	2736	26	—	—	46	439	134	451	43	7,2	373	1923	323	12787	431

Key\*:

1. Warsaw POLMOS Plant
2. Plock PETROCHEMIA Plant
3. Krakow LENIN Works
4. KATOWICE Works
5. Warsaw Polish Petroleum and Gas Mining Industry
6. Bielsko-Biala FSM [Small Passenger Car Factory]
7. Gdansk Refinery Plant
8. Warsaw FSO [Automobile Factory]
9. Katowice District Meat Industry Enterprise
10. Warsaw URSUS Association
11. Czestochowa BIERUT Works
12. STALOWA WOLA Works
13. Katowice Nonferrous Metals Works
14. Gdynia Export-Import Plant
15. Bydgoszcz District Meat Industry Enterprise
16. WARSZAWA Works
17. Wroclaw District Meat Industry Enterprise
18. Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski NOWOTKA Works
19. Warsaw District Meat Industry Enterprise
20. Starachowice FSC [Truck Factory] Plants
21. Zabrze Coke Plants
22. Lodz District Meat Industry Enterprise
23. Lublin POLMO FSC
24. Jelcz JZS [expansion unavailable]
25. Poznan H. CEGIELSKI Works
26. Trzebinia Metallurgical Plant
27. Czechowice Silesian Refinery Plants
28. Oswiecim CHEMIA Plant
29. Tarnow TARNOAZOT Plant
30. Gliwice BUMAR-LABEDY Works
31. Poznan District Meat Industry Enterprise
32. Lublin Sugar Factory
33. Warsaw UNITRA Television Plant
34. Kolo District Meat Industry Enterprise
35. Warsaw INCO ZZG [expansion unavailable]
36. Gorzow Wielkopolski Chemical Fibers Plant
37. Olsztyn District Meat Industry Enterprise
38. Chorzow BATORY Works
39. CHEMIA Sheet-Iron Works
40. Kedzierzyn AZOTY Plant
41. Chorzow KOSCIUSZKO Works
42. Pulawy AZOTY Plant
43. Wroclaw POLAR Plant
44. Zawiercie ZAWIERCIE Works
45. Lublin District Meat Industry Enterprise
46. Swietochlowice FLORIAN Works
47. Warsaw VIS Plant
48. Katowice BAILDON Works
49. Torun ELANA Plant
50. Sanok AUTOSAN Plant
451. Bydgoszcz ZNTK [Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops
452. FANAR Zelow Cotton Industry Plant
453. Bialystok UNITRA-BIAZET Plant
454. Dabrowa Gornicza ERG [expansion unavailable] Plant
455. Lodz PROCHNIK Clothing Plant
456. ROPCZYCE Sugar Factory
457. Glogow BUMAR-FAMABA Plant
458. Kielce Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski Sugar Factory
459. Brzeg AGROMET Plant
460. Zywiec Furrier Plant
461. Katowice ELEGANCJA House of Fashion
462. Kamienna Gora LEN Linen Plant
463. Ozarow Cement Plant
464. Lodz First-of-May Cotton Industry Plant
465. Lubartow UNITRA Tape Recorder Production Works
466. Katowice Building Materials Enterprise
467. Lubon Potato Industry Enterprise

[Translator's note]: Numbering of keyed items (enterprises) follows that of Polish text (1983 sales position).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 468. Trzcianka Furniture Factory                   | 486. Tomaszow MAZOWIA Woolen Plants         |
| 469. Wielun TECHMA-ZUGIL Plant                     | 487. Torun Timber Industry Enterprise       |
| 470. Wroclaw AGROMET-ARCHIMEDES Plant              | 488. Krakow BACUTIL Plant                   |
| 471. Ketrzyn POLAM-FAREL Plant                     | 489. Inowroclaw AGROMET-INOFAMA Plant       |
| 472. Tomaszow TOMEX Woolen Industry Plant          | 490. Gliwice Heat-Resistant Materials Plant |
| 473. Grajewo Chipboard Plant                       | 491. Knurow Plastics Plants                 |
| 474. Szczytno LENPOL Plant                         | 492. Lublin PZZ                             |
| 475. Konstancin-Jeziorna Paper Plant               | 493. Glubczyce Brewing Industry Plant       |
| 476. Slupsk AGROMET-FAMAROL Plant                  | 494. Warsaw ZREMB Passenger Elevator Works  |
| 477. Wroclaw PONAR Automatic Lathe Plant           | 495. Lublin BACUTIL Plant                   |
| 478. Ostrzeszow PONAR Machinery Factory            | 496. Lodz Automobile Equipment Plant        |
| 479. Kalisz RUNOTEX Plant                          | 497. Myszkow MYSTAL Metallurgical Plant     |
| 480. Bedzin Power Conduction Factory               | 498. Olsztyn Furniture Factory              |
| 481. Warsaw PZO [Polish Optical Plants]            | 499. Wroclaw Brewing Industry Plant         |
| 482. Grudziadz Pomeranian Casting and Enamel Plant | 500. Lancut Bolt Factory                    |
| 483. Walbrzych CAMELA Linen Plant                  |   |
| 484. Stoislaw PZZ [State Grain Elevators]          |   |
| 485. Krapkowice Paper Plants                       |   |

Sales encompass earnings from sales on the domestic market (in realizational prices) and on the foreign market (in transactional prices) for products, labor and services, goods, materials, patents, licenses and other scientific-technical achievements.

The turnover tax is a uniform tax for all fields of the socialized economy. The basis for taxation is the charge for products sold (in realizational prices) and for services rendered (in services prices).

Subsidies have the purpose of equalizing the basic level of profitability. They are granted for specific products whose prices have been set at a low level (product subsidies) or for specific enterprises as a whole (organizational unit subsidies) for valid social or economic reasons.

Capital stock formation from all activity represents the surplus of monetary earnings of enterprises obtained from the sale of products and services both on the domestic market and for export in excess of the prime costs of this sale, corrected by the balance of losses and extraordinary profits. Capital stock formation may assume both a positive and negative value.

The economic performance record is the difference between earnings from sale and the prime costs of this sale, increased by the subsidies owing and reduced by the turnover tax, as well as corrected by the financial balancing of accounts in foreign trade, by compensatory price differences and by the balance of losses from extraordinary profits [as published]. The positive economic performance record is profit while the negative economic performance record is the losses of the enterprise. Verified enterprise profit, increased by costs and unwarranted losses is the basis for earnings tax taxation.

Net profit is the relationship between the economic performance record and the prime costs of sale and it is one of the basic economic indicators.

Employment in enterprises encompasses: those persons employed on the basis of a work relationship, i.e. a labor contract, appointment, election or nomination; the members of organized work groups, i.e., the members of voluntary corps for school-age and student youth, soldiers and prisoners working on the basis of a collective labor agreement with a plant; persons in the preliminary apprenticeship stage of work; persons employed abroad for domestic industrial enterprises. The data given covering average employment converts part-time employment into full-time employment.

The average monthly emolument represents the quotient of individual emoluments and average employment. Emoluments are calculated here in conjunction with employee compensations and payments made out of profits for distribution and the net surplus in cooperatives (excluding the emoluments of those in training and persons doing piecework).

#### Analysis of Figures

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 29, 15 Jul 84 p 5

[Article by Tadeusz Baczek: "Position, Effectiveness, Expansion"]

[Text] The publication of individual statistical data on 500 key enterprises of the processing industry represents a breakthrough in the area of informing public opinion on the course of economic processes and creates a broad field for broadening the understanding and analysis of them. For enterprises, it represents a call for increased initiative and competition through market position growth, effectiveness expressed in terms of profits and developmental expansion. The latter will consist of the introduction of new items and production methods and the opening of markets, as well as the acquisition of new sources of raw materials and semifabricated materials.

That the group of 500 is representative is attested to by their earnings from sales, amounting in 1983 to 4.4 trillion zlotys, or 64.5 percent of the income from processing industry sales (excluding the power industry), 62.2 percent of the entire processing industry and 57.2 percent of all of industry. In the 500 enterprises, in 1983 the capital stock formation from all activity represented 79.4 percent of the capital stock formation for the processing industry (excluding the power industry), 77.5 percent of the capital stock formation for the entire processing industry and 80.3 percent of the capital stock formation in industry as a whole.

All subsectors of the processing industry are represented within the group. The share of the representatives of the 500 key enterprises varies among the particular subsectors. The largest group is the food industry (101). The chemical industry is represented by 64 enterprises, the engineering industry by 55 enterprises, the textile industry by 52, the electrical engineering industry and electronics industry by 38, the metals industry by 28, the means of transport industry by 28, ferrous metallurgy by 20, leather by 17 and fuels (excluding coal) and timber by 15 each.



The food industry enterprises studied attained the greatest sale value--1.3 trillion zlotys, or 29.6 percent of the earnings of the 500 key enterprises from sales. The next positions in terms of sales volume are held by the following: fuels industry (excluding coal)--481.7 billion zlotys, chemical industry--451.9 billion zlotys, ferrous metallurgy--449.3 billion zlotys, means of transport industry--370.7 billion zlotys, engineering industry--309.4 billion zlotys, textiles--216.8 billion zlotys, electrical engineering and electronics industries--212.6 billion zlotys, metals industry--163.8 billion zlotys and nonferrous metals industry--122.4 billion zlotys.

#### Income From Sales

Position no. 1 in terms of sales volume (444.5 billion zlotys in 1983) is held by the POLMOS Alcoholic Spirits Industry Enterprise. The turnover tax has a leading share in the sales volume of this enterprise. By virtue of its economic performance record, however, it also holds the key second position. The next position in terms of sales income volume is held by the Mazowiecki Refinery Plant (position 2), followed by the Lenin Works (position 3), the Katowice Works Metallurgical Works (position 4), the Polish Petroleum and Gas Mining Industry (position 5), the Small Passenger Car Factory (position 6), the Gdansk Refinery Plant (position 7), the Automobile Factory (position 8), the Katowice District Meat Industry Enterprise (position 9) and the URSUS Tractor Industry Association (position 10).

If we look at the list of the 500 enterprises in 1982 and 1983 ordered according to sales volume, we observe numerous shifts of position of particular enterprises both up and down on the table. Often the reason for the growth of sales was a price increase and changes in the assortment structure. Qualitative aspects, utilitarian features and product updatedness, however, remained outside the scope of observation. A decline in sales could have been caused by a production decline emanating from procurement and employment problems. As our studies show, it also was impacted upon by the limited of enterprises in allocations decisionmaking emanating from the state control of fabricated and raw materials, compulsory brokerage in trade, gas, energy and fuel allotment and compulsory mediation in labor.

An analysis of the data showed that in enterprises with earnings from sales amounting from 2.7 billion zlotys to 10 billion zlotys (representing 80 percent of the total), minor shifts in the value of sales corresponded to major shifts in position. By comparison with 1982, the threshold of entry into the group of 500 key enterprises of the processing industry rose from 2.3 billion zlotys to more than 2.7 billion zlotys of income from sales, or 21 percent. Note that in the interval between 3 and 4 billion zlotys, where the greatest changes occur in the position of enterprises, likewise the greatest concentration of enterprises occurs. On the other hand, in the interval of 10 billion zlotys to 446 billion zlotys, a great change in the value of sales may correspond to a slight shift in position. Given an unstable market, however, one must approach changes in the position of enterprises due to sales volume with great caution.

## Capital Stock Formation

Total capital stock formation in 1983 in the group studied amounted to 944.8 billion zlotys. POLMOS had the highest amount of capital stock formation (388.5 billion zlotys). The next highest was the Plock PETROCHEMIA Plant (at 98.4 billion zlotys), followed by the Gdansk Refinery Plant (29 billion zlotys). The next two places were held by the Small Passenger Car Factory (position 6) and the Automobile Factory (position 8). Following these were: the Polish Petroleum and Gas Mining Industry (position 5), the LENIN Works (position 3), the Silesian Refinery Plants (position 27), the URSUS Tractor Industry Association (position 10) and the UNITRA-WZT [Warsaw Television Establishments] (position 33).

At the same time, these enterprises pay the most turnover tax. POLMOS pays the highest turnover tax at 377.1 billion zlotys, or 84.8 percent of the value of earnings from sales. The next enterprise in terms of the amount of turnover tax paid is the Plock PETROCHEMIA Plant, which pays 76.9 billion zlotys in turnover tax into the budget, or 32.7 percent of the value of sales in 1983. The third highest amount of turnover tax is paid by the Gdansk Refinery Plant (position 7, 24.3 billion zlotys), or 42 percent of the value of earnings from the sales of this plant. Next in order of the amount of turnover tax paid is the Automobile Factory (position 8), at 14 billion zlotys (for a 25-percent share of earnings from sales), followed by the Small Passenger Car Factory at 11 billion zlotys, for a 17.4-percent share in earnings from sales (position 6).

Of the entire group of 500 enterprises, only 22 did not pay any turnover tax. Of this group, 66 units showed a negative capital stock formation balance, totaling 91.6 billion zlotys. Of these 66 enterprises, 24 were from the meat industry, 9 were steel mills, 13 were grain-milling industry enterprises, 3 were sugar refineries and of the remaining 17 enterprises, 3 were deep-sea fishing and services enterprises, 2 were chemical fertilizer enterprises and 2 were organic industry enterprises.

The lowest capital stock formation in the group studied was shown by the Paris Commune Shipyard (position 113), at 5.2 billion zlotys. The basis for its operation was a budgetary subsidy and high turnover credit, greater than the value of sales.

The fact should be noted that in the top 10 enterprises in terms of sales earnings, there are 2 enterprises with a negative capital stock formation balance: the KATOWICE Works (position 4) and the Katowice Meat Industry Enterprise (position 9). The top 100 includes 26 enterprises with a negative capital stock formation balance; the second 100 includes 14; the third 100 includes 6; the fourth 100 includes 8, and the fifth 100 includes 12. The first and last 50 include 12 and 5 respectively. Except for the OZAROW Cement Works (position 463), all enterprises with a negative capital stock formation balance received subsidies or were financed supplementarily in some other way, giving them a positive economic performance record. The highest subsidies were obtained by the KATOWICE Works (position 4) at 5.9 billion zlotys, and the POLICE Chemical Plant (position 75) at 4.8 billion zlotys.

Nearly 30 percent of all the units studied were subsidized. The subsidies totaled 139.6 billion zlotys, or 36.3 percent of the subsidies granted in industry as a whole.

#### Economic Performance Record

The overall economic performance record (balance of profits and losses) for the group of 500 enterprises studied amounted to 434.7 billion zlotys, or 60.4 percent of its level in the entire processing industry (excluding the power industry). The Mazowsze Refinery Plant (position 2) at 19.9 billion zlotys and POLMOS (position 1) at 11.4 billion zlotys attained the highest economic performance records.

The only enterprise showing a loss in the group researched was the OZAROW Cement Plant (position 463). The loss amounted to 84.9 million zlotys. This cement plant is one of the most modern in Poland. It opened at the end of the 1960's. The reason for its poor financial situation is a shortage of prime funds in turnover set at more than 160 million zlotys and a capital spending credit repayment liability of 330 million zlotys. However, considerably lower materials costs than the average for the subbranch enabled the achievement of added net production and the operation of the enterprise on the basis of funds for operations from current transactions.

As is known, the economic performance record is a source of income taxation, set at 256.8 billion zlotys for all 500 enterprises. The largest payers of the income tax were PETROCHEMIA (position 2)--16.2 billion zlotys, POLMOS (position 1)--9.3 billion zlotys and the automobile plants. Of the 500 enterprises, only 15 did not pay any income tax.

#### Net Financial Profitability

The leading enterprise in terms of net financial profitability was the POLFA Jelenia Gora Pharmaceuticals Plant (position 274). It attained a profitability of 131.3 percent. In the second place was the Grodzisk Mazowiecki POLFA Pharmaceuticals Plant (position 440) with a profitability of 92.9 percent. Next were the Ostrzeszow PONAR Machinery Factory (position 478) at 88.1 percent, the MERA-Blonie Precision Machinery Plant (position 140) at 81.4 percent, the Starogard POLFA Pharmaceuticals Plant (position 180) at 78.3 percent, the POLON United Nuclear Equipment Plant (position 350) at 64.6 percent, the POLKAT Industrial-Services Plant (position 279) at 63 percent, the Szczecin Repair Shipyard (position 292) at 57.1 percent, the Chorula Cement-Limestone Plant (position 142) at 56.8 percent and the Tarchomin POLFA Pharmaceuticals Plant (position 114) at 54.5 percent. The OZAROW Cement Plant (position 463) showed the lowest profitability at minus 2.9 percent. The average profitability for the enterprises studied was 12.5 percent.

The tremendous differences in net financial profitability should be noted.

Attempts to equalize these initial starting conditions through the use of progressive taxes with their well-known negative results in terms of efficiency, and later through the use of rate reductions, subsidies and the differentiating

of turnover tax rates did not eliminate this problem. In fact, it has been exacerbated with regard to the economic policy levers that have been used. New differences are arising alongside the old ones. For example, pharmaceuticals industry enterprises can compensate for the low profitability of selling on the domestic market through the very high profitability attained in export sales at transaction prices. Others that do not have such possibilities are often doomed to stagnation and to struggle with shortages and a lack of funds for both current activity and development. Ensuring them the possibility of overcoming these stagnation tendencies and restricting unwarranted differences in the unlimited expansion of enterprises is a major task of economic policy and the process of economic reform.

### Employment

Employment in the entire group of 500 enterprises is nearly 1.7 million, or 44.4 percent of employment throughout the processing industry (excluding the power industry) and 38 percent of employment in all industry. The largest enterprises in terms of employment were the Lenin Works (position 3) in Krakow, where nearly 33,000 persons were employed, the Bielsko-Biala FSM (position 6) and the Katowice Works (position 4). Within the framework of the 500, employment figures vary widely. The leading enterprise in employment terms is 300 times larger than the smallest, employing 100 persons.

There were 22 enterprises that fell in the interval of the employment of 5,000 to 6,000 persons; 41 employed from 4,000 to 5,000 persons and 64 employed from 3,000 to 4,000 persons. The largest group (134 enterprises) fell into the interval of the employment of 2,000 to 3,000 persons. There were 125 enterprises in the interval of 1,000 to 2,000 employees and 57 units employing under 1,000 persons.

### Average Emoluments

The first and the third largest enterprises in terms of employment--the LENIN Works (position 3) and the KATOWICE Works (position 4)--reached the highest average wage among the enterprises studied--19,900 zlotys. The UNITRA-LUB Tape Recorder Production Plant (position 465) had the lowest average wage at 10,100 zlotys. Ten enterprises of the 500 had an average emolument above 19,000 zlotys. In the top 10, mills dominated in the processing industry in terms of the highest wages (7 of 10).

The LENIN Works (position 3) was first with regard to emoluments, 282nd with regard to net financial profitability and 7th with regard to capital stock formation, while it was 6th with regard to economic performance record and net production. The KATOWICE Works (position 4) took second place in terms of emoluments. It was 404th in terms of profitability, 452nd in terms of capital stock formation, 8th in terms of economic performance record and 7th in terms of net production. The TRZEBINIA Metallurgical Plant (position 26) took third place. It was 431st in terms of profitability, 187th in terms of capital stock formation, 109th in terms of economic performance record and 208th in terms of net production.

The preliminary studies done of the correlations among the 500 enterprises showed a lack of positive linear correlation between the growth rate of the average wage calculated by comparison with 1982 and net financial profitability and the economic performance record, as well as productivity calculated in sales and the per-employee economic performance record. While the results obtained are still of a preliminary nature, they demonstrate the weak link between wages and other indicators that characterize the economic situation of an enterprise. The problem requires further study, analysis and observation on a continual basis. The conclusions drawn from this can be of great importance for future work related to the economic reform.

#### The Development Fund

The amount of the allowance from profits for the development fund vacillated between 0 and 63 percent in the enterprises studied. An analysis of these volumes for the top 10 enterprises in terms of sales income is interesting. They designated 10.9 billion zlotys from profits for the development fund. Within the framework of the development fund, they expended 8 billion zlotys for their own capital spending and 9.8 billion zlotys for the repayment of capital spending credits. For example, the LENIN Works designated 24.1 percent of profits for the development fund, and the KATOWICE Works designated 0. The URSUS Tractor Industry Association allotted less than 1.9 percent of profits for the development fund. Most of the outlays related to capital spending implemented at the KATOWICE Works and at URSUS are financed from other sources.

It should be noted that the five enterprises with the lowest capital stock formation designated 28 percent out of profits for the development fund. This was possible because of subsidies that ranged from 3.9 billion zlotys to 5.8 billion zlotys for four of these enterprises. The largest share of an allowance from profits for the development fund (63 percent) occurred at the Szczecin Poultry Plant (position 413). This plant was 498th in terms of economic performance record and 494th in terms of net profitability. These funds, however, were half the amount of the capital spending credits repaid out of the development fund.

If we look at the link between developmental decisions and the financial situation of enterprises, we see that the phenomena are laid out unevenly. There are examples of developmental tendencies in plants that show high profitability and a difficult financial situation. Here the obligations of plants to repay capital spending credits, frozen funds and the commitment of capital spending outlays have a significant impact.

#### Prime Funds in Turnover

Given the lack of definitive, verified balance-sheet data at the time that the studies were conducted, it was difficult to address completely the question of the share of prime funds and non-enterprise funds in financing working capital. One yardstick, however, that does not take into account remaining working capital is a comparison of the volume of working capital credit and prime funds in turnover. Within the framework of the top 10 in terms of earnings

from sales, the following enterprises show working capital credit that is over twice as large as the prime fund: POLMOS (position 1) 2.9; the URSUS Association (position 10) 2.4; the Katowice Meat Industry Enterprise (position 9) 2.2, and the Plock PETROCHEMIA Plant (position 2) 2.1

It is notable that, in the vast majority of cases, the working capital credits obtained by the 500 enterprises are higher than the working capital they possess. A significant amount of working capital credit in excess of prime funds in turnover (nearly 14 times as much) was obtained by the Murowana Goslina Central Union for the ZPK [expansion unavailable] Dairy Cooperative, in position 414. It was 499th in terms of economic performance record and profitability.

The data presented enable the defining of the significant position of the 500 key enterprises in the economy and the approximation of their position, efficiency, expansion and its sources. The position of enterprises, except for the top 10 in terms of earnings from sales, is characterized by great fluidity. Significant structural changes occurred in the economy in 1982-1983 with regard to the value of earnings from sales. The growth of sales, for the most part, was caused by price hikes and changes in the assortment structure of production. The decline in sales emanated from the shortages of production elements as a consequence of the various forms of state control and lack of stability. These changes impacted on the shape taken by capital stock formation, the economic performance record and net financial profitability. They affected both the costs and income sides. Many enterprises have attained tremendous profit; on the other hand, many must overcome considerable difficulties in order to ensure production continuity and to pay running and developmental expenses. They are suffering from the effects of instability both in procurement and in the gradual decline of the purchasing power of the funds in their possession.

Very often, the source of efficiency and expansion is not a growth in productivity, even when calculated by such an imperfect yardstick as sales per employee. To a great extent, it is working capital credit, that in many cases exceeds prime enterprise funds in turnover many times. In the limited context of a single article, however, it is difficult to take in all problems related to the functioning of the 500 key enterprises of the processing industry. Each of them can be the subject of a separate study that takes into consideration the specific nature of their production and technology and other circumstances.

We expect that our readers will receive the material we have presented with a feeling of good will. It will enable comparisons of the economic-financial situation of an enterprise with other enterprises within the framework of the same industry and outside this framework. It likewise will have the effect of stimulating the development of the analysis of economic phenomena in science and economic practice. It also should help to build the public's understanding of the working of enterprises and of the material and systems-type limitations on enterprise operations.

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## TRAINING, ROLE OF RESERVE OFFICERS REVIEWED

Warsaw WOJSKO LUDOWE in Polish No 6, Jun 84 pp 17-19

[Article by Div Gen Tadeusz Szacilo: "Reserve Officers in the Life of Our Country"]

[Text] The role of reserve officers in the sociopolitical life in the country is outlined in "The Law on the Comprehensive Duty of Defense of the PRL." However, specific peculiarities of this time follow from the actual international and domestic situation of the country. Therefore, the topic calls for describing these realities in at least broad strokes.

We are still in a period of intensive struggle to overcome the sociopolitical crisis in the country. The international situation is not favorable for surmounting the crisis. NATO states, and especially the United States, perfidiously strive to exploit the entanglement of our socioeconomic problems in order to exacerbate the latter still further. The center of gravity of the increasing actual war threat has shifted to Europe. The deployment of a new generation of U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe is a very dangerous undertaking, because it upsets the existing balance of military forces and initiates a new stage in the arms race at yet a higher level of menace.

In some communities, one can encounter the opinion that this danger does not affect Poland. This is a reckless and fallacious view. The so-called Rogers Plan, envisaging deep-penetration nuclear strikes against socialist countries, leaves no room for illusions. This is not just a plan of directly endangering the population on an unprecedented scale, but also an ecological menace. Therefore, no one can be misled by the use of peace-loving rhetoric as a camouflage for the U.S. policy of open confrontation. In this situation, everyone must come to recognize the nature and scale of threat and to counteract it by all possible means. The professional and social responsibilities of every citizen signify his role in the broadly defined struggle for the secure development of Poland.

Naturally, the armed forces are an institution which is particularly sensitive to dangers inside and outside the country. It was exactly this feeling of responsibility for the domestic security of the country that brought about the necessity to impose the state of martial law. This put a brake

on a dangerous course of events and created conditions for normalizing the situation. The burden of responsibility in the sphere of safeguarding the external security of the country also rests mainly on the armed forces. This task essentially describes the reason for maintaining the armed forces. However, since the defense of the motherland is one of the basic comprehensive social tasks, we consider it our duty to explain these issues to society at large as well as to communicate the ensuing obligations to everyone. This is a task not only for career military personnel, but also to a large degree for reserve officers. Of all the socioprofessional groups, reserve officers have the best knowledge and understanding of such problems.

The quantity and quality of personnel reserves has always determined the capability of every army. This is the case not only in times of war, but also in times of peace. Career military personnel in service and reserve officers are in a sense one socioprofessional group, one family of military men. We are united by common tasks carried out in the supreme sphere of the entire society--the security of state. We are united by the military oath and the principles of ethics and customs. Reserve officers are a cadre resource for the armed forces.

In the current system of training, reserve officers are graduated from the SPR [Cadet Officers' School]. Cadet reserve officers are playing an increasing role in training and indoctrinating soldiers of basic service during their command practices, whereas reserve officers fulfill this role at their residence and especially in the community of their place of employment. After all, engineers, industrial and agricultural managers, teachers and scientists, journalists and employees of state administration can be found among cadet and commissioned reserve officers. They can contribute much to the defense capability at their place of residence or employment.

Most attention should be paid to the issues of such an ideological and indoctrination effort which would develop political awareness, promote the feeling of personal responsibility of every citizen for the fate of the country and instill selflessness in work and service. In short, it is the patriotic-defense education of society and especially young people. This task includes building up motivation to defend the country, revealing the present danger and also developing practical defense skills.

This task should be viewed in the context of the general ideological-political situation in youth communities. This situation is different in student communities and in working communities, both urban and rural. However, there are certain common traits, both positive and negative, in the attitudes of the youth.

Such traits as dynamic activity, openness, spontaneity of feelings, criticism of what has already come to pass, lack of opportunism and high moral sensitivity are characteristic of young people in a particular age bracket. These values, combined with the apparent lack of experience, have been subjected to tough tests in various periods of our history. This was the case when social practice frequently ran counter to the proclaimed ideals.



This has also been the case recently, when such traits were manipulated and exploited by the forces hostile to socialism. Our political adversaries cynically exploited the confusion of youth, exacerbated the scale of their moral conflicts and frequently fostered ideological and political misconceptions. Erroneous views and myths about the unreformability of socialism, the generation gap and other things were propagated. At the same time, the weaknesses of the basic elements of social upbringing were exposed, such as the family, school, the youth organizations and collectives at work.

It seems that reserve officers, graduates of the SOR [Reserve Officers' School] and SPR, who have received practical training in ideological and upbringing activity in the armed forces, have been less susceptible to various deviations typical of other groups of the Polish younger generation. They are a group of young and middle-aged people with special predispositions and training for playing an important social role. Now they can join the mainstream of socioeconomic life in order to explain to their community the complex problems which our country is facing and to search vigorously for a solution to these problems.

Our chance for overcoming the crisis is to be found in bringing out social activity and initiative. History shows that in the most difficult periods of our past social forces capable of standing up to the toughest tests and overcoming the worst difficulties have always been released. This was the case in the times of national liberation uprisings, after the September disaster in the years of World War II and also in the first pioneer years of People's Poland. Young people have always been the vanguard and the motive force of progress. Every generation has its own specific traits; it fulfills a certain social mission and leaves a unique mark in history. Undoubtedly, contemporary youth will occupy an honorable place in the historical sequence of generations.

We must comprehensively strengthen our alliances within the framework of the Warsaw Pact as a condition for the security and peaceful development of our country, since we understand well the rationale of existence of the socialist state. This is also a condition for our young people to have prospects and a chance in life. These prospects are needed and worth fighting for.

Nobody will offer us such prospects as a present. They can be provided by a state with a strong economy and democratic system, with active civic attitudes on the part of broad segments of the populace and high defense capability, with efficient military-political alliances and international authority.

The vision of a strong state influential in world affairs appeals to the ambition of young people. We must strive to become in the eyes of international public opinion not only a gallant and heroic nation which is ready for sacrifice, but also a diligent, systematic and disciplined nation, contributing its proper share to the development of contemporary culture and civilization. This is a strategic task for the 21st century. However, along the way many burdensome and onerous but necessary tasks should be taken care of. One of these tasks is to overcome the socioeconomic crisis.

We have a program for overcoming the crisis. It envisages economic, social and organizational measures aimed at boosting production, eliminating crisis-generating factors and creating conditions for further socioeconomic development. Economic reform is the basic instrument for overcoming the crisis. However, all programs and reform intentions are always difficult to implement. They are difficult by their very nature, which requires greater objectivity, long-range approach and courage. As a rule, reforms run into opposition, mainly among the groups too set in routine ways and oriented toward the past. This is also the case now. On the other hand, young people characteristically strive for what is in store for them, for novel approaches and prospects. The introduction of reform can thus become a preoccupation of youth in the sphere of economics. Therefore, the intent of the reform should be understood, its principles must be modified as new experience is gained. We must display persistence and perseverance in overcoming difficulties in implementation. Cadet and commissioned reserve officers have every qualification to become competent promoters of the economic reform.

A constructive attitude toward new independent and autonomous trade unions and workers' self-government can be expected of cadet and commissioned reserve officers employed in the national economy. After all, these bodies create the social conditions for harmonious linkage between production tasks and the social needs of the working class. They teach one to appreciate that only as much can be distributed as has been produced, that in advancing even correct requests the existing restrictions and conditions for meeting them should not be overlooked.

The PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] is the widest platform for rallying all Poles around the issues of primary importance for the state. The movement plays a significant role in the renewal of our sociopolitical life. It is a wide forum for the adjustment and coordination of social initiative, for struggle with the political adversary and for the implementation of the idea of national understanding. The PRON's constitutional function is still more apparent in the people's council election campaign at the basic and provincial levels. This movement has no prospects if youth does not become involved. This view is borne out by the elements of the PRON with considerable youth representation. The cadet and commissioned reserve officers who see their future in the PRON are a cause for satisfaction. It testifies well to their sociopolitical maturity. However, all opportunities for reserve officers have not been exhausted yet. It must be a matter of their civic ambition to join PRON massively, to provide new development impulses for the movement and invigorate its activities. There is a need for that and there are opportunities. Reserve officers, a tested ally of the armed forces in influencing the society, must especially foster through their activity in PRON a rise in the patriotic activity of our citizens, give a new meaning to social work and rally the people around the program for overcoming the crisis.

Student upbringing requires special attention under current conditions. In this matter, we refer to a numerous community of teachers, specialists in various fields and educators of young people, who are cadet or

commissioned reserve officers. The teacher is the centerpiece in the school. In overcoming the drawbacks which our schools still have, the quality of instruction and especially the environment for upbringing in the school depend on the teacher. The professional skills of the teacher are an essential prerequisite for efficient instruction, whereas his ideological and political posture often is a decisive influence on the views and attitudes of the students.

The knowledge and the personal example of the teacher are two main creative and upbringing factors. A numerous body of educators with the highest professional and moral qualifications has developed in our country in this profession, which must enjoy high social prestige. Nonetheless, even they are struggling with numerous problems. Various accusations have been leveled at teachers, especially concerning the way they discharge their function in upbringing. Certainly not all of the accusations are justified. However, there are some which cannot be ignored. Solving the many significant problems of the educators community requires time as well as considerable effort and funds. However, even today extemporary decisions should be made which would facilitate the creation of a better environment for the work of teachers.

Reserve officers have a role to play in the matter. It is our intention to organize the process of training and upbringing in the armed forces in such a way that reserve officers would represent pro-socialist attitudes in the community of teachers. They would interpret the complex problems of our contemporary reality from that point of view, would shape the patriotic and internationalist attitudes of young people, make them morally sensitive and help them understand the rationale of their nation with a view to preparing youth for assuming in the future the difficult responsibilities of governing the state. To this end, the entire rich array of instruments at the disposal of teachers is used, such as curricula, textbooks, a good selection of readings, student self-government, proper pace of work in schools and boarding schools, extracurricular and social activities.

It is necessary to raise the rank of the Polish language and national history as subjects of study as well as to improve the efficiency of civics and defense training. The post of vice curator for patriotic-defense upbringing has been created in order to improve these activities and coordinate them at the provincial level. Cooperation with the vice curator can be helpful in discharging the duty of a teacher in any institution of learning and upbringing. The status of the reserve officer in school imposes the obligation to display exemplary socialist attitudes in upbringing and to influence the entire teachers community in a constructive fashion.

The need for reserve officers to be more active in sociopolitical affairs and upbringing is still greater in colleges. This follows from the worse than ever condition of political confusion among students and even a part of faculty in many institutions of higher learning. Therefore, a reserve officer who is an assistant, an adjunct or a full professor must be a role model for the college educator. This is a basic requirement, but in a

sense it is difficult. Cooperation with military science chairs which function in each college is recommended. These chairs can be the foundation and provide support for coordinating upbringing and work with the students.

The KOR's [Clubs of Reserve Officers] operating within the framework of the LOK [League for National Defense] are organizations which unite all reserve officers, facilitate the improvement of their military skills and provide a forum for their social activity. The clubs carry out multifaceted work and play an important social role. They implement a wide program of ideological-political indoctrination adjusted to local needs and conditions. Basic problems of concern to people are interpreted in the course of indoctrination. Specialty training work which is essential for maintaining the professional condition of reserve officers is an important part of KOR activities. To this end, shooting practices, auto rallies, communications contests, etc., are held. They are supplemented by sports and recreational activities.

Having close ties with military units, and especially sponsor units, is a general principle of KOR activities. Frequent reciprocal contacts are of moral and political significance for reserve officers, they are important in the upbringing of the enlisted men in basic service and young career cadres. Cooperation with military units considerably enhances the organizational potential and scope of KOR activities.

There are more than 2,000 clubs with tens of thousands of members in the country. However, there are few cadet reserve officers among them. SOR and SPR graduates account for slightly more than 10 percent of the membership. These statistics should reveal the scope of the opportunities which are still not taken advantage of. In the fall of this year, the Fifth National Conference of the KOR will be held. We will evaluate their activity and outline the tasks for the coming term.

We fulfill our service and social tasks for the current year in the environment of celebrating the 40th anniversary of the PRL. This anniversary calls for showing the scale of changes in our country over the last 4 decades. The experience gained over that time is also of great value for the present and the future. It should be studied in order not to yield to deceptive views and in order to have a proper yardstick for measuring our national achievements.

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## PILOTS DISCUSS CAREERS, ACTIVITIES

Capt Adam Hoderny

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 29, 15 Jul 84 p 3

[Interview with Capt Adam Hoderny by Tadeusz Malinowski: "Master of the Regiment"; date and place not specified]

[Text] On the eve of the 22 July national holiday, we would like to introduce one of the thousands of Polish-born pilots that have, in the last 40 years, achieved a normal education, later studied flying and then became civilian or military pilots. We introduce here a military pilot born in a small village in the northern part of Poland. His parents worked in a state agricultural farm. He did not have the opportunity to make his first steps toward becoming a pilot in a modelling or aviation club. Capt Hoderny's progress into the cockpit of a propeller-driven airplane and then a jet did not take the familiar road taken by youth fascinated by aviation. Even though our partner in conversation missed this pretraining in aviation, he did fulfill the tasks required of him and achieved a high level of training in military aviation. He was named Pilot of the Year in 1983, is the master of a regiment, the commander of a V-formation, a supersonic jet training instructor and is rated as a class I pilot. He has totalled 800 hours of flying time including 500 hours in Mig-21's. He is young, has a wife, Malgorzata, and two children, Ania (6 years old) and Jarka (4 years old).

[Question] Your start in military aviation was somewhat extraordinary: you did not begin in either a modelling club or an air club...

[Answer] That is true. Where I attended primary school, there was no aviation model club and later, when I was a student in a middle school of economics, no aviation club could be found within many kilometers. My curiosity about aviation, aroused by books and then increased by the sight of jets flying overhead and conversations with schoolmates, the sons of pilots, led me to decide for a career in aviation. At that time, I still did not even know where to begin.

[Question] I suppose the turning point was your graduation from middle school, was it not?

[Answer] Yes, but my parents did not accept my plans and did not want me to apply to the Officers' Higher School of Aviation in Deblin. They preferred that I take up automotive mechanics.

[Question] You did, however, graduate from the school in Deblin, didn't you?

[Answer] Before I ever made it to Deblin, I applied to the Automotive Higher School for Officers in Pila, as my parents wished. I was sure that I would make my way somehow from the school in Pila to Deblin. When I left to take the entrance examinations for the school in Pila, I was told that I did not have a chance of being accepted. Forty-thousand candidates were applying for 120 places. When, after six complicated tests, I learned that I had placed twelfth on the entrance examinations, I cried for joy.

[Question] How was this accepted by the people at home who said that you did not have a chance of being admitted?

[Answer] Everyone was pleased and a little surprised at my success. As a reward for my spending my vacation every year helping the harvest and my good results on the entrance examination, I was invited along for a worker vacation on the Baltic. I saw Szczecin for the first time and also took my first ride on a hydrofoil boat.

[Question] I suppose your transfer from Pila to Deblin was somewhat unusual.

[Answer] Not really. There were many cadets at Pila that wanted to do the same thing. At first, we were supposed to apply for transfer but then we heard that they were seeking candidates for the Officer's Higher School of Aviation. About 10-20 of us were accepted and after the medical examinations, 14 were accepted. We all received credit for our first year. In 1973, we began our second year of study at Deblin. At Pila, I had gone through some rough times. When, along with other in army uniforms, I began my second year at Deblin and the cadets there sometimes yelled "rabbit" or "there goes the rabbit" at me as I passed by, I did not let it get me down. The desire to fly and be as good as the others was stronger than any digs they made at me.

[Question] Was your first flight with an instructor or alone?

[Answer] On passing our exams, entered the second year and began flight instruction. A pilot candidate's (such as we were) first flight with an instructor was supposed to show whether or not the candidate can orient himself in flight and endure fatigue and how he feels, in other words, if he is predisposed for flying. I felt that I was predisposed for flying if my instructor, second lieutenant Ryszard Nowak would allow me to continue. After I had performed the required number of flights with an instructor, I was introduced to my commander, Lt Col Kopacz, for a test flight. I performed my first solo flight successfully and then perfected my flight technique. I flew

an Iskra in my third year and an LIM 5 fighter aircraft in my fourth year.

[Question] Finally there came your day of promotion which pilots remember forever...

[Answer] 29 November 1976 was a day that all of us pilots remember. Everyone of us had a different experience of promotion and everyone behaved differently. We were happy that we had finished school but at the same time we were a little sad to be leaving Deblin. From this last period, I have very good memories of my instructor for the LIM-5 fighter aircraft, Lt Tadeusz Sekulski.

[Question] I suspect that the sentimental feelings about Deblin grow stronger as the years pass.

[Answer] It is a little stronger than the feeling you have for the usual school at which you were educated and given direction in your life or career. Deblin has an unquestionable trump on emotional attachment, sentiment and tradition. If I were to return to Deblin after several years, I would again be enchanted by the school, the changes it has undergone and its modernization. All of this makes you happy and proud that you graduated from this and not some other school.

[Question] After years of improving your skills in supersonic aircraft, there came your most important year: the competition for the Pilot of the Year award. Is this not the ultimate award for a pilot?

[Answer] Yes, it is. For me, flying is everything. As regards the title of Pilot of the Year, no one ever suspects at the start of the year that he might be a candidate for that title. Everyone just tries to do his work the best he can and fly as much as possible. Rivalry is so dogged and the element of competition is so widespread that every pilot wants to be the best. At the end of the year, the achievements of the individual pilots over the year are reviewed and each squadron puts up its own candidate. Many factors determine his eventual emergence from the others: assessment of his flight time, combat ability, theoretical examinations, social commitment, attitude to military service, etc. I do not have to hide the fact that many pilots have an equal chance each year to be named Pilot of the Year but that only one will win the title in the end.

[Question] I have heard that the most important thing for you is flying.

[Answer] That is true. I have a passion for flying. I never get to fly enough. The people attracted to aviation are the ones that love airplanes and flying. Anyone else cannot stand the tempo and stress and will leave on their own. If I'm not flying, I feel like I have lost something, I am unhappy and nervous. At such times, I often look up at the sky and watch airplanes. My wife always laughs at me then and says that I am always looking at airplanes instead of girls.

[Question] Do you smoke?

[Answer] I have never smoked and I don't plan to do so. I don't like cigarette smoke. Furthermore, I am completely convinced that cigarettes are bad for health.

[Question] What other interests do you have?

[Answer] I like sports, especially soccer, which relaxes me. I am always happy to play soccer with friends.

[Question] How did your parents accept the news that you had become a military pilot?

[Answer] My father took it very calmly but my mother was very emotional and could not accept it for a long time.

[Question] You are married and have children. Does your wife worry when you go to the airfield?

[Answer] I think so. Sometimes when I return home from night flights, she tells me that she has not slept but has been listening for airplanes. When I do get home, she is always smiling and happy and my children do not even give me a chance to take off my uniform.

[Question] Is it true that a pilot with a family flies more safely?

[Answer] I would say that there is a great deal of truth in this. As far as I am concerned, I follow the rules of good and safe flying. My wife trusts me and is convinced that I am a safe pilot and I feel that her fears are normal. My wife is a good observer: if I return home from the airfield in good humor for her alone, she quickly guesses that something did not go right for me there. But she doesn't let on that she knows, doesn't ask what went wrong or even mention it. Most often, I tell her everything myself in order to keep her from worrying.

[Question] What is your opinion of a career as a pilot?

[Answer] It is a beautiful profession full of the romance of contemporary aviation. It requires endurance, sacrifice and commitment. You should not only want to be a pilot but be able to fly with passion. I love flying and that is why I see it the way I do.

Lt Col Jacek Cebrzynski

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 27, 1 Jul 84 p 3

[Interview with Lt Col Jacek Cebrzynski by Tadeusz Malinowski: "In His Father's Footsteps"; date and place not given]

[Text] Almost no one in Poland can boast the sort of lineage as our conversant has for he represents the third generation in his family to be closely connected with aviation. From



1914 to 1917, his grandmother flew airplanes and participated in air shows in the Baku region (Russia). She was beautiful and adroit and in the pioneering days of aviation loved flying above all else. After she came to Poland, her sons Arsen and Wiktor entered the Higher School of Aviation for Warrant Officers in Deblin after they graduated from high school. Both participated in the defense of Poland in 1939. Lt Wiktor Cebrzynski was a navigator in the 65th bomber squadron (in Karas) while Lt Arsen Cebrzynski (the father of our conversant) was the III/1 tactical officer of the fighter division in a pursuit brigade (flying P.11c's). He later fought in the defense of France and died in September 1940 in the Battle of Britain when he was shot by the air pirates of the Luftwaffe after he had bailed out from his burning Hurricane. He was one of the distinguished pilots of Division 303. In Poland, France and England, he had shot down a total of five enemy aircraft, with two probable hits and one enemy airplane damaged. Among his other awards, he had received the Virtuti Militari and the Cross of Valor (twice).

The family tradition, especially the father's, was carried down to the son, Jacek. Our conversant watched airplanes everyday because he lived near the airport on Aleja Niepodleglosci in Warsaw. After completing training in the Warsaw Aviation Club, he was accepted in 1956 to the Officer's Aviation School in Deblin from which he graduated in 1960. Ever since then he has been an Air Force fighter pilot. In 1978 he graduated from the General Staff Academy. He has a total of 2,100 hours of flight time, including 1,800 hours of flying time in jets (1,000 hours of which were spent in supersonic aircraft).

[Question] You received full flight training at the school in Deblin. Now that years have passed, can you return to the school that you once left with joy and maybe relief?

[Answer] I really can, but only now that several years have passed. It is only after such a long time that there develops a feeling of sentiment to the school. Even today I remember how all of the newly-promoted pilots were happy to be finally leaving the walls of the school. We had enough training to suit us and were eager to be flying in units. In my own case, I flew to Deblin for the first time 12 years after graduation. At that time, I was surprised at the hearty welcome given me by my former instructors. We had both advanced. We held the same rank then and began to be on familiar terms. Bonds of friendship were formed from this meeting. I like to fly to Deblin because I like the people there and the school. Furthermore, my colleagues are there. To put it briefly, Deblin has undergone some good changes, it is close to my heart and I can say that it is my second family.

[Question] It is said that a change in aircraft creates different emotions, impressions and feelings in pilots? How true is this?

[Answer] There is a lot of truth in that. It made a great impression on me to go from a Junak to a Yak-18 which had a radio and a retractable landing gear. Another big impression was the change from a propeller airplane to a jet. The pilot is shocked at the great time deficit: he has to do three times as much as before and in a much shorter amount of time. The change over from an LIM fighter to the MIG-21 produces the same deep impressions and jumps in time that shorten all of the pilot's actions to an even greater extent.

[Question] For several years, you were the commander of a jet squadron. That was difficult but inspiring service. A squadron is a little family within the big family of the aviation regiment. Aside from the work and its hardships, did you have any moments of joy and satisfaction?

[Answer] I commanded that squadron for 7 years. I have warm and positive memories of that time. Squadron command is absorbing work. Aside from the officer pilots, the squadron personnel also consists of the technical support crews, noncommissioned officers and troops. One of the commander's responsibilities is to lead the entire personnel so that they achieve the best cooperation and be ready to perform all operative tasks. The commander must see to it that the personnel live with each other on friendly terms, that they form a cohesive organism dedicated to the most important goal: effective preparation of equipment for flight. In order for the squadron to be able to provide these conditions, interpersonal relations must be proper, friendly and collegial, regardless of rank.

[Question] Fighter aviation's purpose is to neutralize enemy air forces. If it destroys air targets in the shortest possible amount of time, it has been effective. What is the amount of time?

[Answer] We must have basic information to be able to destroy the enemy air forces in the shortest amount of time from the moment they are detected. This information is necessary whenever our fighter aircraft are located, on the ground or on patrol. The time it takes to destroy an enemy target will vary depending upon its flight altitude, speed and the distance at which it is detected. These are complicated matters that require a good deal of explanation. I can, however, say that, if the fighter is on patrol and is headed toward a point of enemy action, the target can be destroyed in 5 minutes. If, on the other hand, the fighter must take off, this time will be somewhat longer.

[Question] It is often said that a fighter pilot is trained to destroy an air target with his first rocket...

[Answer] If the fighter is guided to an air target, then the target must be destroyed with the first rocket fired. Please note the way I formulated that: the target must be destroyed -- not may be destroyed. That second possibility is not taken into account. If the probability of using our means of attack is 95 percent and one of our fighters has been guided to its target and has already fired a rocket, then it is a 100 percent chance that it will find and destroy the target.

[Question] A military pilot's work complicated, difficult and also very responsible. The pilot's manual dexterity alone is not enough...

[Answer] Of course. Pilots fly their craft under difficult conditions. We must also remember the dangers of flight, the time deficit, stresses caused by high altitude and the proximity of an enemy who could hurt us at any minute. In such moments, it is necessary to be able to use all of one's experience in life, have the instincts of a hunter, act decisively, be quicker than the enemy and confuse him. You cannot let the enemy take you by surprise but you must surprise him.

[Question] Fighter combat is different now from what it was in World Wars One and Two. Now there is almost no more visual observation of the enemy. Pilots no longer see each other, they fly at high speeds and with great distances between them. Do they have to be good shots?

[Answer] They even have to be very good shots. In this case, we must look not only at combat with an enemy bomber but also with our equal, other fighters. The aerial combat itself is similar to what it was 40 years ago. Aerial combat has significantly increased its radius of action and the weapons have also changed.

[Question] Have you taken part in air reviews?

[Answer] Twice, in 1966 and 1968. These were unforgettable spectacles both in the air and on the ground. Try to imagine scores of jets taking off in groups of five in a specific order and lifting off at regular intervals. This was a splendid and unique view that cannot be described.

[Question] Your specialty is landing on highways, is it not?

[Answer] Among others. I have been making such landings since 1964. This very year my squadron was the first to make a landing on a highway. We did it first in LIM-5 fighters and later we repeated it in MIG-21's.

[Question] At the present time, you do not command a squadron but have another responsible post within your regiment. However, due to your experience as a fighter pilot, you continue to perform patrol flights. I am referring to patrol duty. Have you seen any foreign aircraft near our borders?

[Answer] I have taken off more than once for patrol over Baltic. The purpose of these flights was to watch for foreign aircraft. I remember that one day the target of my reconnaissance was Atlantic radio [?]. Someone from the foreign aircraft even tried to speak with us in Polish. Foreign aircraft usually fly in the area of our territorial waters but if they come within 10-15 miles of them, our patrol flights take off. They leave when they see us. I have also seen Swedish Saab jets. Sometimes we fly so close to these aircraft that we can even see the pilots in their cabins.

[Question] Through your air force service, you have kept up family's tradition and followed your father's footsteps. Will this tradition continue?

[Answer] My wife Anna works for LOT Polish Airlines. My son Arsen is interested in aviation. Time will tell whether he follows my, or rather, our footsteps.

Maj Franciszek Klimczuk

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 4-5 Aug 84 p 3

[Article by Edward Wojcik: "No One is Born a Pilot: Notes for the Portrait of a Flyer"]

[Text] People in steel uniforms. Citizens and soldiers. Problems, difficulties and joys, successes and failures. In writing about these ordinary and sometimes extraordinary human matters, we are trying to draw a collective portrait of the contemporary Polish flyer. This cycle, the common initiative of GAZETA POZNANSKA and WIRAZE, the Weekly Journal of the Polish Air Force and Air Defense Forces, is being published for the fortieth anniversary of the Polish People's Air Force.

Another MIG-23 is approaching for landing. The airplane made a smooth landing on the concrete landing strip and then taxied into position.

Maj Franciszek Klimczuk climbs down from the second cabin, the instructor's cabin. He does not look like a hero and does not give the impression one normally gets from a person doing difficult and responsible work. The camera lens even make him look somewhat out of countenance.

He looks good in his flight suit and helmet. He is of medium height and direct in manner but with his first words you find yourself dropping these untrue generalizations.

Maj Klimczuk has finished his flights for today but he still does not have time to relax. After a short break, the second shift prepares itself and Maj Klimczuk will now direct the flights. Many pilots recoil from these duties and responsibilities. It seems that he likes the work. This is where all of the threads that make up flying come together. This is where the good organization of each flight and the safety of each pilot, their colleagues in the air, is necessary, especially during take-off and landing. Therefore he likes this work and experiences it deeply.

There is still another moment that Maj Klimczuk experiences equally strongly and that is every flight with his brother, Lt Wladyslaw Klimczuk.

"It's a good feeling to fly together with my brother," says the major. "I lead and he follows. I feel satisfaction whenever we fly 'na sparce' [?] when he is the student and I am the instructor."

It turns out that Maj Klimczuk's third brother, cadet private Jan Klimczuk, is

also a student at the Officer's Higher School of Aviation in Deblin. Maj Klimczuk also hopes that his third brother will also find his way into the same fighter regiment.

Maj Klimczuk was the first in his family to take an interest in aviation but this was not for him the "childhood dream" that people generalize.

Big anniversaries are excellent occasions for reflection, summation and even generalization. That was exactly 20 years ago. The air clubs then did many things to popularize aviation. In Maj Klimczuk's home town, the Slupsk air club also organized festivals and propaganda flights.

"A crowd was always part of these events," says Maj Klimczuk. "I was a student at a secondary school of general education. We were shown many types of gliders and airplanes. There were flights and one LIM fighter even flew over us a few times. That made a big impression and created a certain atmosphere."

The major now feels that this a real work of propaganda by the air club with much help from the air force. Can that be done today? Of course, it can. There is no use in saying that it is too expensive and that we must reduce costs.

From his remarks, we see that Maj Klimczuk is not indifferent to the cause of aviation and that an important problem for him is also the type of young people entering the air force. He himself applied with much apprehension to the Slupsk air club.

"At that time, there were many candidates for aviation," he recalls, "and I was not particularly attractive. These apprehensions grew even stronger during my tests at the Main Center of Aviation Medicine in Wroclaw. However, I was accepted into the air club. Later everything went quite smoothly. Parachute jumps, glider flights and LWP -- P-1 [Probably some form of flight training] Finally the entrance examinations for the Officer's Higher School of Aviation in Deblin and LWP II.

"There were not many of us at the school in Deblin," he continues. "I still remember my first military instructor, Capt Jozef Jaworski. He not only taught me how to fly but how to live. He helped me and my colleagues to solve many of our everyday problems..."

Such an instructor and his method of dealing with his students had a decided influence on Maj Klimczuk's personality. From the little that he said, it was possible to conclude that it is true that, if the student likes the instructor and the instructor has authority, the student will take on many of the instructor's traits. Life, however, is not centered around one teacher. The young officer's other flight instructor was Capt Ryszard Cygan. This fine pilot had inexhaustible patience for his students. He demonstrated many of the difficult elements of flight in a jet airplane. His mastery and precision compelled other younger pilots to improve their own abilities.

Is this what gave Franciszek Klimczuk his desire to learn ever more

difficult areas of aviation and more complicated but better equipment? It is hard to say today whether this is true or not but the fact is that, at one moment, Klimczuk resigned marine aviation and was transferred on his own request to fighter aviation in the Polish Air Force.

In the fighter regiment, he first flew a LIM-5 fighter and then a MIG-21. Once he was in the air force, he left for the Military Aviation Academy in Moscow. He attended there the first three-year course of studies. The time there was spent in the study of the science of aviatational command and the limitations of flight.

His studies finally came to an end and he returned to his regiment. It seemed then that his life would finally become stabilized. He had a home, garden and garage and had he known about the rearmament with MIG-23's, he would have realized that his days of learning were not over. When "merchants" came to the regiment looking for volunteers to train on the MIG-23, he began to think about a change of unit. Would he have a chance to get to know this new, impressive fighter?

"They were looking for young lieutenants," says Maj Klimczuk, "and I was already a major and a little older. It was only after the second insistent conversation that I was able to convince my superior officer to let me have a chance to retrain for the MIG-23."

This change over to the MIG-23 was a very strong experience. This is, after all, an airplane loaded with electronics and with greater and better performance parameters than the MIG-21. Maj Klimczuk was apprehensive about whether he could meet the task, master the new fighter or be able to fly it with a high degree of skill. Those pilots that were the first to retrain and become instructors for the new fighter warned him that it would not be either simple or easy to master the new aircraft.

"We simplified the matter and tried to cover up our fears with humor and joking," says Maj Klimczuk. "I remember that one the instructors began to frighten us again. I asked him: 'How many engines does this airplane have?'. He became somewhat put out and answered: 'one'. I pressed on: 'The pilot takes the throttle in one hand, right?'. 'Yes' he answered. 'He takes the control stick in the other hand, right?'. 'Yes'. 'So what's so bad about this? It's the same as a MIG-21'. The humor lightened up the atmosphere but did not dispel our fears. These fears came out on our first flights with an instructor and I had a very demanding one. His name was Lt Col Bogdan Sokolowski."

Attaining mastery of the new fighter turned out to be easier than Maj Klimczuk thought. His own experience no doubt made it easier but he did have to become accustomed to and learn the new equipment and flying methods.

"The take-off and landing is different than with the MIG-21," says Maj Klimczuk, becoming excited whenever he speaks about the details of flying. "When it lifts off from the runway, the MIG-21 immediately wants to climb. The MIG-23, however, acts as if it were being sucked to the ground when it takes off. You have to build up power and then you have too much pull after

a while and you have to cut back some. Its landing characteristics are different and it has different, better possibilities for interception of air targets..."

When asked whether he would retrain if still newer types of fighters were introduced, he said "yes" without pause.

"That is something that interests and attracts me," he added. "I would like to get to know a jet of the newer generation, one that can attain higher speeds and altitudes and has newer armament."

Maj Franciszek Klimczuk has an experience of about 1,500 hours of flying time in jet aircraft. He is a class I military pilot and flies a modern fighter. Has he thought about achieving master class? He has, but he is also a realist. Learning to fly ever-newer aircraft and the constant need to retrain is not always compatible with achievement of the master class. He knows that he will still have to wait a while for that.

He recently trained for the MIG-23 and is now himself training young pilots and this gives him satisfaction.

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